METROPOLITAN
BOROUGH OF WOOLWICH
PUBLIC LIBRARIES.

PLUMSTEAD
LIBRARY.

GEORGE BAKER DEL. 1926

LONDON BOROUGH OF LEWISHAM
LIBRARY SERVICE

Author

Title

BOOK STORE

Books or discs must be returned on or before the last date stamped on label or on card in book pocket. Books or discs can be renewed by telephone, letter or personal call unless required by another reader. After library hours use the Ansafone Service (01-698 7347). For hours of opening and charges see notices at the above branch, but note that all lending departments close at 1 pm on Wednesday and all libraries are closed on Sundays, Good Friday, Christmas Day, Bank Holidays

METROPOLITAN
SPECIAL COLLECTION

A

SECOND COLLECTION

OF

SCARCE and VALUABLE

TRACTS,

ON THE MOST

Intereſting and *Entertaining* Subjects:

But chiefly ſuch as relate to the

Hiſtory *nd* Conſtitution *of theſe* Kingdoms.

Selected from an infinite Number in *Print* and *Manuſcript*, in the ROYAL, COTTON, SION, and other Public, as well as Private Libraries;

Particularly that of the

Late LORD *SOMERS*.

Reviſed by EMINENT HANDS.

VOL. IV.

The Bent and Genius of the Age is beſt known in a free Country, by the Pamphlets and Papers that come daily out, as the Senſe of Parties, and ſometimes the Voice of the Nation. Preface to KENNET's Regiſter.

Judex qui aliquid ſtatuit, unâ parte auditâ tantum & inauditâ alterâ, licet æquum ſtatuerit, haud æquus fuerit. *Ld.* COKE & JUST. *Inſt.*

LONDON:

Printed for F. COGAN, at the *Middle-Temple-Gate*, in *Fleet-Street*.

MDCCL.

THE CONTENTS OF THE FOURTH VOLUME.

THE Journal of the Proceedings of the Parliament in *Ireland*, with the Eſtabliſhment of their Forces there, 1689 Page 9.

A Letter from *Dublin*, 1689. 15

An Apology for the Proteſtants of *Ireland*, in a brief Narative of the late Revolutions in that Kingdom, and an Account of the preſent State thereof, 1689. 19

A Journal of the Proceedings of the pretended Parliament in *Dublin*, from the 7th to the 20th of this Inſtant *May*. A Breviate of the late King's Speech; and the Speaker's Repeal of the Act of Settlement and taking away the King's Supremacies, with the Names of the Proteſtant Lords Spiritual and Temporal ſitting in Parliament, 1680. 32

A Debate upon the Query, whether a King elected and declared by the Lords ſpiritual and temporal and Commons aſſembled at *Weſtminſter*, 22d of *January*, 1688. coming to and conſulting with the ſaid Lords and Commons, doth not make as compleat a Parliament and legiſlative Power and Authority, to all Intents and Purpoſes, as if the ſaid King ſhould cauſe new Summons to be given, and new Elections to be made by Writ, 1688. 34

A Relation of the tragical End of ſome Perſons of Quality at *Paris*, who on the 8th of *Auguſt*, 1689. ſuffered for their witty Zeal the ſevere Revenge of *Lewis* the moſt chriſtian King. 38

The Follies of *France*, or a true Relation of the extravagant Rejoicings that were made by the *French* King's Command in moſt Cities of *France*, for the pretended Death of King *William*, 1690. 39

Obſervations of the late Revolution in *England*. 43

A true and exact Account of the Regiments of Horſe and Foot in the Service of their Majeſties King *William* and Queen *Mary*; alſo an Account of the *Iriſh* Forces under the late King *James*: Written by a late Captain of Foot in the Lord *Caſtleton*'s Regiment in *England*, now at *Lisburn* in *Ireland*, to his Friend in *London*. Together with a perfect Relation of the moſt remarkable Actions lately there, and particularly ſince the Wounding of Colonel *Ouſley*: In a Letter from *Lisburn* of the 26th of *May*, 1690. 59

A Letter to a Member of the Committee of Grievances, containing ſome ſeaſonable Reflections on the preſent Adminiſtration of Affairs, ſince managed by *Dutch* Councils. 62

Reaſons for a new Bill of Rights, humbly ſubmitted to the Conſideration of the enſuing Seſſions of Parliament. By Sir *Bartholomew Shower*, Bt. 1692. 64

A true Liſt of the *French* Fleet for the Year 1692, commanded by the Count *de Tourville*, conſiſting of two Squadrons, the Blue and the White, with the Number of Men and Guns, from the Copy printed at *Paris* by the *French* King's Order. 78

An Account of the Acres, Houſes, with the proportional Tax, *&c.* of each County in *England* and *Wales*, by *Houghton*, 1693. 81

The CONTENTS of the FOURTH VOLUME.

A true Account of the horrid Conſpiracy againſt the Life of his ſacred Majeſty *William* the IIId. King of *England*, *Scotland*, *France* and *Ireland*, &c. ſetting forth by whom it was contrived, and how it was to be carried on, and the Manner of its Diſcovery, publiſhed by Authority, 1692. 81

An impartial Account of ſome Tranſactions in *Scotland*, concerning the Earl of *Broadalbin*, Viſcount and Maſter of *Stair*, *Glenco-Men*, and Biſhop of *Galloway*, and Mr. *Duncan Robertſon*, in a Letter from a Friend, 1695. 88

Querela Temporum, or, the Danger of the Church of *England*, in a Letter from the Dean of —— to —— Prebend of —— 105

A Letter to a Friend, upon the Diſſolution of the late Parliament, and the calling of a new one: Together with a Liſt of thoſe that were againſt making the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange* King and Queen, 1690. 127

Dr. *Bates*'s congratulatory Speech to the King, *November* 29, 1667. in the Name of the diſſenting Miniſters in and about *London*. 130

A Liſt of King *James*'s *Iriſh* and popiſh Forces in *France*, ready when called for, in Anſwer to an Argument againſt a land Force, writ by *A*, *B*, *C*, *D*, *E*, *F*, *G*, or whatever has been, or ever ſhall be writ upon that Subject, 1697. 132

Some Queries for the better underſtanding of a Liſt of King *James*'s *Iriſh* and popiſh Forces in *France*, ready when called for, in Anſwer to an Argument againſt the land Force writ by *A*, *B*, *C*, *D*, *E*, *F*, *G*, or to whatever has been, or ever ſhall be, writ upon that Subject, 1697. 131

A Letter from a general Officer to a Colonel, and ſeveral Officers and Soldiers under King *James*, now in the preſent Service. 134

A Problem concerning the Gout, in a Letter to Sir *John Gorden*, *F. R. S.* in *London*; by *G. P.* Eſq; with a Reply and Cenſure thereupon. 137

Verdicts of the Learned, concerning *Virgil* and *Homer*'s Heroic Poems. 145

A ſhort Hiſtory of the laſt Parliament, by ——*Drake*, *M. D.* 1699. 164

A true and exact Account of all the Ceremonies obſerved by the Church of *Rome* at the Opening, during the Progreſs, and at the Concluſion of the next approaching Jubilee, in the Year 1700. printed 1699. 189

Curſory Remarks upon ſome late diſloyal Proceedings in ſeveral Cabals, compoſed of an intermixture of intereſts, 1699. 197

A Liſt of ſeven Thouſand Men, appointed by his late Majeſty, in his late Proclamation to be the ſtanding Forces of this Kingdom, 1699. 246

The Caſe of *England* and the Proteſtant Intereſt. 247

The Juſtice of our Cauſe in the preſent War, in Reſpect of what is peculiar to the *Engliſh* in Matter of civil Right, 1699. 250

Some ſhort Conſiderations relating to the Settling of the Government, humbly offered to the Lords and Commons of *England*, now aſſembled at *Weſtminſter*, 1689. 255

A Letter directed to the Right Honourable the Earl of *Perth*, Governour to the Prince, 1700. 259

The moſt chriſtian King's Letter to the States General of the united Provinces, upon the recalling the Count *D'Avaux*, his Ambaſſador extraordinary at the *Hague*, together with the ſaid Ambaſſador's Memorial, both preſented by him to the States the $\frac{15}{28}$ of *July*; and the Anſwer of the States General to the ſaid Memorial, delivered to the Ambaſſador the $\left.\begin{matrix}21\ July\\ 1\ Auguſt\end{matrix}\right\}$ 1701. 263

Memorial from his chriſtian Majeſty, preſented by the Count *de Briord*, his Ambaſſador extraordinary to the States General of the united Provinces, at the *Hague*, *December* 4, 1700. containing his Reaſons for accepting the late King of *Spain*'s Will, in favour of the Duke of *Anjou*, 1700. 275

The King of *France*'s Memorial delivered to the States General by Monſ. *D'Avaux*, upon taking Poſſeſſion of the Towns in *Flanders*, 1701. 282

Some Reflections by Way of Anſwer to a Memorial of his moſt chriſtian Majeſty, preſented to the States, by the Count *De Briord*, Ambaſſador of *France*, on Occaſion

caſion of the Elevation of the Duke *D' Anjou* to the Crown of *Spain*, contrary to the Treaty of Partition lately concluded betwixt *France*, *England*, and *Holland*, 1701. 286

The Tranſlation of the States General Letter to his Majeſty the 13th of *May*, 1701. 290

A true Liſt of the Knights Citizens, and Burgeſſes of this preſent Parliament, appointed by Proclamation to meet at *Weſtminſter*, on *Thurſday* the 6th of *February*, 1700-1. 293

The Hiſtory of the *Kentiſh* Petition, 1701. 300

A Vindication of Rights of the Commons of *England*, by *Robert Harley*, Eſq; 1701. 313

A Vindication of the Rights and Perogatives of the Right Hon. the Houſe of Lords, wherein a late Diſcourſe intituled, a Vindication of the Rights of the Commons of *England* is conſidered, 1701. 360

A true Account of the Proceedings relating to the Charge of the Commons againſt *John* Lord *Haverſham*. 384

A true Liſt of the Tackers, of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and alſo of the Commons who voted againſt the Bill of occaſional Conformity, to which alſo are added the Proxies. 390

The Character of a Tacker; to which is added, the Character of an Anti-Tacker, 1705. 395

A Cat may look upon a King, printed in the glorious Year, 1714. 397

A Copy of his Majeſty's Letter to the lower Houſe of Parliament. 407

The Tranſlation of ſeveral Letters to her Majeſty from the King of *Spain*, the Junto of the military Army in *Catalonia* and the City of *Vien* in the ſaid Province: Together with an Extract of a Letter written to her Majeſty by the Right Honourable the Earl of *Peterborough*, General and Commander in Chief of her Majeſty's Land Forces there, and joint Admiral of her Fleet, 1705. 413

A Catalogue of Books to be ſold by Auction near *St. James's*. 417

A Catalogue of Books to be ſold by Auction at the City Godmothers, in *Mincing-Lane*, on the 29th of *May* next, being the Anniverſary of the Reſtoration of bleſſed Memory. 418

An Account of the Proceeding againſt *Titus Oates*, at the Quarter Seſſions held at *Weſtminſter-Hall*, on *Thurſday*, *July* the 2d, 1702. for ſcandalizing and aſſaulting Mrs. *Eleanor James*, and his being found guilty and fined for the ſame, to which is added Mrs. *James's* Caſe relating thereto. 420

England's Path to Wealth and Honour; in a Dialogue between an *Engliſhman* and a *Dutchman*, 1700. 422

A SECOND COLLECTION OF TRACTS.

A Journal of the Proceedings of the Parliament in *Ireland*. With the Eſtabliſhment of their Forces there.

March, 25, 1689.

A PROCLAMATION iſſued out for a Parliament to be held in *Dublin*, *May* 7. no Popiſh Biſhops ſummoned.

May 7. Parliament met in the Inns: Some Lords introduced; Biſhop of *Meath* and *Cork* amongſt the reſt; the King enters with Robes and Crown; makes a Speech: Chancellor bids the Commons chuſe a Speaker; they go to their Houſe, and having choſen Sir *Richard Nagle*, preſent him within half an Hour; he is accepted: Houſe adjourns till Ten in the Morning: Two Lords called by Writ Chancellor, Lord *Nugent*, and Lord *Riverſtown*.

May 8. Biſhop of *Story* introduced. Addreſs of Thanks to the King, and Abhorrence voted. A Committee appointed to draw it up. A Meſſage to the Commons for their Concurrence.

The King comes into the Houſe, appoints Four in the Afternoon for both Houſes to attend him with it. A Bill brought into the Houſe by C. J. *Nugent*, and read twice, *Rege preſent.* Containing a Recognition of the King's Title, and an Abhorrence of the P. of *O*'s Uſurpation, and of the Defection of the *Engliſh*; ordered after to be ingroſſed: Committees of Grievances and Petitions appointed: Houſe adjourned till *Friday* Morning.

May 10. King comes into the Houſe, and ſtays there all the Seſſion: Bill of Recognition, *&c.* read the third Time; ſent down to the Commons by two Judges, who report the Delivery of it. A Bill brought in by C. J. *Nugent* for encouraging Trade, by inviting Strangers into the Kingdom, taking only the Oath of Fidelity, read once. The King directs the Houſe in the Methods of proceeding; adjourned to Ten next Day: At Four Afternoon Committee of Petitions and Trade ſat; a Petition preferred by *Nagle* againſt *Gerard Borre*, Eſq; for Perquiſites of the Clerk of Parliament; *Borre* ordered to appear *Monday* following at Four in the Afternoon.

May 11. Biſhop of *Limerick* introduced: Houſe ordered to attend the King in their Robes, which they did: The Orders of the Houſe read: Bill for Trade read the ſecond Time, and committed: Bill of Recognition brought into the Houſe from the Commons; at Eleven the King comes to the Houſe in his Robes, and paſſes the Bill; the King goes out. 'Tis diſputed, whether the Seſſion was not diſcontinued by paſſing the Bill; moved to refer it to the Judges by the Biſhop of *Meath*; over-ruled, and reſolved in the Negative. Adjourned till *Monday*.

May 13. A Bill brought into the Houſe by C. J. *Nugent* for altering the *Act of Settlement*; read once, and Motion made for the ſecond reading, but rejected. The King preſent at Four in the Afternoon; the Committee of Petitions and Privileges ſat; *Borre*'s Anſwer put in, and *Nagle* ordered to reply. Lord *Brittas*'s Petition concerning his Arreſt eighteen Years ago, read; Affidavit ordered to be made, and on the Affidavit the Party to be committed to the Black Rod.

May 14. The Peers Names called; Licenſe of Abſence granted, and Proxies admitted: Two Bills brought up by the Commons, and read once; one for recalling all Grants of Civil Offices from the King, during Life or good Behaviour: Another againſt Writs of Error, and Appeal into *England*; and that an Act of Parliament in *England* ſhall not bind *Ireland*. King preſent all the while.

May 15. Earl of *Weſtmeath* introduced Bill for vacating Offices, *&c.* read ſecond Time, and committed; Speaker quits the Chair: Chief Juſtice *Nugent* called up by the King to be Chairman; the Biſhop of *Meath* againſt it for two Reaſons; *1ſt*, Becauſe able Officers might be turned out without Fault. *2d*, It was unjuſt to turn Men out of Freehold without Trial or Compenſation; the Lord Chancellor for it, becauſe to the King's Prejudice to grant them: the Houſe reaſſumed, and the Bill read a third Time; at every Sentence the Clerk ſtopt, and the Speaker aſks the Houſe, Shall it paſs without Amendment? It was put to the Vote; all conſent but the Biſhop of *Meath*, who deſired to proteſt, but was denied, becauſe he offered it too late; *viz.* after the Votes were paſt; King preſent all along.

May 16. Chief Juſtice *Nugent* reports the Alterations made in the Bill of Trade: The Bill againſt Writs of Error, *&c.* read the ſecond Time, and committed: Speaker quits his Place; Chief Juſtice *Nugent* aſſumes it: Biſhop of *Meath* argues againſt it, becauſe againſt his Oath of Supremacy to the King; becauſe prejudicial to the King and Kingdom; robbing the King of his Prerogative, and the Subject of the Liberty of appealing to the King in Perſon:

Perſon: He deſires a Clauſe in the latter End for ſaving all Writs of Error, and Appeals now depending in *England:* The Lord Chancellor for the Bill, argues from the Eaſe and Benefit of the Subject. The Houſe reaſſumed the Bill, read *ſeriatim*, as the other before; after that, put to the Vote; all conſent: The King preſent at all the Debates. A Bill read once, making it Treaſon to bring in counterfeit foreign Coin into the Kingdom; referred to the Committee. A Petition preferred about Butter-Caſks, and referred. At Four in the Afternoon the Committee ſits, and refers the Bill about Money to the Judges; and that about Caſks to the Committee of Trade.

May 17. The Bill about Trade read twice, and paſſed *nemine contradicente:* Lord Primate's Summons and Proxy granted to the Biſhop of *Meath*, read and allowed: Objected, That the Proxy ſhould be introduced, not allowed, becauſe the Primate did not appear; but it was carried in the Negative, and Precedents were cited for it.

May 18. Journals of the laſt Day read: A Petition for the Relief of ſome poor Priſoners, read, and referred to the Committee.

May 20. Journals of the Houſe read; Lord *Dillon* introduced.

May 21. Earl of *Barrymore*'s Proxy granted to the Lord *Granard*, allowed, but not read: Lord *Dunſany*'s Proxy granted.

May 22. Lord *Trimneſtown*, and Lord *Kilmahar* introduced. Motion made by Biſhop of *Meath* againſt the Sheriffs of *Dublin* for quartering an Officer upon him; Ordered, That no Peer ſhould be quartered on; and that the Sheriff ſhould be committed to the Black Rod. The Bill for repealing the *Acts of Settlement* brought up from the Commons by Col. *Macarty*, and lodged in the Houſe.

Obſerve, That nothing was done in the Houſe for four Days before, becauſe the King waited for this Bill from the Commons; and that the King ſent frequently for it; the Black Rod having called to the Houſe of Commons ſix or ſeven Times this very Day to ſend it up, the Lords Houſe and King ſpent the Time in Diſcourſes and News.

May 23. Journals of laſt Day read. The Bill from the Commons lodged Yeſterday, read this Day once: Motion made to have it read again in the Afternoon, but rejected: Biſhop of *Meath* moves, That the Lords Bill might have Precedence of it in reading; or at leaſt, that both might be committed: The firſt rejected, the latter granted: The Commons Bill ordered to be read next Morning.

May 24. Col. *Macarty* made Baron, *Moun Caſſan* introduced. The Commons Bill of Repeal read again, and committed to the whole Houſe; moved the Lords Bill of Repeal might be read and committed, but denied. Several Petitions read, put in by Perſons concerned under the Acts; all referred, except Capt. *Kelly*'s.

May 25. Bill about counterfeit Foreign Coin amended, and read the third time: Controverſy between *Trimneſtown* and *Dunſany* about Precedencies, reported by the Committee, adjudged to *Trimneſtown*, becauſe it was ſo in 1634; with a Saving to *Dunſany*, if he can ſhew a better Right. Several Petitions read, preferred by Perſons concerned under the Acts of Settlement and

Explanation, and by others for Remainders: One by Lord *Clan Meleera*, to be relieved againſt the Sale of his Eſtate to Sir *Patrick Trant*.

May 27. Several Petitions read, and Counſel on them heard at the Lords Bar, *viz.* Lord *Galway*'s, *Matthew*'s, Lord *Kingſtown*'s Brothers, Sir *Henry Bingham*'s Brothers; the Scope of them all was, To have Savings for their Remainders, and Conſideration for their Improvements; referred all to the Committee of Petitions.

May 28. Several Petitions read, relating to the Act of Settlement; Bill of Repeal read the ſecond time; the Houſe adjourned during Pleaſure, and reſolved into a grand Committee; the Bill of Repeal read by Paragraphs; ſome Objections made, which occaſioned ſome Alterations. Motion made for adjourning till *Thurſday*, becauſe *Wedneſday* was a Holiday; the King asked, What Holiday? Anſwered, The Reſtoration of his Brother and himſelf, *&c.* He replied, The fitter to reſtore thoſe loyal Catholick Gentlemen that had ſuffered with him, and been kept unjuſtly out of their Eſtates; the Motion rejected.

May 29, Petitions read, and referred to the Committee; the Houſe reſolved into a grand Committee; the reſt of the Bill read by Paragraphs; Objections made; ſome over-ruled, others thought reaſonable; King offers a new Preamble to the Bill, inſtead of that which was ſent up from the Commons Houſe; aſſented to it. Judge *Daly* impeached by the Commons; at four in the Afternoon Committee of Petitions ſits; Chief Juſtice *Keating*'s Petition read; Lord *Forbes*'s and Lord *Galway*'s adjourned to the 31ſt, becauſe the 30th was a Popiſh Holiday.

May 31, Judge *Daly*'s Petition read and granted; Scope of it for Time to anſwer the Commons Impeachments, and to have a Copy of it: Lord *Galway*'s heard at the Bar, about his Lady's Remainder in Lord *Laneſborough*'s Eſtate; Proviſo granted for it: Lord *Riverſtown* reports the Alterations made in the Bill of Repeal by the Committee, which were all conſented to.

June 1. *John Brown*'s Petition read and argued at the Bar; the Chairman reports the Alterations and Additions made to the Bill of Repeal; which are approved: Judge *Daly*'s Petition, deſiring a further Day for an Anſwer, read and granted. Mrs. *Wall*'s Bill againſt her Huſband read once.

June 3, Petitions read, and referred to the Committee: Lord *Galway*'s Counſel heard at the Bar, concerning his Lady's Remainder, and Arrears due to the Heirs of *Ulick* Earl of *Clanricard*: Lord *Riverſtown* reports from the Committee ſeveral Alterations and Proviſoes to be inſerted in the Bill of Repeal; which were each twice read. Sir *William Talbot* came up with a Meſſage from the Commons, which imported their earneſt Requeſt to the Lords, to paſs the Bill with all the Expedition they could, becauſe the Heart and Courage of the whole Nation were bound up in it.

June 4. Journals read: Petition from the Biſhop of *Cork* for Relief for Arrears of Rents: A Bill for Mrs. *Wall* againſt her Huſband, read the ſecond Time: Lord *Riverſtown* reports new Alterations, new Proviſoes in the Bill of Repeal; the new ones read twice; the whole Bill, with all its Alterations and Proviſoes, read; after reading, the Biſhop of *Meath* ſpeaks againſt it, Lord Chancellor and *Riverſtown* for it; the Biſhops deſire leave to enter their Proteſt, and four of the temporal Lords, which were all the Proteſtants in the Houſe.

Houſe. *Mem.* That the King ſaid, That they muſt not enter their Proteſtation, but only their Diſſent; for Proteſtation came in in rebellious Times, and that they ſhould not give the Reaſons of their Proteſtation.

June 5. The Biſhops Proteſtation. *We the Lords Spiritual in Parliament aſſembled, whoſe Names are hereafter ſubſcribed, having for divers Reaſons, then humbly offered to the Houſe of Lords, diſſented from paſſing the Bill into a Law, ſent up to this honourable Houſe from the Houſe of Commons, intitled,* An Act repealing the Acts of Settlement and Explanation, *&c. And having obtained leave from the Houſe of Lords to enter our Diſſent againſt the ſaid Bill, do accordingly ſubſcribe our Diſſent from the ſaid Bill.*

This was brought in Parchment to the Clerk of the Parliament the next Morning before the Houſe ſat, and ſigned, *Meath, Oſſory, Cork, Limerick*; the like Proteſtation in Parchment ſigned *per Granard, Longford, Roſſe, Howth.*

I, Anthony *Biſhop of* Meath, *being conſtituted and allowed Proxy for the moſt Reverend Father in God* Mich. *Lord Archbiſhop of* Armagh, *do, in his Name and Behalf, diſſent from the ſaid Bill.* Mich. Armagh.

The like ſigned by *Oſſory*, as *Waterford*'s Proxy.

Journals of the Houſe read: Lord *Clan Maleera*'s Caſe againſt Sir *Patrick Trant* heard at the Bar, and adjudged againſt: The Lord *Mountgarret* petitions the Houſe that Sir *John Ivory* may commit no Waſte on his Eſtate; a general Order made againſt it. Committees of Trade, Privileges, and Petitions, revived: A Committee appointed for Mrs. *Ward*'s Bill.

June 6. Journals read; Officers of the Houſe petition about Introduction Fees, read, and referred to the Committee: *George Kelly*, Conſtable, ordered to be committed for his Inſolence to Lord *Longford.*

June 7. Journals read: Meſſage from the Commons for a Conference about Exceptions to the Alterations made in the Bill of Repeal; four Lords appointed to meet them immediately in the Chamber over the Lords Houſe; the Lords ordered only to hear their Objections, and report them, which they did accordingly. The Order againſt Waſte and ſpoiling Improvements, read, and approved: Lord *Riverſtown* moves, that Conſtables and Sheriffs might have Power to commit the Poſſeſſor that made any Waſte; Judges Opinions asked, all againſt it, and the Houſe agrees with them.

June 8. The Houſe of Commons deſire to withdraw their Impeachment againſt Judge *Daly*, having accepted his Submiſſion, which was granted: A preſent Conference deſired by the Lords upon the Subject of the laſt Conference, wherein the Lords of the Committee report what they agree, and what they inſiſt on, together with the Reaſons why they inſiſt on them.

June 10. Journals of the laſt Day read: A Petition of *Bridges* read, concerning his being turned out of Poſſeſſion by the Proprietor; the Houſe would do nothing in it; the reſt of the Morning ſpent in Diſcourſe.

June 11. A free Conference between the two Houſes, concerning the Bill of Repeal; the Commons inſiſt on two Things; 1*ſt*, That the preſent Poſſeſſors may have Time to remove till *May* next; 2*dly*, That all Remainders may be forfeited, and veſted in the King; Journals read.

ESTA-

ESTABLISHMENT, *May* 1689.

d. p. diem p. mens.					Men
6 ½	16	3	1	Troop of Grenadiers contains	50
6 ½	16	3	7	Regiments of Horſe contain	2750
5 ¼	13	1½	7	Regiments of Dragoons contain	3800
				The Royal Reg. contains 22 Comp. 90 in each Co.	1980
4	10		42	Regiments of Foot, 13 Comp. 62 Men each	33852
				Total	42432

Deductions.

3 *d. per Pound* for the Hoſpital, from all Soldiers and Officers.
1 *d. per Diem* for the Cloaths, ½ for Shoes, and ½ for Cloaths. *Foot.*
1 ¼ *per Diem* from Dragoons, ½ for Furniture, ¾ for Horſes. *Dragoons.*
1 ¼ *per Diem* from Troopers, ½ to the Captain for Furniture, 1 *d.* for the Clerk. *Horſe.*

HORSE, 7 Reg.

Duke of Tyrconnel
Lord Galmoy
Col. Sarsfield
Col. Southerland
Lord Abercorne
Col. H. Luttrel
Col. Parker

DRAGOONS, 7 Reg.

Lord Dungan
Sir Neil O Neil
Col. Dan. O Brien
Col. Nicholas Purcell
Col. Clifford
Sir James Cotter
Col. Simon Luttrel

FOOT, 42 Regiments.

Col. John Hamilton
Ramſey
Earl of Clancarty
Col. Ant. Hamilton
Earl of Clanricard
Earl of Antrim
Lord Gormanſtown
Lord Clare
Lord Galloway
Lord Slane
Lord Lowth
Lord Duleek
Monſieur Boiſlon
Sir Val. Brown
Sir John Fitzgerald
Sir Maur. Euſlaw
Col. Wil. Nugent
Col. H. Dillon
Col. John Grace
Col. Rich. Butler
Col. Edw. Butler
Col. Walter Butler
Col. John Bourk
Col. Char. Moore
Col. Corn. O Neil
Col. Cavenagh
Col. Gordon O Neil
Col. Nich. Brown
Sir Mich. Creagh
Col. Brien Mac Maghon
Col. Tool
Col. Oxbrough
Col. Maccarty Moor
Col. Barret
Col. Farrel
Col. Bagnall
Lord Bagnall
Lord Tyrone
Col. Cha. O Brien
Lord Iveagh
Col. O Donavan
Col. Dom. Brown.

A Letter from *Dublin*.

June *the* 12*th*, 1689.

I For ſome particular Reaſons, reſolved not to write to you any more, eſpecially being uncertain whether you received my former; or if you did, whether they were of any Uſe; but the particular Reaſon of my not writing being partly ceaſed, I conſider it is no great Matter if I loſe my Pains. I hope to ſend you an Abſtract of what has been done in the Houſe of Lords and Commons, having a Promiſe of ſuch an Account from thoſe that know them. We have had three Expreſſes from *England*: *John Browne* the Lawyer came over about a Fortnight ago from *Milford*, and landed at *Waterford*; Sir *J*—*C*—'s Son came in a Wherry, and landed about *Wickloe*, but that which was moſt material, was from the Lord *M.* by ſome Quakers, that came laſt Week hither in a Wherry; ſome the like went Yeſterday back to you, we have ſeveral Expreſſes ſent over to you that Way; and a ſtrict Embargo, leſt any ſhould follow and diſcover them. You muſt not expect the Secret of their Meſſages from me, only 'tis reported, that *John Browne* brought no Letters with him, but came over with a Deſign to ſave his Ironworks from the new Proprietors: I hear that upon his Petition to the Parliament, the Poſſeſſion is ſecured to him by a Proviſo, he paying Rent: He reports that *England* is unanimous, and that we muſt expect an Invaſion by the next Eaſterly Wind: The Quakers and *Crosby* talk likewiſe of an Invaſion, but repreſent the People of *England* as diſſatisfied. I find there is ſtill an Expectation and Dependance on *Scotland*, though not ſo ſtrong as at firſt; we talk very confidently of a Fleet, and fifteen thouſand Fuſileers, from *France*; the *French* Fleet to conſiſt of eighty Men of War: I verily believe there is ſomething in it; without ſome ſuch Aid, *Ireland* does appear but an eaſy Conqueſt, which is not the *French* Intereſt. The Miſery of this Town is very great, ſome being little better than dragoon'd by the Quartering of Soldiers; ſome have ten, ſome twelve, ſome twenty or thirty quartered on them; and yet I cannot find, that beſides what came in To-day, there were above three thouſand and odd Men in Town; but the Reaſon is plain, each Man has many Quarters, and ſome Captains make thirty or forty Shillings a Week by them; they come in by twelve, one or two of the Clock by Night, to demand Quarters, and turn People out of their Beds, beat, wound, and ſometimes rob them: There are two or three hundred Prieſts in Town, and they are quarter'd likewiſe as the Soldiers; and ſo are generally Noblemen and Gentlemen, with their Retinue, though not actually in the Army. I have ſent you the new Eſtabliſhment of the Forces, only I think four Regiments of Horſe, and ſome of Dragoons are not yet raiſed. I hear all thoſe People called Rapperees, or Half-Pikemen, are to be muſter'd and arm'd; Commiſſions are ſigning for all that can bear Arms in the Kingdom. Duke of *Tyrconnel* diſbanded two thouſand a few Weeks ago, which are all entertained again, or at leaſt as many as will come in; but we are moſt

ſtrangely

ſtrangely uncertain in all our Counſels, which is viſible not only in this, but in every thing elſe: One Day the Camp near *Dublin* is to go on, and they work cloſe at it, then it is intermitted and laid aſide: One Day we are to go into *England*, and ſend a Declaration before us, and to be reſtored; another Day we are frightened with a Rumour of an Army landing out of *England* to drive us out of all; yet the King ſeems very well contented and pleaſant; he ſleeps, eats, and is in better Health than uſual. *Tueſday* the 4th Inſtant, we had an Alarm that *Derry* was burnt with Bombs, that the King's Army had taken it, and put all in it to the Sword; *Nugent* of *Carlandſtown* brought this News into the Houſe of Commons, juſt when they were putting to the Vote, whether they ſhould proſecute the Impeachment againſt Judge *Dally*; ſome think *Nugent* being his Friend, did it deſignedly; the News was received with loud Huzzas, and in that good and jolly Humour they acquitted the Judge: But our *Friday*'s Expreſs brought us another Account, which was, that the King's Forces had endeavoured to regain the *Windmill-Hill*, out of which they had been beaten by the Sally when *Ramſey* the King's General was killed, but that they were beaten off with great Loſs; this was on *Tueſday*, and by Computation, about the ſame Time the Huzza was made in the Houſe of Commons. Col. *Dorrington* and Col. *Nugent*, two of the briſkeſt Officers of the King's Army, are deſperately wounded, if not dead. 'Tis reported, that ſeven Field-Officers were killed or taken, and about thirty other Officers. We have no certain Account of the Soldiers, the beſt Account ſays, three hundred fell: 'Tis ſaid they run away, and left their Officers in the Lurch. I am promiſed a Liſt of the Officers that were killed: It is ſaid that there are not above five thouſand in the King's Camp at *Derry*, notwithſtanding all that have gone down, a great many having run away as ſoon as they had loaded themſelves with Plunder, and above two thouſand being killed or dead ſince their firſt going down; they ſhake and tremble ſo when they come to charge, that they cannot fire; they that have Matchlocks cannot be brought by any Means to diſcipline, or to uſe them aright; this I have from a good Hand. We hear that ſome *Engliſh* Ships are in the *Lough* of *Derry*, a Boom with Trees and Maſts is made croſs the River at *Culmore* Fort, to hinder any Succours, that a Ship who attempted to get up is ſtranded. I believe their greateſt Want in *Derry* is Firing, and Coals will be a very precious Commodity with them; and I believe in a little while they will want Cloaths for Wearing, and Drink. They talk if old Sir *Charles Coot* were alive, and had but a thouſand Horſe, to the Foot that are in the Town, he would not fail to fight the King's Army in the Field. About the Beginning of this Month, a Party of Horſe and Foot from *Inniſkilling*, made an Inroad into the County of *Cavan*, they drove all the Cattle off the County, they did not ſpare Proteſtants who were under Protection, only ſuch as would go with them, they help'd away with their Bag and Baggage, thoſe that would not go, were forc'd to part with all to them; which they ſaid they did, leſt the King's Forces ſhould make a Prey of them; they took all Proviſion, Horſes and Arms they could meet with; they diſarmed ſome of the King's Forces that lay at *Belturbeit*, *Bally-Carrig* and elſewhere; they burnt only ſuch Places as were of Strength, and capable of being garriſon'd; they kill'd none; they came as far as *Finagh* and *Virginia*, which you'll find in the Maps: The

Party

Party is ſaid to have been two thouſand; we were alarmed at this here, and General Monſieur *Roſen* went down to *Trim* with four Field-Pieces, and ſeveral Regiments, amongſt the reſt the Lord Mayor's of *Dublin*, who led his Men himſelf; twelve Regiments I hear were deſigned; I hear the Bullets both for the Field-Pieces and Muſkets were found to have been too big, which made General *Roſen* ſtorm horribly: Since the Defeat at *Derry*, I hear he and the Forces deſigned for *Inniſkilling*, are commanded to *Derry*; two of the Field-Pieces are come back. General *Hamilton* is ſuſpected and rail'd at by the Commonalty; but I do not believe that there is any Ground for it, or that the King does entertain any Thoughts of it. It is reported from good Hands, that the People of *Inniſkilling* have made up their Horſe near fifteen hundred, and their Foot near ſix thouſand; a Party ſo conſiderable, that it is feared *England* may think itſelf concerned to ſave them by haſtening their Invaſion, if they intend any. There are many Diſcontents among the *Roman* Catholics about the Acts of Settlement, and the *French*, for the Natives look very ſuſpiciouſly on them, and many do publickly ſay, that they are ſold to the *French*; at leaſt, that cautionary Towns are to be given them. If an Army ſhould invade us before theſe Diſcontents are quieted, 'tis to be fear'd, that they would ſoon gain the Submiſſion of a conſiderable Party of the *Roman* Catholics upon good Terms; and perhaps if their Help were accepted, would join to drive out the *French*; but *England* is ſo exceedingly ſlow, that it is believed they will loſe the Hearts of all, and even ſuch as wiſh it well will not think it ſafe to depend on it. 'Tis obſerved, that putting *French* Officers in the Place of the *Iriſh*, who raiſed the Men, cauſes great Diſcontents, many of the common Soldiers run away from their Colours upon it. Several Proteſtant Gentlemen in the North had Commiſſions from the P. and have fairly run away with them into *England*, or come to *Dublin* upon Protection or Pardon; but the Country People have choſen Commanders for themſelves, who have no Commiſſions, and have formed themſelves into Troops and Companies; of this Sort are generally thoſe in *Derry* and *Inniſkilling*; they all expect to be continued in the Commiſſions they have given themſelves, when any Army comes out of *England*; and the Hope of this, 'tis believed, makes them obſtinate to all Offers from the King; they ſay, the Gentlemen that left them, deſerve no Countenance at all, but rather, that ſome Part of their Eſtates that went away, ſhould be given as a Reward to ſuch as ſtaid and defended them. *June* the 13th, To-day the Houſe of Commons agreed to the Amendments made by the Houſe of Lords to the Bill of Repeal, ſo that Affair is over, and wants only the Royal Aſſent. An Expreſs came in from *Cavan*, which gives us this Account: That General *Roſen* had ordered the Sheriff of that County to make a kind of a Magazine of Corn and other Proviſions, in the Town of *Cavan*, to ſupply the King's Army in their March to *Inniſkilling*, and had appointed two Companies to guard it, and that a Party from *Inniſkilling* had ſurprized the Guards, and taken it: *Inniſkilling* People are certainly there, but whether they took the Men is a Doubt, but the Proviſion is certainly taken. It is ſaid there is now in *Dublin* nine Regiments of Foot, and eight more are expected; many of them are raw, and never handled Arms; there are about two Troops of Horſe, I can't learn whoſe Regiments they are: You may wonder I can't give an exact

Account of what Men are in *Dublin*, but the Reaſon is, their frequent Removals, ſometimes in one Day three Regiments will come to Town, and two go out; ſometimes thoſe that are expected in Town will be countermanded within ſix or ſeven Miles; they often come in and go out by Night, and every thing is ſo changed and huddled, that it is impoſſible to give any good Account. We do not confide much in theſe Men, though the whole ſeventeen Regiments expected were with us, becauſe they are very raw and undiſciplin'd. There is a general Preſs for all Horſes, without Exception of Papiſts, who had Favour before, but there muſt be no Diſtinction, the Occaſion being very urgent; for the King is ſaid not to have above a thouſand good Horſe in all the Army, moſt of which are in the North. The miſerable Uſage in the Country is unſpeakable, and every Day like to be worſe and worſe; many alledge, that the Rapperees have ſecret Orders to fall anew on the Proteſtants that have any thing left; the Ground of this may be their pretending ſuch an Order, for they commonly pretend an Order for any Miſchief they have a Mind to: You have had my Senſe of this Matter before; *Corke* is moſt vilely abuſed by their M. Governor *Boyſloe*. The Bill for Liberty of Conſcience is come to the Houſe of Lords; it repeals every Statute made in Favour of the Proteſtant Religion, and if Lawyers may be believed, it ſettles Popery as legally as it was in *Henry* VIIth's Time: You may gueſs from the incloſed Brief, what Authority *Roman* Catholic Biſhops will claim over Proteſtants. The Commiſſioners have ſeized all Goods of Abſenters, and are actually diſpoſing of them: It is reported, that they are about procuring an Act of Parliament to put Penalties and Oaths upon the Concealers of any of them, and to indemnify themſelves for their Proceeding hitherto, which the Proteſtants reckon Plundering, and ſay is againſt all Law: The ſame Commiſſioners ſet Leaſes of all Abſenters Eſtates, though no legal Inquiſition is yet paſt on them; ſome ſay, that they ſet even Eſtates of ſuch as are in the Kingdom, upon Preſumption that they will find ſome Way or other to intitle the King to them; one Way is, to get two or three named Commiſſioners, who ſlip into ſome blind Alehouſe, and privately find a Title for the King, by returning, that the Poſſeſſors are abſent or Rebels, though they live then upon the Lands, or are in the Courts of *Dublin*, and all this without any Summons to the Parties concerned, or Poſſeſſors, or Oaths of Jurors; all this is ſaid, and further, that ſeveral of thoſe have come to inform the Commiſſioners how they have been abuſed, but can't yet get Admittance, the Commiſſioners are ſo buſy ſetting Leaſes. The Biſhop of *Corke*'s Caſe, which you will find in the Votes, and wherein the Parliament refuſed him Redreſs, was this: Several of his Tenants owed him Arrears of Rent, the King ſeized upon their Goods becauſe they were abſent; he deſires to be paid his Arrears out of the Goods found on the Lands, which he deſired Leave to diſtrain on; but he was told, he muſt ſue the Tenants on the Covenants of their Leaſes, and recover his Rent as he could. This is like to be a Precedent, and no Creditor, Landlord or Mortgagee, whoſe Tenant is abſent, is like to get any thing, becauſe the King has ſeized the Goods and Lands which were his Security. I hear likewiſe where the Landlords are abſent, Leſſees are diſturb'd and left to ſeek Redreſs from their abſent Landlords. The Commons Quarrel to Judge *Dally*, for which they impeached him, was, upon

ſome

ſome private Diſcourſe he had with Sir *Alick Bourk*, and ſome other Gentlemen, in which he diſapproved of the Commons Proceedings, and ſaid, they were a Kind of *Maſſanello*'s Aſſembly, and that it could not be expected that Men from whom the King took Eſtates, would fight for him, or to this Effect.

An Apology for the Proteſtants of *Ireland*. In a brief Narrative of the late Revolutions in that Kingdom, and an Account of the preſent State thereof. 1689.

——— *Quæque ipſe miſerrima vidi,*
Et quorum pars magna fui, ———

SIR,

I AM urged by the Incentives of Love and Gratitude for the many Obligations you have laid upon me, and by the Conſcience of my own Promiſe, to render you an Account of the late Revolutions in the Kingdom of *Ireland*; and to lay before you a true Scheme of the preſent Condition of that miſerable and forlorn Country. In the Performance whereof, if I be neceſſitated to utter ſome unwelcome Truths, I beſpeak your Charity to believe, it does not proceed from any Deſign of a malicious Reflection, but from that irreſiſtable Force that naturally attends a faithful Narration. And becauſe the Miſery of Exile and Deſertion is ſenſibly aggravated by their cruel and unequal Cenſure, who neither underſtand the Cauſe, nor pity the Effects of ſo fatal a Dereliction of our Eſtates and Habitations, but ſeverely upbraid us with an unconſtrained, timorous, and unneceſſary Flight; it will not be poſſible to obviate ſuch ill-grounded Cavils, or to deſcribe the preſent Face of Affairs, without a Retroſpect on the Countenance of Things as they formerly appeared.

While *Charles* the Second ſwayed the Scepter; though the Papiſts were too much countenanced and indulged; and many Hardſhips placed on the Proteſtants, eſpecially in relation to the Act of Settlement, yet by the favour of Heaven upon the extraordinary Fertility of the Land, *Ireland* was under very auſpicious Circumſtances: The Church flouriſhed, Trade increaſed, the Cities and Towns were every Year inlarged with new Additions, the Country enriched and beautified with Houſes and Plantations, the Farms were loaden with Stock, and ready and quick Markets there were to vent them: The Laws had a free and uninterrupted Courſe, and a Standing Army was ſo far from being a Terror, that they were the Comfort and Security of the People: In a Word, Peace, Wealth, and Plenty were become univerſal and epidemical, and all Things conſpired to a generous Emulation with our Mother and Neighbour, *England*.

But no ſooner did this bright Sun ſet, and a new One appeared in the Firmament, but Clouds and Vapours, Storms and Tempeſts aroſe in our Horizon, which have ſince broke out in Trouble and Confuſion, not like to be

ſettled and appeaſed, but in a general Deſolation, and Depopulation of the whole Kingdom. Indeed at firſt we were flattered with ſome Hopes of a calm Seaſon, by the Arrival of the Right Honourable the Earl of *Clarendon*, and his Eſtabliſhment in the ſupreme Command; but his Commiſſion was ſtinted, his Authority far ſhort of what was allowed to his Predeceſſors in that Government, and Colonel *Richard Talbot* (newly advanced to the ominous Title of *Tyrconnel*) openly and impudently appeared his Comptroller and Surveyor; moſt unjuſtly and preſumptuouſly aſſuming a Power to purge the Army, to diveſt the Officers of their Commiſſions, and to diſband thouſands of ſtout, well trained Soldiers, deſpoiling them of the very Coats they had before paid for, and turning them off naked, and bare, to beg, and ſeek their Livelihood, treating them with great Barbarity, and in a jeering and ſcornful manner, giving out, that he muſt have the whole Army of one Size, *i. e.* to be modelliſed and meaſured by the Standard of *Rome*, and no Man to receive Pay from a Popiſh King, but he that openly gave himſelf up to the avowed Profeſſion of Popery. Thus was an Army (not to be excelled, for their Number, by any Army in *Europe*) broken without a Rout, ſome hundreds of gallant Officers arbitrarily turned out, without the Satisfaction of aſſigning any Cauſe; and in their Rooms notorious Rebels and Murtherers, or the Sons and Offspring of ſuch, placed; the Troops and Companies filled with Thieves, Tories, Robbers, and Goal-birds: By which Act, as the Inſolency and Inhumanity of the Papiſts was palpably diſcovered; ſo the Modeſty, Submiſſion, and Non-Reſiſtance of the Proteſtants was evident to the World, by their patient undergoing this Martyrdom in their Fortunes. Soon after that noble Earl was removed, whoſe Adminiſtration was much diſreliſhed by the prevalent Party, becauſe ſo grateful to the Proteſtants (to accompany whoſe Departure, and to avoid the Tyranny of him that was to follow, 1500 Families deſerted *Dublin.*) To him ſucceeded the inglorious Earl of *Tyrconnel*, in his Morals an Atheiſt, in his Profeſſion a Bigot, an egregious Diſſembler, and if not a Coward, one over-careful of his own Safety; a Lover of himſelf without a Rival: From whoſe Entrance we may date the Calamities and Deſtruction of the Proteſtant Religion, and of the *Britiſh* Intereſt in *Ireland*. For having at firſt culled, and afterward quite changed the Army, metamorphoſing Mantles into Red-Coats, Brogues into Jack-Boots, and Cow-Boys into Captains, he diſperſed his helliſh Legions among all the Towns and Garriſons, where the Name of the *Iriſh* Grenadiers became as formidable as the *French* Dragoons. Next he proceeded to reform the Courts and Civil Liſt; diſplacing the Privy-Counſellors, the Judges, ſuperſeding the Juſtices of Peace, turning out the Sheriffs, and changing the Officers employed in the public Revenue; conſtituting in their Rooms the moſt inconſiderable Varlets, Men of no Honeſty, Underſtanding, or Eſtate, of no Skill in their Laws, or Intereſt in their Country. It was too ſoon for him to attack the Church, to invade the Biſhopricks, or eject the Miniſters; but in every City and great Town he erected Maſs-houſes, re-ediſy'd the Friaries, made Popiſh Coadjutors to the Chaplains of every Regiment, and let looſe a Swarm of Jeſuits and Regulars to infeſt the Land; and *Peter Manby* Dean of *Derry*, having apoſtatized from the Religion he was bred in, degraded himſelf from his Function, and degenerated into a Layman, yet obtained a Patent to

enjoy

enjoy the Revenues of the Deanery, and all vacant Biſhopricks, and other Church Dignities, were ſequeſter'd and applied to the Maintenance of the Popiſh Clergy. To complete the Cataſtrophe, a *Quo Warranto*, or a *Scire facias* was iſſued to every City and Corporation through the Kingdom, whereof ſome tamely ſubmitted to a Surrender, others were condemned upon a *Nihil dicit*; while ſuch as pleaded and defended their Right, had no other Return for their Toil and Expences, but a ſcornful Publication of a partial and illegal Sentence agreed on and determined in the Cabal, before the Hearing in the Court. A new Charter was ſent to *Londonderry*, and none made Aldermen or Burgeſſes there, but the Sons and Deſcendants of notorious rank Rebels. But leſt the Hereticks ſhould grow ſturdy, and be in a Capacity to defend themſelves againſt the next Maſſacre, a Proclamation was iſſued, requiring all the Officers of the Militia, both Horſe and Foot, forthwith to deliver in to the next Magazine all their Arms; and by this Knack, all thoſe of the Church of *England* (for no other were of the Militia) were left naked and diſarmed: Soon after the Juſtices of the Peace in the ſeveral Counties, were required to take away all Arms from ſuch as did not come to Church, and to render them into the next Stores; (and by this Trick all the Diſſenters were left utter defenceleſs.)

And now Popery began to be triumphant, the Lord Deputy and his Privy-Council (excepting a very few) the Lord Chancellor, and all the Judges, (except three) the Attorney-General and the King's Serjeants, the Juſtices of the Peace, and Sheriffs in each County (except in ſuch Places where no Papiſts were to be had) all violent and eager Promoters of the *Romiſh* Religion: The Maſs publickly celebrated in every Town; the Friars marching in their Habits undiſturbed; the Army reformed to their own Cue, no Man countenanced, or made a Candidate for any Preferment, but he that truckled to the See of *Rome*; the Charters of all Cities, Towns, and Corporations taken away, or condemned; and ignorant, indigent, ſcandalous and mean Perſons obtruded upon them. Titles to Eſtates began to be queſtioned, and ſome unrighteous Judgments given; and what elſe could be expected, when Judges, Jurors and Sheriffs were all of one Stamp? The Proteſtants were daily abuſed, and perſecuted upon ſham Plots, which never had an Exiſtence or Foundation, but in the Heads of their malicious Accuſers; and ſeveral Gentlemen were impriſoned, indicted, and tried for their Lives. And *Tyrconnel* was heard to ſay to his Countrymen (and as is reported, by Direction from his Lord and Maſter) You have now the Sword in your Hands, the King has given you your own Country to be the Refuge of Catholics, keep it now you have it, and never ſuffer the damn'd Heretics to poſſeſs it again.

In this Poſture of Affairs, was it not high Time for the Proteſtants to look about them? to conſult their Safety, and by a timely Removal, to avoid thoſe imminent Dangers that threatned them. They began indeed to be under dreadful Apprehenſions, and ſuch as wiſely foreſaw the approaching Miſeries, and were in a Capacity to do it, withdrew themſelves, their Families, and Effects, into *England* and *Scotland*; by which means ſo great an Obſtruction was made to the Circulation of Money, that there followed a general Decay of Trade through the Kingdom; the Tenants were rendered unable to pay their Rents, and the Landlords to ſubſiſt. Nevertheleſs, in all the Towns and Counties

Counties there were Multitudes, who courageouſly reſolved to abide the Brunt, and with a patient Reſignation to expect a Day of Redemption from the Slavery whereunto they were ſubjected, reſolving to follow the Fate of *England*, or hoping for ſeaſonable Relief from them. In the mean time the Prince of *Orange*, having a tender Regard to the gaſping Condition of the Proteſtant Religion, and condeſcending to aſſiſt the Nobility and Gentry of *England*, in their Reſcue from Popery, Slavery, and arbitrary Power; the Lord *Tyrconnel* publickly gave out threatning Speeches, that if the Prince did ſend any Forces thither, he would raiſe and arm all the *Iriſh* from ſixteen to ſixty, and leave all the Proteſtants to their Mercy. This proved a new and an amazing Terror to the Proteſtants; they plainly ſaw, that if any Forces came from *England*, to call the Papiſts to Account, or to ſupport them, their Lives would be made a Sacrifice to the Fury and Revenge of the Enemy; and that if none came to their Aſſiſtance. they remained hourly expoſed to Rapine, Maſſacre and Murder; this terrible two-edged Conſideration took ſuch Impreſſion on them, that Abundance of Men, Women and Children withdrew themſelves, and abandoned the Kingdom.

But about the Beginning of *December* laſt a Letter was found, without a Subſcription, directed to the Earl of *Mont-Alexander*, giving him a friendly Warning to take heed to himſelf, and poſitively averring a determinate Deſign to maſſacre all the Proteſtants through the Kingdom, Man, Woman and Child, and this to be perpetrated preciſely on the Ninth of *December*. Copies of this Letter were immediately tranſmitted to *Dublin*, and diſperſed in all the adjacent Counties; and it is as incredible to comprehend, as it is impoſſible to expreſs, what Operation this had on the Minds of all People, who being either Eye-Witneſſes of the horrid Cruelties committed by the *Iriſh* in the laſt Rebellion, without the leaſt relenting Compaſſion to Age or Sex; or having received an indelible Impreſſion of their barbarous Actions, from ſuch as were Sufferers or Spectators of them; they could by no Conſideration or Arguments be rally'd into any Aſſurance, or be perſuaded to adventure their Safety under an armed Power, or continue among thoſe, whoſe Principles diſpoſe them to the utter Extirpation of ſuch as they account Heretics. Hereupon a vaſt Number of People in great Precipitation removed into *England* with their Families (eſpecially from about *Dublin*) leaving their Goods and Houſhold-Stuff behind them. With ſome it had a contrary Effect, and generally thorough the Province of *Ulſter*, the Inhabitants whereof began upon this Alarm to ſtand upon their Guard, and to keep ſtrong Wards and Watches, reſolving neither to fly nor be ſurpriſed; though many Things (not known in other Parts) contributed to their Conviction of the Reality of the intended Maſſacre; as the voluntary Confeſſions of certain Prieſts in the County of *Donegal*, who warned their Friends ſecretly to depart, becauſe there was a general Maſſacre deſigned; that the Prieſts were againſt it, but had been over-voted by the Friars. The Evidence given to a Juſtice of the Peace in the County of *Londonderry*, that one of their titular Deans was buying up Horſes and Arms, and had declared that within two or three Years paſt he had laid out 500 *l.* in buying Arms, and that he had beſpoke as many Iron Chains to be Reins for Bridles, as would ſerve ſixty Horſe (one of which Chains five Yards long was delivered to the

ſaid

ſaid Juſtice by the Smith that made it.) The Words ſpoken by Father *Daly*, Guardian of the Friary at *Armagh*, who (when he heard that the Prince of *Orange* was to land in *England*) ſaid publickly, That they might thank their Devil of a King for this, for if he had deſtroyed all the Proteſtants when it was in his Power, they had not now called in the *Dutch*. But above all, the Attempt of the Papiſts to poſſeſs *Londonderry*, at that very Nick of Time, turned the Suſpicion into a confident Perſuaſion of the Truth of what was reported. *Londonderry* was then (by the Mercy of God, and the Improvidence of the Deputy) without any Garriſon at all in it, the Soldiers being a little before tranſported upon the Expedition into *England*; and it falling ſo out, that upon the very Day when a Copy of the above-mentioned Letter was ſent to that City, (namely, the 7th of *December*) the Earl of *Antrim*, with a numerous Party of *Highlanders* and *Iriſh*, was on his March to poſſeſs and command that Place; the Inhabitants looked upon the Advance of ſo many Papiſts on the 7th Day, to be the Prologue to the Tragedy, intended to be acted on the 9th Day, and judging, that if they were once admitted, all the *Ulſter* and *Conaght Iriſh* might draw thither, and from thence diffuſe themſelves through the Province, and with great Facility exterminate all the Proteſtants, they (by Advice of a Gentleman in the Neighbourhood) ſhut their Gates and kept them out, and by his Conduct defended the Place, till a Proteſtant Garriſon was ſettled in it.

And now the Deputy began to exert his Art, as before he had manifeſted his tyrannical and uſurped Authority; for, conſidering that *Londonderry* was out of the Papiſts Hands, and that the Proteſtants in *Ulſter* were very numerous, he began to cajole and flatter them, for he ſecretly gave out Commiſſions for raiſing thirty Regiments; and having circumvented the Lord *Mountjoy* with ſpecious Pretences of Moderation and Peace, and prevailed with him to go on a Mock Embaſſy to King *James*, then in *France*, he condeſcended to certain Articles, which carried a Shew of Mildneſs and Equity, but really were only a Maſk to cover his Deſigns, and to amuſe the People; and they were to this Effect: 1*ſt*. That no more Forces ſhould be raiſed, nor more Arms delivered out of the Stores. 2*dly*. That the new Levies ſhould be diſmiſſed. 3*dly*. That no Forces ſhould be ſent into *Ulſter*. 4*thly*. That no Nobleman, or Gentleman's Houſe, ſhould be made a Garriſon againſt his Will. Which Stipulations the Deputy heartily ſwore to, and aſſured by many direful Imprecations. No ſooner was the Lord *Montjoy* gone (who was made the Meſſenger of his own Fate, and carried *Bellerophon*'s Letters with him) but the Deputy proceeded to form a new Army, and gave out Commiſſions for many Regiments of Horſe, Dragoons and Foot, to the Number of forty thouſand Men, without any other Warrant than a bare Letter from his King, emptied all the Stores and Magazines, and furniſhed the Soldiers with competent Arms, encouraging the Women and Boys, and the whole Rabble of People, to provide Skenes and Half-Pikes, and to live upon the Plunder of the Proteſtants; and having no Pay to give among the new Levies, each Captain undertook to give Subſiſtence to his Men in Beef and Meal for three Months; and this they borrowed from the Proteſtants, daily robbing them at Noon Day, and carrying away their Sheep and Cattle in Flocks and Droves. And when he had raiſed a formidable Army, and very well knew how naked and defenceleſs the Proteſtants were (having

ving twice before diſarmed them) he began palpably to diſcover how exact and punctual an Obſerver he intended to be of his Oaths and Promiſes; and by the following Letters from *Dublin*, you may ſee how he began to handle thoſe that were in his Clutches.

SIR,

DUBLIN is ſurrounded for thirty Miles about, with Popiſh Forces newly raiſed, and ſome of the Standing Army; all the Avenues to it are ſtopt and guarded: So that it is not poſſible to move, or travel five Miles, without being ſtopt and examined, and for the moſt part diſarmed, diſmounted, and pillaged. The City is filled with Soldiers, Troopers, and Dragoons, to the Number of 30,000. Theſe are quartered upon private Houſes, as well as publick, and more expected daily. Moſt Proteſtants within forty Miles of *Dublin* are pillaged, robbed, and diſarmed; the Trees and Plantations cut down, and themſelves expoſed to the Mercy of Tories, Robbers, and Servants, who are now enliſted in the Army. We believe they are ſo every where elſe, but cannot have an Account, becauſe all Letters are opened, examined, and ſtopt, that bring any Intelligence (by the Government) that does not pleaſe the Papiſts; only by Chance we hear from ſome Places, and find they are uſed like thoſe nearer.

There is no Trade, Buſineſs, or Money ſtirring in *Dublin*, but every body expoſed to the Mercy and Inſolence of Soldiers; and when Complaint is made to the Government, there is no Redreſs or Help; all the Forces raiſed, have no Money, nor a Poſſibility of being paid, and therefore muſt be left to do as they do all at preſent, to plunder and pillage whom they pleaſe; when they have done in the Country, and deſtroyed all, as they have very near done already, they will then fall a plundering the City, which we daily fear and expect. By Order of the Lord Deputy, the County of *Meath*, and *Weſt-Meath*, are diſarmed, and their Horſes taken from them: They are doing the ſame in the County of *Dublin*.

They have marked all the Stables in *Dublin*, and can take all their Horſes in an Hour; and it's hourly expected, that they ſhould diſarm every Proteſtant, which they will certainly do when they are a little ſtronger.

They are daily baking Biſcuit in the Caſtle for the March of an Army; they have provided, as it is ſaid, Field Pieces: As ſoon as they have diſarmed *Dublin*, it is like they will march into the North, to ſubdue the Proteſtants there. They in Probability intend to ſurprize them, and in order thereunto take up all Horſes, without Regard to whom they belong; nay, they threaten not to leave ſo much as a Hackney; by which Means they may be able to ſet 10,000 Men on Horſeback, and march as far as *Armagh* or *Newry* in two or three Days. They ſtop all Intercourſes with the North, both by Sea and Land; and hope to come on them unawares. It is therefore neceſſary for the Proteſtants in the North, to be ready at a Day's Warning to receive them; to guard well all the Paſſes of the Mountains, and fortify them as well as they can; to make ready Proviſion of Meal and Ammunition for the Field; and if no Ammunition be come to them, to ſend Ships immediately, and Money to bring it, otherwiſe they may be upon them.

The

The Popiſh Army will have the whole Country, from *Armagh* to *Dublin* to ſupply them; and they can have Ammunition and Proviſion come to them when they pleaſe, and will not ſtay for them, only ſo much as may be for preſent Uſe.

They are bringing Gentlemen into Plots, and trying them upon Popiſh Oaths, by Popiſh Judges and Juries; ſo they have ſerved Captain *Philips* of *Mullingar*, and Mr. *Bowen* the Collector, who are to be tried next Week at *Mullingar*, and will probably be found guilty and executed. This will only be a leading Example to try and condemn other Gentlemen.

Every body able to remove, is going from hence; there is no body to head the Proteſtants if there ſhould be occaſion. There are Warrants againſt moſt of the conſiderable Men. People are ſo intermixed, and ſo near the Government, that they dare not ſo much as meet, much leſs diſcourſe any thing appertaining to the common Safety. If therefore the Proteſtants have no Help from Abroad, their Ruin is unavoidable.

Feb. 22, 1688.

SIR,

ALL the Streets in *Dublin* are beſet with ſixteen thouſand Men, all their Houſes are ſearched by Dragoons, and all their Horſes taken; the Lord Mayor and Aldermen went this Day through the City, commanding all Proteſtants, by four of the Clock, to bring in their Arms to their Pariſh Church; and if they left ſo much as a Bayonet, not brought in, if upon Search any were found, that Houſe ſhould be expoſed to the Mercy of the Soldiers.

Dated Feb. *the 25th*, 1688.

The Proteſtants in *Ulſter* taking Notice of theſe Proceedings, and truly judging, that their Deſtruction was approaching, and that they could only expect *Ulyſſes*'s Fate, to be laſt devoured, they began to rouze themſelves into ſome Preparations to oppoſe a ſudden Surprize, and with ſtout Hearts (but weak Hands) to aſſemble, and ſtand upon their Guard; and in the Eaſtern Counties of *Down* and *Antrim* to form an Aſſociation to raiſe Troops and Companies to ſecure the Frontiers, and to prevent the Incurſions of the Enemy. But as their Preparations were haſty, and no way competent to their Neceſſity; ſo their Retreat was as precipitate, and diſſonant from their Reſolutions. The Deputy having got together a vaſt Army, the Proteſtants in *Dublin* and the adjacent Counties being diſarmed and diſmounted; thoſe in *Munſter* and *Conaght* plundered and pillaged of all their Goods, Horſes, Sheep and Cattle; he ſent down a Body of fifteen thouſand Men into *Ulſter* under the Command of *Richard Hamilton*, whom he conſtituted Lieutenant-General of the Army; and (out of a Deſign, partly to terrify, and partly to delude the deſponding Proteſtants, who hitherto had kept up their Spirits in a daily Expectation of Relief from *England*) he made Uſe of a Preſbyterian Miniſter, who had a great Influence upon thoſe of his Perſuaſion (whoſe Number in the North was very conſiderable) and obliged him to write this following Letter to the Right Honourable the Lord Viſcount *Maſſareen*, a ſtrenuous Aſſertor of the Proteſtant Intereſt, and by it

the greateſt Sufferer in that Province; Copies whereof were immediately diſperſed through the ſeveral Counties.

Loghbricklan, March 9, 1688.

My Lord,

ON the 6th Inſtant I was introduced by my Lord *Granard* into my Lord Deputy's Preſence in the Caſtle of *Dublin:* I have his Paſs to come and go through and back from *Ulſter*; and though I have not his Excellency's direct Commiſſion, yet I will aſſure you I am at leaſt permitted by the Lord Deputy, to acquaint the Chief, and others of thoſe of the *Ulſter* Aſſociation, with his Diſcourſe to me, which was to the Effect following, to wit,

Firſt, That his Excellency doth not delight in the Blood and Devaſtation of the ſaid Province: But however highly reſents their taking and continuing in Arms, the Affronts done by them to His Majeſty's Government thereby, and by ſome Indignities done to the late Proclamation of Clemency iſſued and dated ——

Secondly, Notwithſtanding whereof, is willing to receive the ſaid Province into Protection, provided they immediately deliver up to his Army, for His Majeſty's Uſe, their Arms and ſerviceable Horſes, and provided they deliver up to his Excellency theſe three Perſons, *viz.* ——— ——— ——— ——— if they remain in the Kingdom, and may be had.

Thirdly, And for further Manifeſtation of his Deſign to prevent Blood, is willing to grant ſafe Conduct even to the ſaid three Perſons, or any other of their Party, to and from his Excellency, and to and from Lieutenant-General *Hamilton*, Commander of Part of his Army, hereafter mentioned, if they intend any peaceable and reaſonable Treaty: But withal will not, upon the ſaid Account, or any other, ſtop the March of the ſaid Part of his Army, no not for one Hour; and if it ſhall appear in ſuch Treaty, that they took up Arms meerly for Self-preſervation, then he will pardon even the ſaid three Perſons alſo; but is hopeleſs that any ſuch thing can be made appear, ſeeing that many of them have already accepted and received Commiſſions from the Prince of *Orange*, and diſplay his Colours in the Field, as his Excellency is credibly informed.

Fourthly, If theſe terms be not immediately agreed to, he will with a Part of his Army fight them; which Part he intends ſhall be at *Newry* on *Monday* the 11th of this inſtant; which will from thence march to *Belfaſt*, and from thence to *Coleraine* and *Londonderry*, as his Excellency intends; and that the Country *Iriſh*, not of the Army, Men, Women and Boys, now all armed with Half-pikes and Bayonets, in the Counties of *Cavan*, *Monaghan*, *Tyrone*, *Londonderry*, &c. will, upon the Approach of the ſaid Part of the Army, and Reſiſtance thereto made, immediately enter upon a Maſſacre of the *Britiſh* in the ſaid Counties; which Force and Violence of the Rabble his Excellency ſaith he cannot reſtrain, *and fears that it may be greater than in* 1641. Theſe are the Heads of what I can offer to you from his Excellency's own Mouth; but I intend to be at *Hillsborough* To-night, and there to ſtay for this Night; where, if you think fit, I ſhall fully diſcourſe with you of all the Particulars; whereof, I hope, you will give immediate Notice to all chiefly concerned in your County and Neighbourhood, for gaining of Time. I have ſent this Expreſs, that your Lordſhip may

give

give Advertiſement by Expreſs to all ſuch as your Lordſhip thinks convenient. I ſhall add no further, 'till I have the Honour to ſee your Lordſhip.

Your Lordſhip's obedient Servant,

Received the ſame Night at Antrim. Alexander Osborne.

This Letter was received at *Antrim* the ſame Night; and immediately the following Anſwer was returned, by the Earl of *Mount-Alexander*, Lord *Maſſareen*, &c.

WE declare the utter Abhorrence of the Effuſion of Blood, and that we will uſe all proper Means to avoid it, but cannot conſent to lay down our Arms, which we were forced to take up for our own Defence; nor to part with our Goods by any other than legal Means; and that we are ready to appoint Perſons to treat on each Head, as are conſiſtent with the Safety of our Religion, Lives, and Liberty.

Now to convince all Mankind, that this ſpecious Meſſage ſent by Mr. *Osborne*, dated *March* 9, 1688. (who came with all Speed from *Dublin*) was only a Sham and Deluſion plotted by the Deputy to amuſe the poor Proteſtants, and caſt a Miſt before their Eyes, that they might not ſee their approaching Deſtruction. Behold the Proclamation dated at *Dublin*, *March* 7, 1688. wherein he had decreed the Ruin of *Ulſter*, and the Exemption of ſo many Perſons from Mercy.

By the Lord Deputy and Council, March 22, 1688-9.

TYRCONNEL,

WHEREAS ſeveral Perſons in the Province of *Ulſter*, and the Town of *Sligo*, in this his Majeſty's Kingdom, have entered into ſeveral Aſſociations, containing no leſs Offence than High Treaſon; and thereupon form'd themſelves into ſeveral Parties, dividing and marſhalling themſelves into ſeveral Regiments, Troops and Companies, marching well-armed up and down the Country, to the great Terror of the King's Liege People, in manifeſt Breach of the Law, and of the Peace of this Realm: And having reſolved within ourſelves to prevent the Effuſion of Blood, as long as it was poſſible, by uſing all peaceable Means to reduce the ſaid Maleſactors to their Obedience, have of late iſſued a Proclamation, ſetting forth the ſaid Diſorders, requiring all the ſaid Parties to diſperſe, and repair to their ſeveral Habitations and Callings, aſſuring every of them his Majeſty's Pardon and Protection. And whereas we find the ſaid Offenders, inſtead of complying with our ſaid Proclamation, ſtill to perſiſt in their Wickedneſs, by continuing in actual Rebellion, breaking of Priſons, and diſcharging of Priſoners, ſecured by due Courſe of Law, for Robberies, Felonies, and other heinous Crimes; by ſeizing upon his Majeſty's Arms and Ammunition, impriſoning ſeveral of his Majeſty's Army, diſarming and diſmounting them, killing and murdering ſeveral of Majeſty's Subjects, pillaging and plundering the Country, and daily com-

committing ſeveral other Acts of Hoſtility; and finding no other Way left to ſuppreſs the ſaid Rebellion, We the Lord Deputy have cauſed a Party of his Majeſty's Army, under the Command of Lieutenant-General *Richard Hamilton*, to march into the Province of *Ulſter*, to reduce the Rebels there by Force of Arms; the Conſequence whereof cannot but be very fatal to that Country, and the Inhabitants thereof, and will inevitably occaſion the total Ruin and Deſtruction of that Part of his Majeſty's Kingdom: The Conſideration whereof hath given us great Diſquiet and Trouble of Mind; that a Country; well-planted and inhabited ſhould now, by the Inſolency and traiterous Wickedneſs of its own Inhabitants, be brought to Ruin or Deſolation, which we are ſtill willing to prevent, if any Spark of Grace be yet remaining in the Hearts of thoſe Conſpirators, hereby declaring, notwithſtanding the many Affronts by them put upon his Majeſty's Government, notwithſtanding the ſeveral Acts of Hoſtility by them hitherto committed, that if they will now ſubmit and become dutiful Subjects, his Majeſty's Mercy ſhall be extended to them, excepting the Perſons hereafter excepted; and in Order thereto, We the Lord Deputy and Council do ſtrictly charge and command all ſuch Perſons in Arms in *Ulſter*, or the Town of *Sligo*, forthwith to lay down Arms, and that the principal Perſons amongſt them now in the *North*, do forthwith repair to Lieutenant-General *Richard Hamilton*, and deliver up to him their Arms, and ſerviceable Horſes, and to give him Hoſtages as an Aſſurance of their future Loyalty and Obedience to his Majeſty, and that all their Adherents do deliver up their Arms and ſerviceable Horſes to ſuch Perſon, or Perſons as he the ſaid Lieutenant-General *Richard Hamilton* ſhall appoint to receive them. And we do alſo further charge and command all the principal Perſons of other Commotions and Inſurrections in *Sligo*, to repair forthwith either to us the Lord Deputy, or to Colonel *M'Daniel* at the *Boyle*, and deliver up their Arms and ſerviceable Horſes, and to give Hoſtages as Security for their future peaceable Deportment, and their Adherents to lay down their Arms to be delivered up, together with their ſerviceable Horſes, to the ſaid Col. *M'Daniel*. We the Lord Deputy hereby giving ſafe Conduct to ſuch of them as will ſubmit according to this our Proclamation. And we do hereby further declare, that ſuch of the ſaid Perſons as ſhall give Obedience to theſe our Commands, except the Perſons hereafter excepted, ſhall have his Majeſty's Protection and Pardon for all paſt Offences relating to the ſaid Commotions and Inſurrections: but in caſe they ſhall be ſo unhappy as to perſiſt in their wicked Deſigns and treaſonable Practices, We the Lord Deputy do hereby command all his Majeſty's Forces to fall upon them whereever they meet them, and to treat them as Rebels and Traitors to his Majeſty. Yet to the End the Innocent may not ſuffer for the Crimes of the Nocent, and that the Committals of human Acts may be prevented, we do hereby ſtrictly charge and command his Majeſty's Army, now upon their March to the *North*, and all other his Majeſty's Forces, that they, or either of them do not preſume to uſe any Violence to Women, Children, aged or decrepid Men, Labourers, Plowmen, Tillers of the Ground, or to any other who in theſe Commotions demean themſelves inoffenſively, without joining with the Rebels, or aiding or aſſiſting them in their traiterous Actings and Behaviours. But in regard *Hugh* Earl *Mount Alexander*, *John* Lord Viſcount *Mazareen*, *Robert* Lord

Lord Baron of *Kingſton*, *Clotworthy Sherington*, Eſq; Son to the Lord Viſcount *Maſſareen*, Sir *Robert Colvil*, Sir *Arthur Rowden*, Sir *John Magill*, *John Hawkins*, *Robert Sanderſon*, and *Francis Hamilton*, Son to Sir *Charles Hamilton*, have been the principal Actors in the ſaid Rebellion, and the Perſons who adviſed and fomented the ſame, and inveigled others to be involved therein: We think fit to except them out of this our Proclamation, as Perſons not deſerving his Majeſty's Mercy or Favour.

Given at the Council-Chamber of Dublin, March 7, 1688.

A Fytton, C. Granard, Limerick, Bellew, Will. Talbot, Tho. Newcomen, Rich. Hamilton, Fran. Plowden.

The Deputy (who 'till now had never kept Faith, Truce, or Promiſe, was ſtrict and punctual to his Word; for he ſent down his Army at the Time, and to the Place appointed, meeting with no Reſiſtance (the Proteſtants being unprovided of Arms and Ammunition, and not able ſo ſuddenly to imbody themſelves, or ſtem the Torrent that was ready to overwhelm them) but what was made by Sir *Arthur Rowden*, who at the head of 200 Horſe, gallantly oppoſed them; till finding it impoſſible to diſpute the Paſſage of ſo great an Army by ſo inconſiderable a Force, he made a haſty, but honourable Retreat, with the Loſs of a very few Men: and being met by ſome Companies of Foot, who were marching on (but too late and too ſlowly) to ſecond him, they alſo retreated, but in ſome Diſorder; which being obſerved by the Inhabitants of *Lisburn*, they began immediately to fly toward *Antrim*, the People of which Place being ſtruck with Amazement at ſo unexpected an Adventure, betook themſelves to Flight alſo, and ſo rolling on from one Town to another, the Country was univerſally ſeized with a panic Fear and Conſternation, hurrying their Wives and Children toward the Sea-Coaſt, leaving their Goods in their Houſes, their Stock in the Fields, and taking no Care, but to preſerve their Lives. In this Confuſion and Fright the poor Souls fled to *Londonderry* and would have gone further, if the Sea had not ſtopt them. To take upon me to deſcribe the Horror of this Revolution, the moſt deplorable State of the People, the Miſery, Poverty and Diſtreſs of many Thouſand good Families, and the utter Deſolation of a moſt fruitful and well-peopled Country, would engage me in a Taſk which no Pen can ſufficiently expreſs, nor no Art render credible, or intelligible. Let it ſuffice that I tell you in a Word, there is not this Day a Proteſtant in the Kingdom of *Ireland* that has a Gun to defend him, a Horſe to carry him, a Houſe to ſhelter him, or Stock to ſuſtain him; except ſuch as have been deluded, or (miſſing of timely Eſcape) neceſſitated to accept of Protections (which will avail the unfortunate Compilers no longer, than 'till the *Iriſh* become Maſters of the whole) or elſe ſuch as are confined within the Walls of *Londonderry*, who by extraordinary Courage, whetted by Deſpair, have reſiſted a powerful Army (grown inſolent by an uninterrupted Succeſs) to the Aſtoniſhment of the Beſiegers, and the Shame of thoſe that deſerted them. And leſt any Proteſtant ſhould continue Maſter of his own Houſe, or evade an open Compliance with the Papiſts, they found a Device to reduce them to the Misfortune of this Dilemma, either to ſurrender all they had:

had to the mercileſs Invaders, or be proſecuted as Rebels for making Reſiſtance (which unchriſtian Courſe they had before practiſed through the Province of *Munſter*) to which Purpoſe they ſent ſummonitory Letters to the Proprietors, in one Line threatning, and in another wheedling, and ſo puzzling them with a fatal Irreſolution, 'till either by open Aſſault, or by the cloſe Mine of a Protection, they became Maſters of their Wiſhes: I will give you only one for Inſtance, ſent by Colonel *Gordon O Neil*, Son of that Arch-Rebel Sir *Phelim O Neil*.

BY Virtue of an Order granted to me by *Richard Hamilton*, Eſq; Lieutenant-General of his Majeſty's Forces in the Province of *Ulſter*, to grant Protections to all ſuch as will ſubmit themſelves and lay down their Arms, and peaceably live in their own Dwellings.

Theſe are therefore, in his Majeſty's Name, to require all Perſons, ſo inclined, to come in to me, and they ſhall be protected in Body and Goods.

I do hereby ſummons the Garriſons of *Dauſon's-Bridge* and *Maghrefelt* to lay down their Arms, or then to be proceeded againſt as Rebels to his Majeſty, and to be proſecuted accordingly.

Given under my Hand at Duneen, *this 21ſt of March*, 1688.

Gordon O Neil.

I had almoſt forgot to take notice to you how craftily and treacherouſly the Lord *Tyrconnel* proceeded during theſe Tranſactions. For pretending to ſtand in dread of an Invaſion from *England*, (though by the Sequel it is more than probable he had better Intelligence from thence) he over-awed and conſtrained ſome conſiderable Perſons to abuſe the Miniſters of State with a falſe Repreſentation; others he plainly threatened, that if they did not write to their Friends in *England*, to diſſuade them from ſending over any Forces, he would expoſe the Proteſtants, without Mercy or Diſtinction to the Fury of the Soldiers, and the Mercy of the Rabble. And as for the ingenious Conceit of the Protections, it has proved a meer Cheat, and a Trap to enſnare credulous People; I will give you one for a Precedent,

I Richard Hamilton, *Lieutenant General of his Majeſty's Forces in* Ulſter, *do hereby receive into his Majeſty's Protection, the Body and Goods of* James Hunter, *of* Bullymenagh, *in the County of* Antrim, *Yeoman*; *and do promiſe and oblige myſelf, that none of the Army ſhall moleſt, or hurt him, or take any thing from him.*

Given under my Hand, at the Camp, March *the twenty-ſeventh*, 1689.

Richard Hamilton.

The poor protected Man being thus noos'd, returns to his Houſe and follows his Labour; but anon down comes the Rabble, like an Inundation of *Goths* and *Vandals*, ſweep all before them, and leave nothing behind them but a naked, ſtarved Family: The wretched Man makes his Addreſs to his Protector, and receives only this cold Comfort, *I did promiſe to protect you from the Army, that none of them ſhould offer you any Violence*; *but I have no Power to reſtrain the Rabble.*

Let us now reflect upon what has been ſaid, and briefly recapitulate the preſſing Exigencies, the imminent Extremities and unavoidable Dangers to which the poor Proteſtants were ſubjected: and then I will appeal to any Man of

of Senſe, that is not a biggotted Papiſt, whether they had not juſt and undeniable Reaſons to ſeek their Eſcape from the impending Perſecutions, and to take Sanctuary in *England*, *Scotland*, and the *Iſle of Man*.

When the Sword was taken from the Earl of *Clarendon*, becauſe he favoured the Proteſtants, and put into the Hands of *Tyrconnel*, becauſe he was a furious Patron of the Papiſts, was it not high time for conſiderate Men to foreſee the diſmal Conſequences, and to avoid them by a leiſurely Receſs? When the Officers of the Army were turned out and the Soldiers diſbanded, merely becauſe they were Proteſtants; when the Majority of the Privy Council, the Judges, Juſtices of the Peace, Sheriffs and all other civil Officers, were avowed and profeſſed Papiſts; when ſubtle Jeſuits, mercenary Prieſts and begging Friars ſwarm'd through the Land, and crept into all Houſes and Families, and the Idolatrous *Maſs* allowed to be ſet up in every Town; when the Corporations were ſuperſeded, and none admitted to Magiſtracy or Freedom, but the Scum of the Vulgar and the Spawn of Rebels; when the Act of Settlement began to be canvaſſed, and Men's Titles to Eſtates and Properties were proſtituted to the prejudicate Verdict of ſuch Jurors, pack'd by ſuch Sheriffs, and the partial Sentence of ſuch Judges, who all concur in accounting it a meritorious Service to weaken and deſtroy the Hereticks; was it not a raſh Madneſs for any who had Opportunity and Ability to remove themſelves, to continue under the licentious and arbitrary Humours of ſuch a Government? But when Men began to ſee how they were reduced to a Neceſſity of ſuffering, whether any Succours arrived to them from *England*, or whether they were delayed; they had no Election to make, but to contrive an Eſcape from their Cruelty, or their Revenge. When Men were every where alarmed with a Deſign of a general Inſurrection, and univerſal Maſſacre, he that was ſo hardy as to overlook this without a Concernment, muſt have an uſual Portion of Wit to conduct his Courage; for my Part, I am ſo far from wond'ring that ſo many affrighted Perſons ſhould prefer an incommodious and inſecure Paſſage by Sea, to ſo hazardous and terrible an abiding upon Land, that I do admire the inſenſible Stupidity of thoſe who ſtayed behind. And now the Deputy having added 40,000 new-rais'd Men to the Standing Army, 50,000 of the Rabble being furniſhed with Skeens and Half-Pikes, animated and ſecretly ſworn by the Prieſts to extirpate all Proteſtants, making it a national, as well as a religious Quarrel (as appears by the Motto in their Standard ſet up in the Caſtle of *Dublin*, *Now or never*, *Now and for ever*) the Proteſtants in *Munſter* and *Conaght* turned out of their Houſes, deſpoiled of their Goods, and plundered of their Cattle; all Arms and Horſes taken from thoſe in *Dublin* and *Lemſter*: a powerful and inraged Army falling into the Bowels of *Ulſter*, ravaging without Check, or Controul, the naked, ſtript, and unarmed People flying before them to ſeek a Shelter in *Londonderry*, which could not contain the hundredth Part of thoſe that retreated to it; there was nothing to be done (to eſcape a ſudden Deſtruction by the Sword, or a lingring Death by Famine) but to fly over Sea, and preſerve Life, which was all that was left them. As for the more unfortunate Remnant of the poor Proteſtants, who being either gull'd and intrapp'd by Protections, and reſerved for Slaughter; or elſe denied a Licence to tranſport themſelves that they may indure the Miſery, and at laſt receive the Wages of Slaves and condemned Perſons (which aſſuredly

will

will happen, whenſoever the Conqueſt of this Kingdom ſhall be complete, and the Government devolved on the *French*; or perhaps ſo ſoon as an Army from *England* ſhall land there for its Reſcue) they are ſurrounded with ſuch poignant Circumſtances of Sadneſs and Sorrow that my Heart bleeds for them; and tho' I dare not truſt to the Compaſſion or Prayers of thoſe heard-hearted Men who find fault with us for coming away, yet I leave it to their Judgment to determine whether their Condition be not more deſperate and deplorable, who have ſtaid behind.

May the good People of *England* ſee, and be convinced (by the diſmal Examples of *Ireland*) what would have been their Portion, if Popery had prevail'd, and a Popiſh King continued to reign over us. May they never be deceived by that impracticable Paradox, That the *Engliſh* Nation and the Proteſtant Religion can ſubſiſt, or be in Safety, under the Adminiſtration of *Frenchmen* and the Dominion of a Papiſt.

I have now wearied your Patience, and eaſed my own Thoughts. It ſhall be your Fault, if I be not always,

SIR,

May 27 1689. *Your moſt humble Servant*,

A Journal of the Proceedings of the Pretended Parliament in *Dublin* from the 7th to the 20th of this Inſtant *May*; A Breviate of the late King's Speech; and the Speaker's Repeal of the Act of Settlement, and taking away the King's Supremacies, with the Names of the Proteſtant Lords Spiritual and temporal Sitting in Parliament.

ON *Tueſday* the 7th of *May* the Parliament aſſembled according to the Return of the Writs, at the Inns in *Dublin*, the late King being preſent with his Crown and Robes, attended by twenty-two Peers, Four of which were ſpiritual Lords *Proteſtants*, viz.

Dr. *Dobbin*, Biſhop of *Meath*,
Dr. *Wittenhal*, Biſhop of *Cork*,
Dr. ———, Biſhop of *Limerick*,
Dr. ———, Biſhop of *Oſſory*.

And of the temporal Lords there were only four *Proteſtants*, viz.

Earl of *Granard*,
Lord *Longford*,
Lord *Howth*, and
Earl of *Kingſale*.

The

The late King made a Speech, in which he assured them he would consent to the enacting of such Laws as should relieve them which were prejudiced by the late Act of Settlement. Which done, the Commons proceeded to the Election of their Speaker, who after half an Hours Conference chose Sir *Richard Nagle*, who in Behalf of the Commons craved the four usual Petitions, which granted, the House adjourned 'till the morrow.

Wednesday the 8*th*, The Lords passed the Bill of Recognition of the late King's Right. The Ninth was *Assention* Day.

Friday the 10*th*, The Commons passed the Recognition Bill; on the same Day Sir *Ulic Burke* brought into the House of Commons a Bill for the repealing the Acts of Settlement and Explanation; which the House received with an Huzza, and then read a first and second Time, and ordered it to be committed.

The same Day some moved thereupon in the House, that nothing could be more advantageous to the King and Country than to destroy the horrid and barbarous Act of Settlement, as they was pleased to call it; and whoever should alledge the contrary shall be deemed an Enemy to both; 'twas moved by another Member, that the Act of Settlement ought to be burnt by the common Hangman.

Saturday the 11th, The late King gave his Assent to the Bill of Recognition, and adjourned 'till *Monday*.

Monday the 13*th*, A Bill with some Limitations was read in the House of Lords, abridging the Bill sent from the Commons for repealing the Act of Settlement, and only giving the old Proprietor a Moiety.

Tuesday the 14*th*, A Bill passed the House of Commons, impowering the King to dispose of all Patent-Offices in Possession or Reversion, after the 20th Day of *May* instant; and another Bill to bar all Writs of Error and Appeals to *England*, asserting that no Law of *England* can bind that Kingdom; both which Bills were sent up to the House of Lords.

Wednesday the 15*th*, A Bill was read in the House of Commons for repealing *Poyning*'s Law, and also another Bill for giving the King 15000 *l.* a Month for one Year, to be levied on the Tenements, but to be allowed them in their Rents by their Landlords without regard to previous Courtails.

Thursday the 16*th*, A Bill was brought in by the House of Commons for taking away the King's Supremacies in Ecclesiasticks, and abrogating all penal Laws against Papists: In the House of Commons there are only five Protestant Members, viz. Sir *John Made*, *Joseph Coghlan*, Sir *Thomas Crosby*, *Arthur* ———, *Jeremy Douovan*, Esq;

The same Day it was moved in the House of Lords, that all Absenters Lands should go towards Reprisals.

The King since the Session of Parliament has created the Lord Chancellor Chief Justice *Nugent*, Lord General, Mr. *Carty*, Sir *Valentine Braone*, Colonel *Luttrell*, Colonel *Sarsfield*, and about fourteen more, Lords. The Act for seizing most of the Absenters Estates is since passed, and is so strictly put in Execution, that the Shops of poor Huckster-Women whose Husbands are in *England* are daily plundered, which makes *Dublin* ring with the Cries of the poor.

A Debate upon the Quære, whether A King elected and declared by the Lords ſpiritual and temporal, and Commons aſſembled at *Weſtminſter* 22d of *January*, 1688, coming to and conſulting with the ſaid Lords and Commons, doth not make as compleat a Parliament, and legiſlative Power and Authority, to all Intents and Purpoſes, as if the ſaid King ſhould cauſe a new Summons to be given and new Elections to be made by Writs.

THAT the higheſt and ſupreme Court of this Nation (according to its ancient Conſtitution) is the Parliament, I need not now labour to make out; the preſent Buſineſs being to find out and diſcover the ſubſtantial and real Parts of a Parliament, for thereby ſhall we be ſatisfied touching the Queſtion in Hand.

A Parliament (as Sir *Edward Coke*, in his Juriſdiction of Courts, *fol.* 1. tells us,) conſiſts of the King's Majeſty (ſitting there as in his politick Capacity) and of the three Eſtates of this Realm (that is to ſay) 1ſt, the Lords ſpiritual, as Archbiſhops and Biſhops: 2dly, the Lords Temporal, as Dukes, Marquiſſes, Earls, Viſcounts and Barons: 3dly, the Commons of the Realm, (that is) Knights of Shires, Citizens and Burgeſſes.

As to the Lords both ſpiritual and temporal, Sir *Edward Coke* in the ſame Place tells us, that every one of them being of full Age when a Parliament is to be held, ought of right to have a Writ of Summons to come to that Parliament. As to the Commons, he ſays they are reſpectively elected by the Shires or Counties, Cities and Boroughs by Force of the King's Writs. *Crompton*, in his Juriſdiction of Courts *fol.* 1. ſays, the high Court of Parliament is the higheſt Court in *England*, wherein the King himſelf ſits in Perſon; and comes thither at the Beginning of the Parliament, and at the End thereof, and at any other Time when it pleaſeth him during the Parliament.

To this Court come all the Lords of Parliament, as well ſpiritual as temporal, and are ſeverally ſummoned thither by the King's Writ.

There is a Writ alſo ſent to every Sheriff of *England* and *Wales*, to elect Knights for Parliament, *&c.* ſaith that Author.

But the Lords and Commons aſſembled at *Weſtminſter* 22d of *January* 88. were not ſummoned thither by the King's Writ, and therefore, as is objected, though the King afterwards comes to them, yet ſuch King, Lords and Commons cannot be a Parliament.

In anſwer to which, and to demonſtrate whether upon the King's coming to and conſulting with them, the King and them make a Parliament, I muſt premiſe

premiſe that in extraordinary Caſes, ſuch as of which there is no direct Example, we muſt take our Directions from the Reſolutions and Practices in ſuch Caſes as come neareſt and are moſt like to them; and by Conſequences from thence make our Reſolutions as may be moſt agreeable to Reaſon.

It is generally admitted, that in an hereditary Kingdom, if the King ſhould die without any Heir either lineal or collateral, the Crown in that Caſe would devolve, or as it were eſcheate to the whole People and Nation; and that hereupon the Eſtates and Repreſentatives of ſuch a Nation may diſpoſe of the Crown to whom they pleaſe, or quite alter and change the Government into what Form they think fit.

This hath been frequently adjudged and practiced, one Inſtance whereof was in the Emperor *Charles the Groſs*, who dying without any Heir, the Kingdoms which were under him did ſeverally chuſe themſelves Kings: *France* choſe *Charles the Simple:* In *Italy* ſome choſe *Berengarius*, and ſome *Guido*; and the *Germans* choſe *Arnolph* Duke of *Bavaria* for their Emperor. *Ferdinand* King of *Portugal* dying without lawful Heir, the Eſtates of that Kingdom aſſembled themſelves at *Goimbre*, and elected *John* the late King's Baſtard for their King, and in their Decree of Election it is recited, that King *Ferdinand* died without any lawful Iſſue or Kindred, whereby according to the Law of Nations, it was lawful for them to chuſe who they pleaſed for their King or Governor.

In like Manner, it is where a King doth abandon, forſake or deſert his Government, by going out or flying out of his Kingdom without appointing any Guardian to protect and take Care of his People in his Abſence, whereby the Throne is become vacant; in ſuch a Caſe, the Eſtates of ſuch a People may appoint another King or Governor.

And to come cloſe to our preſent Caſe; King *James* the Second, whether out of Fear, or for what other Reaſon it is not material, but away he goes or rather flies out of his Kingdom; abandons, forſakes and leaves his People unguarded and undefended, at the Mercy of a foreign Army, even in the Heart of the Country; without ſo much as leaving a Guardian or Great Seal behind him: His great Officers and Miniſters of State flying ſome one Way and ſome another. What could then be done but was then done? *viz.* Several of the Lords ſpiritual and temporal, many of the Knights, Citizens and Burgeſſes of a former Parliament; the Aldermen and divers Common Council of our capital City of *London*, addreſſed themſelves to his Highneſs the Prince of *Orange*, deſired him to take upon him the Adminiſtration of public Affairs both civil and military, for the Preſervation of our Religion, Rights, Laws, Liberties and Properties, and of the Peace of the Nation, until the then intended Convention of the three Eſtates or great Council of the Realm: they alſo deſired his Highneſs to ſend Letters ſubſcribed by himſelf to the Lords ſpiritual and temporal that were Proteſtants to meet on the ſaid 22d of *January*, at *Weſtminſter*, the Summons to Parliament being always omitted to known Popiſh Lords ſince the Teſt-Act. And they deſired his Highneſs to ſend the like Letters to the ſeveral Shires, Counties, Univerſities, Cities, Boroughs and Cinque Ports of the Nation, for electing of ſuch Number of Perſons to repreſent them, and to meet on the ſaid 22d of *January*, for the Purpoſes aforeſaid, as of right

were to be ſent to Parliaments, with Directions that ſuch Elections ſhould be made by ſuch Perſons only as according to the ancient Cuſtom and Laws, of Right ought to chuſe Members for Parliament: And accordingly ſuch Letters were ſent, and due Notice given, and Elections accordingly were made, and the ſaid Lords ſpiritual and temporal, and the Knights, Citizens and Burgeſſes ſo elected met on the ſaid 22d of *January*: And after mature and deliberate Conſideration, they Reſolved, *That the Prince and Princeſs of* Orange *ſhould be King and Queen of* England, &c. *for their natural Lives and Life of the longer Liver of them, and that the ſole and full Exerciſe of the regal Power be in the Prince only, in the Name of both.*

Now after the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange* are proclaimed King and Queen of *England* as aforeſaid, and he comes and conſults with the three Eſtates ſo aſſembled, I would fain know what is wanting in that Aſſembly to make them a full and complete Parliament; or what can be had more than is in this Convention of King, Lords and Commons, if the ſaid King ſhould iſſue out Writs for calling a new Parliament? Certainly nothing more can be had material to the Eſſence of a Parliament.

If the ſubſtantial Parts of a Parliament be, and conſiſt of an Aſſembly or Convention or Meeting together of the King and the three Eſtates, as I have ſhewed that it is out of the beſt Authorities we have, the Difference of the Lords and Commons being call'd by Writ or by Letter is nothing material ſince both Writ and Letter are to the ſame Effect; and in ſome ancient Records it is mentioned that Parliaments ſhould be ſummoned by Letters, particularly in King *John*'s great Charter in the 17th Year of his Reign, he promiſes to ſummon the Biſhops, Abbots, Earls, &c. *per Literas noſtras* by our Letters. *Orig. Jud.* 17.

The Prince of *Orange*'s not being King at the time of his ſending forth his Letters matters not, for he was the Perſon to whom the Adminiſtration of the Government was then committed.

It is evident, that in many Parliaments it was not ſo material how the King Lords and Commons came together, as that they were together.

I dare appeal to any Man, if the Manner of calling together the three Eſtates of the Realm by the Prince of *Orange*'s Letters was not a much fairer Proceeding, conſidering the State of Affairs, as to the calling of them together then, was in ſeveral Caſes wherein they were never doubted, to be a Parliament when joined with a King. I ſhall inſtance only a few of many that might be named.

Edward the Second being impriſoned by his Queen, Son and Nobles, they iſſue forth Writs in the impriſoned King's Name to ſummon the Lords, and to chuſe Knights, Citizens and Burgeſſes to meet at *Weſtminſter* 16th of *Jan.* 1325. This one would think was pretty hard, and an abſolute Force upon the King by making uſe of his Name againſt his Will, ſo that it could not be ſaid to be his Act; yet the Lords and Commons being met, they depoſed *Edward* the Second, and declared his Son *Edward* King, and this new King, and the Lords and Commons, ſo (as I may ſay) irregularly convened together, made ſeveral Acts of Parliament, and have been ever ſince adjudged a good Parliament to all Intents and Purpoſes without any ſubſequent Act of Confirmation.

In

In like Manner *Rich.* II. being taken Priſoner by *Henry* Duke of *Lancaſter*, the Duke iſſues forth Writs in the King's Name (the King then in Priſon) to ſummon the Lords and to elect Repreſentatives for the People, to meet at *Weſtminſter* 13 of *Sept.* 1399. Theſe being met by this irregular Summons they depoſe *Richard* the 2d, and declare the Duke of *Lancaſter* King; and that the new King, and the Lords and Commons ſo irregularly convened, being joined together, were and are to this Day adjudged, deemed and taken to be a good Parliament to all Intents and Purpoſes, without any Act of Confirmation by any ſubſequent Parliament.

The Lords and Commons aſſembled at *Weſtminſter*, 25th of *April*, 1660, were convened by Writs in the Name of the Keepers of the Liberty of *England*, who were Uſurpers; yet when King *Charles* the Second came to them, and they received him as King, he and they together were adjudged a Parliament and they enacted that they ſhould be ſo taken, and they made many Laws, which immediately were put in Execution; and they continued as a Parliament, until 29 of *December* following, which was for above eight Months; but indeed moſt or all thoſe Acts were afterwards confirmed by a ſubſequent Parliament convened by the King's Writs in *May* 1661. but that Confirmation, according to many good Judgments, was rather to ſatisfy ſome Scrupuloſity than out of Neceſſity, moſt of the ſaid Acts having in great Meaſure had their Effects before the ſubſequent confirming Parliament began.

If upon the Prince of *Orange*'s being declared and proclaimed King he comes to the Convention of Lords and Commons aſſembled at *Weſtminſter*: If the ſame Number of Lords be ſummoned thither that of Right ought to be ſummoned to Parliament, if the ſame Number of Knights, Citizens and Burgeſſes be duly choſen, as ought to be choſen, to repreſent in Parliament, then conſequently there are all the ſubſtantial and eſſential Parts of a Parliament met together, and being ſo, where's the Neceſſity, where's the Advantage, where's the Prudence to diſſolve theſe and thereby give new Trouble of new Summons, of new Elections, loſe a great deal of Time, ſuffer irrecoverable Loſs and Damage to *Ireland* and our Allies abroad; and after all, at the next Meeting, be but where we now are, as to the eſſential Parts of a Parliament, there being nothing more to be had at any other time, but what we have already.

I can ſee no material Difference as to the making of a Parliament, whether the King come to the Lords and Commons being aſſembled together and join with them, or the King, by his Writ or Letters call them to him: and therefore I conclude, if the Prince of *Orange*, after he is declared and proclaimed King, doth come to the Lords and Commons now aſſembled at *Weſtminſter*, and adviſe with them, in that Inſtant that the King ſo comes and adviſes with them, they will be as good a Parliament as if he ſhould iſſue out new Writs of Summons, and they ſhould meet again by Force thereof.

A Relation of the Tragical End of ſome Perſons of Quality at *Paris*, who, on the 8th of this Inſtant *Auguſt*, 1689, ſuffered for their witty Zeal the ſevere Revenge of *Lewis* the moſt Chriſtian King.

ABOUT the latter End of the laſt Month three Perſons of Quality were ſeized and committed to Priſon at *Paris*, for a bold Attempt upon the Glory of *Lewis* the Great, the *French* King, eſpecially at ſuch a tickliſh Juncture of Time as this is, when prophetic Hints are very ungrateful, now his ambitious Deſigns ſeem to incline to a Period.

They were, the Baron of *Killingſang*, a *German*; with the Marquis *de Piſſentieux*, and Monſieur *de Feuillages*, both *Frenchmen*; and their Crime no leſs than the paſquinading the King out of his Title to his Crown, by comparing him with two other Competitors: The Paſquil was in two Languages, *French* and *Latin*, which for the Satisfaction of the *Engliſh* Reader, is now by an ingenious Pen tranſlated into the third; all which are here ſubjoined.

For the unpardonable Offence of being the Authors, and of having affix'd this Satyr upon the *French* King's Statue, erected by the Duke *de Feuillade* in the *Place des Victoires* at *Paris*: The three Gentlemen were ſhortly after brought to a Tryal, and after a moſt ſevere Enquiry and Examination, by Way of the moſt exquiſite Torture, two of them, to wit, the Marquis *de Piſſentieux* and the Baron of *Killingſang*, were convicted and ſentenced to Death, the third being acquitted for want of the leaſt Proof, which in that Caſe would have been ſufficient.

According to the Sentence pronounced againſt theſe two unfortunate, though well-meaning Gentlemen, they were on the 8th of this Inſtant *Auguſt* hanged in the Place where they had affronted the King in his Statue, and afterwards quartered, their Quarters being ordered to be publickly expoſed a Fortnight to the view of the People, in the Avenues of the Place, which is a Spectacle ſo nauſeous, that 'tis ſuppoſed few will be invited to gaze at it.

The Paſquil in FRENCH.

Louis, Jacques, & Guillaume
Sont trois Rois du même Royaume;
Mais avec cette diverſité,
Jacques ne l'a jamais été,
Louis en eſt toujours le Maître,
Guillaume le pourra bien être.

LATIN.

Tres modo Francorum oſtentant inſignia Reges,
Verus adhuc Princeps Ludovicus; túque Jacobe,
Qui nunquam fueras niſi ſolo nomine; ſed re
Wilhelmus tandem, ni fallant fata, futurus.

ENGLISH.

ENGLISH.

France *totters under theſe three Royal Names,*
Great Lewis, *Greater* WILLIAM, *Little* James.
Lewis *ſtill braves it, the poſſeſſing King,*
James *only can an empty Title ſing,*
For WILLIAM *Fate reſerves both Name and Thing.*

The Tranſlator's Deſcant.

How equally fooliſh are Titles and Things,
Our *James* has three Kingdoms, and *France* has three Kings.
The good People of *France* want Freedom and Bread,
And *James* his three Kingdoms are dropt from his Head.
Then he's ſurely happy, who truly can ſay,
I've no Kingdom to govern, no King to obey.

The Follies of *France*; or, A true Relation of the extravagant Rejoicings that were made by the *French* King's Command, in moſt Cities of *France*, for the pretended Death of his Majeſty (*William*, King of *Great Britain*) contained in a Letter, written from a Roman Catholick Citizen of *Paris* (by way of *Holland*) to his Correſpondent in *London*. Tranſlated from the *French* Original.

[*The preſent Letter having very fortunately fallen into my Hands, I judged it worthy to be committed to the Preſs, that all the World might be informed of thoſe exceſſive Tranſports, and other unaccountable Fopperies that were tranſacted in* France *by Order of the Court, upon the imaginary Death of King* William; *and particularly, becauſe the Author ſeems to be ſo abundantly aſſured of the Truth of all theſe Proceedings, being an Eye-witneſs of them at* Paris.]

Paris, Auguſt 8, 1690.

SIR,

I Have been very regular and conſtant in writing to you, nevertheleſs I was obliged to take ſome Time to put myſelf in a Capacity of ſatisfying your laſt Demands, that I might ſend you nothing but the Truth; and withal, a particular Account of every memorable Circumſtance. You'll be no Loſer by this Delay of mine, ſince inſtead of a bare Letter, you receive a Kind of an Epiſtle. However it is, Sir, you'll find an exact Relation of what I have either been an Eye-witneſs, or informed myſelf from unqueſtionable Hands upon this Occaſion.

The

The Defeat of the *Iriſh* Army, and the Return of King *James*, was Matter of extraordinary Mortification, not only to our Court, but to all *France* in general: However this Conſternation (Heaven be praiſed) was not of long Continuance, and our Sorrow was immediately converted into Joy, by Reaſon of the mighty News which the King commanded to be publiſhed, from the Twenty-ſeventh to the Twenty-eighth Night of the laſt Month, by the Cannon of the *Baſtile*, which were diſcharged about three o'Clock in the Morning; and by the Commiſſioners, who at the ſame Time knocked at the Doors of every Citizen without any Difference, crying aloud with all their Force, *Ariſe, get up, and make Bonfires, the Prince of* Orange *and Mareſchal* Schomberg *are dead* This ſolemn Declaration, made by his Majeſty's Order, obliged the whole Town to get up, and paſs the Remainder of the Night, and the following Day, in Bonfires, and all other public Teſtimonies of Joy: One could hear nothing but Trumpets, Drums, Hautboys, Fifes, Flutes and Sackbuts; one could ſee nothing but Tables furniſhed in every Street, where Wine was not ſpared in the leaſt. The religious Fraternities diſtinguiſhed themſelves, and particularly the good Fathers the *Cordeliers*, who ſpent all Night long a prodigious Quantity of Petards, and other Fireworks, in their Garden, and diſtributed their Wine about in Abundance. The ſame was likewiſe done at the Guildhall of the City, by the expreſs Command of the Provoſt of the Merchants. All the People without Exception, and eſpecially thoſe of higher Quality, as they paſſed in their Coaches through the City, were ſtopped on their Way, and forced to drink a Health to King *James*, and the Prince of *Wales*, and to cry out aloud, *The Prince of* Orange *is dead*. They burnt the Effigies of the Prince, and his Royal Spouſe the Princeſs, in ſeveral Places, as they had done before at their Bonfires for the Battle of *Flerus*, and the Naval Engagement. They dragged them through the City, where they made a ſolemn Proceſſion; and there was neither Man nor Woman, great nor ſmall among the People, who did not throw Dirt and Stones at them. Nay, their Indignation was carried higher, they hanged the Prince of *Orange* in Effigies in Abundance of Places; amongſt the reſt, they led him up and down by Way of Proceſſion, with a Devil who was to carry him to Hell, having before him a Piece of Paper thus inſcribed, *I have waited for thee theſe two Years*. During theſe mighty Rejoicings, they broke open the Houſes of ſeveral of the new Converts, and particularly a Grocer's in the *Fawxburghs* of *St. Germain*; they affixed to their Gates a Portraiture of the Prince of *Orange*, crying, *He's dead*. They demanded Money of others to exempt them from pillaging, and forced them to give it, after having committed a thouſand Outrages on their Perſons. In fine, Sir, I am able to acquaint you, That not the moſt advantageous Succeſſes we ever met with, nay, not the Birth of an Infant of *France*, however it was univerſally deſired, ever found ſo agreeable an Entertainment, which gave Occaſion for one of our celebrated Poets to ſay:

Though Paris *ſuch Triumph and Joy has expreſs'd,*
For the Prince that in Ireland *was ſlain:*
The News of his Death doth not half fill my Breaſt,
As the Fear of his riſing again.

You

You will ſee, Sir, a great Deal of pleaſant Poetry on this Subject in a certain remarkable Paper, which I have ſent you, compoſed after the Manner of an Interment, which they have made of the Prince's Body in *Ireland*; it being a very curious Piece engraved here in the City, by one of the moſt eminent Maſters in that Art, and is every where publickly ſold.

With this good News of the Prince of *Orange*'s Death, we have received ſome other welcome Paſſages, as well from *Savoy* as *Germany*. If they happen to prove true, we ſhall ſcarce find Wood enough to furniſh out our Bonfires; and we aſſuredly hope before the End of the Campaign, to have no more Enemies to exerciſe our Valour upon, let their Numbers be never ſo great.

Theſe Revellings and Maſquerades continued till the 29th of the laſt Month in this City, at *Verſailles*, and *St. Germains en laye*, where three or four thouſand Perſons being aſſembled together, they made their Supplications to King *James*, who arrived there on the 25th, to inform them, whether the News of the Death of his Son-in-law was certain; and ſome of the King's Officers aſſuring them that nothing was more ſure, they made the ſame Rejoicing at *St. Germains* as they did in this City; which Examples were copied by thoſe of *Lyons*, where the Shops were ſhut up for the Space of three Days ſucceſſively, as well as in ſeveral other Places, for the greater Solemnization of this Feſtival.

It was not only at *Lyons*, and other principal Cities, that the People teſtified ſo much Joy for the Death of the Prince of *Orange*, our irreconcileable Enemy: *Sedan* particularly diſtinguiſhed itſelf among the reſt, as one of my Friends, a Gentleman of very good Credit, acquainted me, who happened to be upon the Spot, when this Affair was tranſacting; and it was not many Days ago.

On *Sunday* the 30th of *July*, they cauſed ſuch Bonfires to be made there, as they had never ſeen before upon any Occaſion. The meaneſt Perſon was rated at a good round Sum to defray the Expence, without reckoning the Burgeſſes, who endeavoured all they could to outvy one another in the Magnificence of the Show. They were not forgetful to cauſe ſeveral Repreſentations of the Prince to be made. His Highneſs was expoſed to ſeveral Fires, having a Tobacco-pipe in his Mouth; he was carried to the two *Fauxbourgs* in a large Frame, and the Princeſs his Royal Conſort, was after the like manner carried to the Houſe of the *Capuchins*; they had both of them Inſcriptions before and behind, with theſe Words in vaſt legible Characters, *The Uſurpers*. There was never a Perſon preſent, who did not pour forth ſome horrible Reproaches or other upon both of them. They began the Feſtival before the Lodgings of the Governor, with thirty Diſcharges of Cannon, and three Vollies of the whole Garriſon. All the ſeveral Companies marched in Proceſſion to the *Dauphin*-Fountain, which run with Wine in Abundance, and all thoſe that had a Mind to it drank their Belly-full. All the principal Officers performed wonderful Things, and afterwards received a ſplendid Entertainment from the Governor. There arrived here a Courier with eſpecial Orders, to ſignify to them the Death of the Prince of *Orange*. Immediately after this, the chief Magiſtrate of the Place publiſhed this agreeable News through the whole Town, with the Harmony of Drums, Violins, Hautboys, and Flutes, crying in a loud and intelligible Voice, *Come along, Gentlemen, redouble your Joys, that Tyrant the Prince of* Orange *is dead! the Uſurper is dead! re-*

double your Bonfires. Then the Artillery was discharged, and the same Instant, five Pieces of Cannon began to thunder, which extreamly affrighted the weak and giddy Multitude. This Triumph continued all the Night, till eight in the Morning, at which Time all the ingenious Wits of the Town laid their Heads together, to concert the Matter how they should order the Funeral of the Prince of *Orange.* A certain Spark, *Hamoir* by Name, began the Sport with making the Epitaph, which is such a wretched Piece of Stupidity and Dulness, that I would not give myself the Trouble to transcribe it for you. Another Virtuoso, whose Name was *Van Veld*, a Native of *Leyden*, made the Prince's Effigies, which had the Honour afterwards to be burnt. There was likewise another Picture of him, to serve at the Interment, at which entertaining Ceremony, every body was obliged to assist: They dragged it through the whole Town to the *Tercy*, then it was hanged with the Heels upwards for a considerable Space; at last it was thrown into the *Garene*, which is the Receptacle of all the Filth and Ordure of the City. There was a prodigious Concourse of People all the while; but he that made himself the most remarkable for his extraordinary Zeal, was the above-mentioned Monsr. *Hamoir*, who carried about a certain kind of Kettle, in Shape somewhat resembling a Coffin: He had along with him a Company of Mourners; *Lepine* the Drummer, commonly called the Cuckold, had a Frying-pan covered over with black Cloth, upon which he beat a very mournful Tune before the Corps, that was encompassed with a trusty Guard of Halberdiers. One *Jardon*, who was born at *Veroye*, and had been often at *Maestricht*, signalized himself very particularly in this honourable Action, by Abundance of foolish Things he both said and did, during the Time of this pretty Representation. The Women too had their Share in this Festival, my Friend assuring me, that there were several of them, who to celebrate the Show with that Devoir and Solemnity, as was requisite, abandoned themselves to all manner of Debauchery. The holy Fools of *Donchery* pursued the Frolick somewhat farther than those of *Sedan*; but the religious Lunatics of *Maizieres* behaved themselves so, as if they had been actually possessed. If I were acquainted with the Bravery and Valour of Gossip *Poncelot* of *Rhemes* upon this Score, I had not failed to send you a full Information. That which is exceeding remarkable in regard of the Couriers is this, that they arrived at all these Places exactly at the same Time, although they are not equally distant from *Paris.*

It is high Time now to draw towards a Conclusion, and yet I cannot prevail with myself to do it, without saying something of what happened at *Bayeux*, in *Lower Normandy.* About fifteen Days ago they solemnized the Death of the Prince of *Orange* there, with such an extraordinary Zeal, that one durst not contradict so ill grounded a Piece of News, without running the Hazard of being stoned. They ordered several Representations of the Prince to be made there; some of which were cast into the common Jakes, others were hanged, and some fell into the pious Hands of the Butchers, who divided them into four Quarters, after the same Manner as they serve the poor Beasts, who have tasted the Civilities of the Slaughter-house. In short, there is no Sort of Brutality to be imagined, which these well-bred Gentlemen did not commit upon this Occasion, amidst the Tumult and Hurry of so public a Rejoicing.

Neither

Neither was there leſs done at *Dieppe*, than at *Bayeux*, on the Score of this Solemnity.

The Name of the Prince of *Orange* is here become ſo odious and execrable, that they cannot endure to ſee him, ſo much as in a Piece of Painting. It is almoſt an Age ago, ſince at a certain Houſe in *Dieppe*, there was ſet up the Prince of *Orange*'s Head for a Sign. The Judge of the Town enjoined the Maſter of the Houſe to take down the Sign immediately; the Maſter at firſt made ſome Difficulty to do it, repreſenting to the Judge, that he ought to addreſs himſelf to the Propietor of the Houſe; and that for his Part, he being but only a Tenant, the Expence and Charge was not in Juſtice to fall upon him. But all theſe Remonſtrances were to no Purpoſe; he was obliged to obey without any more ado; and, by Order of the Juſtice, to ſet up the Prince of *Wales*, in the Place of the Prince of *Orange*, who was immediately hurried away to Priſon, with beating of Drums, and other great Triumphing.

I have found all theſe Paſſages ſo very ſingular and extraordinary, that I was deſirous to communicate them to you, who are my particular good Friend, and from whom I would willingly conceal nothing. If there ſhould happen hereafter any thing, that deſerves to be tranſmitted to you, I will not fail to oblige you with it by the firſt Opportunity. Entertain, I beſeech you, Sir, the ſame Complaiſance for your Friend, if any curious Matters ſhould happen in your Parts. However, ſend me nothing which is not exactly true, and therein follow the Example of your moſt humble, and moſt obedient Servant. Farewel.

Obſervations upon the late Revolution in *England*.

IF it be true that Intereſt is often miſtaken, though it never lye, and that Standers-by ſometimes ſee more than Gameſters, though they do not underſtand the Game ſo well, it may not be falſe, that the politic Drivers of our late Revolution in *England* (who, 'tis to be feared, have too many of them deſigned their private Intereſt at leaſt as much as that of the Public) have miſtaken their Way to both, and that one who has been no more than an indifferent Looker on, and who pretends not to be clearer-ſighted than others, has obſerved ſome Things which the abler Gameſters have not been aware of. Whether it be ſo or not, who pleaſes to read the following Obſervations may judge. I will preface no more to him, whoever he be, than that if he examine them, as they have done the Matter of Fact on both Sides, without Prejudice to any, he will judge the better; and that ſince my Kindneſs for my Friends and Country, is the only Motive I can have to expoſe my Thoughts of this Nature, he will be very unkind if he does not forgive what he does not approve.

First Observation.

THAT though Religion in the Contrivance of this Turn, was called upon at first to serve the Turn of Interest, as it has ever been put to do in Changes of this Kind, and did sanctify a little while the Pride and Ambition of private Men, with the Name of *Blessed Reformation*; and made Saints among the ignorant People of the worthy Gentlemen so qualified, it has nevertheless been treated by them with less Ceremony, than has been shewn it before on such Occasions. That Mask was immediately thrown off here, and Interest appeared bare-fac'd in every Body's Mouth from the very Beginning. Our true Protestant Generals and Officers from the first Removal of some of them from their Employments, began to roar Abroad without Ceremony, they would stand by their Religion, and show themselves Protestants to the last Drop of their Blood; for all their Commands would in Time be given to Papists. Our conscientious Lawyers upon the same Occasion declared in *Westminster-Hall* itself, they were fee'd by the Protestant Religion, and would defend it as long as they could speak, for Papists were setting up to run away with the Profits of that sweet Place, and all their beneficial Employments. Our reverend Clergy of all Degrees were provoked, both in Pamphlets and Pulpits, to pronounce to us the Danger our Religion was in, for *Magdalen-College* was already given to the Papists; and to tell us thereupon, they never meant by their Doctrine of Non-Resistance and Passive Obedience, which they had preached so long, not to stand up for their spiritual Preferments against any Antichristian King in *Christendom*, who would take them away. Our Lords and Commons of Business and Interest, of Estates and Pleasure, cried out altogether, they would have no Popery, for none but Papists could be heard, or looked upon at Court; and even those Gentlemen whom they had used to snub and threaten, from their Assizes and Sessions, with taking away their Catholic Horses, and two Thirds of their damned Popish Estates, came up now and nosed them upon all their Country Benches. In short, Men of War, Men of Law, Men of Gospel, Men of all Kinds, profess'd plainly to stand up for their Liberty and Property against their King; and that not so much by covering them, under the Defence of their Religion, as by discovering their Religion was to defend them. So that though Religion was advanced sometimes to lead up the common People, and marched along with Liberty and Property at the Head of Parties and Pamphlets, when there was Occasion to appear in Public, it was plain that my Lords and Gentlemen had no other Use of it, than to gull the Commonalty; and that the Profits and Preferments of the Government, to which the Laws and Possession gave them a Title, were the Things they would never part with, if any other King, or if no King, would preserve them to them.

Second Observation.

THAT their Redeemer, the P. of *O.* had the same Occasion, and made just the same Use of Religion, as his religiously aggrieved Inviters and Assisters into *England*; his Declaration setting forth the deep Sense and Concern he had for it, as plainly as they could speak and write theirs. For, says that, (after it has run over many other Particulars of Male-administration, under the Name of evil Councellors,) *To crown all, there are great and violent Presumptions, inducing us to believe that those evil Councellors, in order to the carrying on of their ill Designs, and to the gaining of themselves the more time for the effecting of them, for the Encouraging of their Complices, and for the Discouraging of all good Subjects, have published that the Queen hath brought forth a Son, tho' there have appear'd, both during the Queen's pretended Bigness, and in the Manner in which the Birth was managed, so many just and ritish Grounds of Suspicion,* &c. *And since our dearest, and most entirely beloved Consort, the Princess, and likewise we ourselves have so great an Interest in this Matter, and such a Right, as all the World knows, to the Succession of the Crown,* &c. *Therefore it is, that we have thought fit to go over into* England, *and to carry over a Force with us, sufficient, by the Blessing of God, to defend us from the Violence of those evil Councellors. And we being desirous that our Intentions in this may be rightly understood, have for this End prepared this Declaration, in which, as we have hitherto given a true Account of the Reasons inducing us to it, so we now think fit to declare that this our Expedition is intended for no other Design, but to have a free and lawful Parliament assembled as soon as possible, and that in order to this, all the late Charters may be restored.* And several other Things done, which he knew very well were done before he came over. By which Declaration, whoever observes that the Shoe pinches chiefly in the Point of the Prince of *Wales*, who put the Prince of *Orange* by his Hopes of Succession, even more if it were true, than if it were fictitious; and that therefore (at that time especially, when it was not to be imagined the Crown could be got upon any other Foot) it was absolutely necessary to make him appear fictitious if possible; and whoever considers these other Proceedings of the P—— of *O*—— upon all Occasions; the trouble he gave himself, of coming over into *England* about ten Years ago on Purpose to help forward the Bill of Exclusion against the Duke of *York*; his entering into a Conspiracy (which is averred from the Mouth of one trusted by himself at the very Time) for the Deposing K. *Ch.* II. his unweary'd Diligence in thwarting every thing K. *C.* or K. *J.* had a mind to have done by their own Subjects; his great Goodness in providing well for all those Persons, who for some Goodness or other had incurred their Displeasure, and were banished or proclaimed Traytors by those two Kings; his Generosity in sending and making use of the Duke of *Monmouth*, like Foot of Whelp, to burn his Paws with setting up for King in *England*, without Men, Money, or Arms; his Courage afterwards, so much extolled, in coming himself, when being rid of *Monmouth*'s Pretensions, he had the Consent of the greatest Part of the People and Army of *England*, and knew he was not to strike any other Kind of Stroke for it, than

than ſuch an one as he gave with his Whip on a Gentleman's Shoulders at *Newmarket*, for riding before him, wittily enough obſerved then, to be the firſt he ſtruck for the Kingdom; his great Care of K. *J.* when he was betrayed by his own Army, in ſending him a *Dutch* Guard to *Whitehall*, at Eleven o'Clock at Night, without his knowing any thing of it; his kind Meſſage to him after he was in Bed the ſame Night to begone out of his own Houſe the next Morning, to the Dutcheſs of *Lauderdale*'s, at *Ham*, for the farther Security of his royal Perſon, and to be ſure to be gone early, leſt he ſhould be troubleſome, by being in his Way coming from *Sion* the ſame Day to *London*; his Condeſcenſion afterwards, at the King's Requeſt to let him go to *Rocheſter* inſtead of *Ham*, that he might, by his going away, make room for his Deſign of being King, which he was told could never be compaſſed as long as K. *J.* ſtay'd in *England*, let his Condition be what it would; his conſtant and firm Adherence, after the King's Departure, to his Declaration (the Confidence of which had drawn in all the People to him.) Firſt, in his calling a free and legal Parliament, than which he declares to have no other Deſign. Secondly, in the particular Care he took for electing to his Parliament, called the Convention, all true Churchmen, all ſuch as had been diſcountenanced, or brow-beaten before, in the Way of Outlawries, or ſo, by King *Charles* the Second, or King *James*; all ſuch as could poſſibly be found, who had any Hand of their own, or Relation to thoſe who had, in bringing his Grandfather King *Charles* the Firſt to condign Puniſhment. And thirdly, in his not ſuffering any Buſineſs of the Kingdom to come before or be thought of, by his honourable Convention; not ſo much as his dearly beloved Conſort the Princeſs, who, tho' ſhe was graciouſly mentioned in his Declaration, to have ſo great an Intereſt in this Matter, and ſuch a Right as all the World knows, to the Succeſſion of the Crown, was not then permitted to come into *England*, till they had alter'd the fundamental Conſtitution of the Government, and made him King in his own Right; his tranſubſtantiating, (as it has been call'd) when he was King, the ſame Convention into a Parliament, without Writs or new Elections, leſt he ſhould not get the People, who had been deceived by their Conventionary Members doing what they never dreamt of in making him King, to chuſe ſuch Parliamentmen as would ſerve the turns he had to come hereafter; his plain Proofs he brought to them when they were a Parliament, concerning the Fictitiouſneſs of the Prince of *Wales*, according to the laſt promiſſary Clauſe in his Declaration, in theſe Words: *To this Parliament we will alſo refer the Enquiry into the Birth of the pretended Prince of* Wales, *and all Things relating to it, and to the Right of Succeſſion*; his Choice of Men of Honour for the new Honours he has beſtow'd; his filling all Places of Truſt and Profit throughout the Kingdom, as far as could be found, with Perſons of the Church of *England*, and of good Life and Converſation; his ſending out of *England* even for Mr. *Ludlow*, one of the Regicides of his Grandfather, attainted and condemned by Act of Parliament for Hanging up without a Tryal, to be adviſed with, if not preferred in the Government here; his free diſintereſted Submiſſion of this Kingdom's Buſineſs to this free Parliament, without any of thoſe Tricks as were played by former Kings to influence or byaſs the Members, as apppears by its being ſo well an officer'd Parliament, as it has been obſerved to be in the Houſe of Commons

it-

itſelf; by the Lord's Sons he has called up, and the new Peers he has created, by his ſending his own *Bentinck*, whom he never parts with, when he has no particular Intereſt driving elſewhere, out of his Cloſet, to Vote for Mr. *Oats*'s being a good Evidence again; and by his turning an honourable Perſon, (who did him the firſt, and moſt remarkable Service of any Man in *England*) ſuch an one, as without which, in all Probability, he had had but little Power over Employments in *England*, out of a very good one, for no other imaginable Reaſon, than for going in Parliament according to his own Judgment and Conſcience; his religious Way of taking and keeping Coronation Oaths in *England*, to defend Epiſcopacy, and the Church of *England*, as eſtabliſhed by Law; for the ſpecial Performance of which, all *England* ſees itſelf obliged to his weak Endeavours; in *Scotland* to aboliſh Epiſcopacy, Root and Branch, and to eſtabliſh a Church more conformable to the Word of God, for the godly Performance of which, all *Scotland* ſee no Church at all. To conclude, upon this whole Matter, it is obſerved, that his *Dutch* Highneſs, as well as his *Engliſh* Factors, conſulted his private Intereſt and Ambition in the Redemption he brought to *England*, at leaſt as much as he did the Good of Religion, or the Intereſt of the Kingdom.

Third Obſervation.

THAT as the People of *England*, and the P. of *O.* have luckily done their Buſineſs (as they think) with conſulting their Intereſt too much, and Religion too little; King *James* unfortunately did his, with conſulting his Intereſt too little, and Religion too much; and both together have drawn ſuch a Proſpect of Confuſion and Deſtruction to the whole Kingdom, as *England* itſelf (to ſpeak a proud Word) never ſaw before: And yet it is not eaſy to lay the Saddle on the right Horſe, or to ſay on what, or on whom, to caſt the original Blame. For as it is known on the People's Side, how well the Parliament behaved themſelves towards the Duke of *York* (notwithſtanding the crafty malicious Endeavours of that Time to the contrary) how they refuſed to paſs the Bill of Excluſion brought againſt him, on the Account of Religion, before his Acceſſion to the Crown; how they ſettled him in the Throne when he came to it, with that Reverence, that Security, that Joy in all his Subjects, as never King met with more: how firmly they ſtood by him in that early Rebellion of the Duke of *Monmouth*; how the firſt Parliament of his time, laying aſide their Apprehenſions of Popery, they unanimouſly ſettled a greater Revenue upon him than any of his Predeceſſors had, during Life, a thing which our Proteſtant *William*, with all the Advantages of the Redemption he comes with, cannot compaſs now; and how, according to the Opinion of very wiſe Men, far from being prejudiced by his Religion. He might (if well deſired) have made himſelf ſafer and greater yet, by being a *Roman Catholic*, than if he had been a Proteſtant; ſo on the King's Side, it was even confeſſed by unbyaſſed People, that he had the publick Virtues of a King, and the private ones of a Gentleman; that his Courage, Conſtancy, Juſtice, Liberality and Frugality, in their due Places, befitted him more properly for the Government of *England*, than any King perhaps, who governed it before himſelf

himſelf (however he might be deceived) he generally aimed laborioufly at the Good and Glory of the Nation. But where-ever the Fault lay, or however we call it, Fault or Misfortune of the King or of the People, the Matter of Fact was, the People changed from the beſt to the worſt Opinions in the World, of the King, and proved the Citizens in the Parable, who ſent their abſent Lord word, *We will not have this Man reign over us*; nor could the Wiſdom of thoſe who foreſaw what muſt happen, ſtem the univerſal Tide. Only thus much I think will appear to be Truth on both Sides, that, as Kings are more expoſed than other Men, to the Deluſions of diſguiſed Craft, which ſeeks to impoſe upon them with a reſtleſs Importunity, King *James* might poſſibly hearken too much to miſtaking Prieſts at one Rate, and to miſguiding Miniſters at the other: The firſt whereof knew not how to drive his and their own Intereſt together, as they meant to do, and the laſt meant to drive their own, though they deſtroyed his, as they did; and that the People, though they might poſſibly find enough from this Conduct of his, to juſtify themſelves for changing their firſt Opinion of him, and for ſtanding upon the Guard of their Religion and Property, as far as the not contributing to the Deſtruction of them, amounted to (which alone, *viz.* their peremptory refuſing to repeal the Laws, or to act againſt themſelves, had evidently brought the Papiſts to the End of their Contrivances, and had done the Buſineſs for the Proteſtants, without going any farther) yet, I ſay, thoſe who are concerned, can never be excuſed in the Length they have gone ſince, from having done Things contrary to the Duty, the Conſcience, the Religion which the Proteſtants of *England* have ever profeſs'd, and from being guilty of acting thoſe Crimes, for holding of which only to be lawful, we have ſo ſeverely decry'd, and pronounced Sentence of Damnation againſt the Papiſts. But it is not the Buſineſs of this Paper to inſiſt upon that; our preſent Reformers, as was ſaid at firſt, having all along inſiſted upon Intereſt more than Religion, and that Work being performed already (I fear unanſwerably) by the Author of the *Hiſtory of Paſſive Obedience*, and by ſeveral other Hands much fitter for it than mine, I am ſure, that which is given for Anſwer, by ſome unknown Hand, to that Book, That King *William* as a foreign Prince, has made an abſolute Conqueſt over King *James*, though he did not over the People, and that therefore the Allegiance of the People, and the Oaths they took, are transferred by Force, when the People are not forc'd, from King *James* to King *William*, is ſuch Stuff as thoſe Gentlemen themſelves will not own before People of common Senſe, though perhaps it be as much as is to be ſaid for the Matter.

Fourth Obſervation.

THAT ſetting aſide the Queſtion, whether the Proceedings of the People of *England* have been juſt or lawful, it is obſerved that what they have done, is directly againſt their dearly beloved, and eſpouſed Intereſt, and worſe for themſelves, in the ſame kind, than any Inconveniencies King *James* could have brought them under; that is to ſay, that thoſe very Inconveniencies, of what kind ſoever they were, which they apprehended from him, (and every body knows they were not more than apprehended) are actually inſupportable under this

this Change of Government already, and that they will grow worſe and worſe ſtill, without other Remedy than reſtoring him again; which will appear beſt by comparing what we feared then, with what we feel now.

We fear'd for our Religion then, and have we no Reaſon to fear ſtill? It is abſolutely certain, that Religion, as ill Luck will have it, of all others, not excepting Popery itſelf, the moſt unrelentingly impatient of induring any Worſhip or Authority but its own, ſhould want Credit, with a Prince born and bred under it in *Holland*, and brought chiefly by its Well-Wiſhers into *England*, to turn both his Power and theirs towards its Eſtabliſhment here. It is certain our Liturgy ſhall always continue, which there has been dangerous, not to ſay illegal Commiſſions given out already to alter. That Epiſcopacy ſhall ſtand firm in *England*, which has been ſo early aboliſhed in *Scotland*. Or if it do ſtand for a while, that Compliance with the Court-Intereſt (as neceſſary an Ingredient, and as ſhameful a Blot as it was ſaid to be in King *James*'s Days) ſhall have no Hand in making of Biſhops in theſe Days. And if Biſhops do preach and teach a new complying Doctrine, is it certain the People will always believe and practice the ſtubborn old? The Doctrine of not reſiſting lawful Princes, being plainly againſt the Intereſt of a Prince made againſt Law, may we ſafely count upon it, that that Church which has ever taught that Doctrine, ſhall be always preferr'd by a Prince who has not been altogether ſo unmindful of his Intereſt as his Predeceſſor, and who ſees beſides, he ſhall not at all diſoblige his Proteſtant Allies, by trimming our Church more after their Cut? We ſee the contrary to all theſe already: We ſee every Biſhop, choſe ſince our Reformation, of another Stamp than of the true Church of *England*, ſuch as have been ever blown about, not only with every Wind of Doctrine, but with every Change of Government, ſuch as are more intent at preſent to mend our Religion, and make new Doctrines for us, than to preach the old, or to teach us to mend our Manners. In ſhort, we ſee all Church-Preferments, and all our religious Favours, beſtow'd upon Perſons, if of any Religion, of that of the Court; and our Receipt to cure our Fears, as to this Particular, has to my thinking, neither taken away, nor leſſen'd them, but only changed them from *Popery* to *Preſbytery*, which is at leaſt as bad as the other: I wiſh the *Preſbyters* be not ſo much the more dangerous of the two, as they have more Hands, more Cunning, and more Credit in *England*. For does the Diſſolution of the late Parliament, which I confeſs was in Being when the foregoing Obſervations were made, or the new proffer'd Kindneſs to the Church of *England*, afford any reaſonable Ground to make any Recantation. King *James*'s ſudden careſſing the Diſſenters, when the Church of *England* would not ſerve his Turn, was too well underſtood by all Parties then, to let the ſame Trick revers'd paſs upon any now: A trick, which in plain *Engliſh*, is juſt the Compliment of one, who having Occaſion to borrow Money, and being diſappointed by *John-a-Stiles*, would have *John-a-Nokes* take his Application to him for a great Obligation. Others had the firſt Refuſal, and now, diſſenting Meaſures unluckily proving Falſe, a ſudden Fit of Kindneſs honours the Church of *England*, with an Offer of the Glory to enſlave the Nation, and deſtroy herſelf, when the choſen Confidants, it ſeems, would not, or could not do it. But I hope, I need ſay no more, either to put Church of *England* Men in mind that

the P. *O.* having lately found he is not ſtrong enough yet, to root them out here as he has done in *Scotland*, is about to require another preſent Supply of Money, his Revenue during Life, and their paſſive Obedience again from their Hands, to enable him to do it; or to let Diſſenters ſee that he will ſacrifice them to his own, to their Enemies, or to any thing that affords the leaſt Proſpect of advancing his A——y Ambition.

We fear'd for our Liberties; and our new Expedient to preſerve us Freemen, is to teach and preach up a Conqueſt, and to eſtabliſh martial Law. 'Tis a little ſurprizing, that we ſhould take our Freedom to be ſecur'd by Courſes, which all Nations beſides are perſuaded takes it away. But if Conqueſt do indeed make our Liberty greater than a lawful Succeſſion, I am of Opinion it would be ſweeter, and reliſh better if we were not clapt into Priſons, for refuſing Oaths againſt our Conſciences; if the Benefit of our *Habeas Corpus* had never been denied us; if free-born *Engliſhmen* had never been ſpirited away with Piſtols at their Breaſts, out of their native Country, to maintain foreign Quarrels with their Blood, and this too without any Neceſſity, ſince Nobody can deny, but the 8000 *Danes* brought hither, might altogether as fully have performed our Articles with *Holland*, and left *England* to be defended by ſo many *Engliſhmen*. I confeſs this compulſive Liberty I now enjoy, of opening my Purſe as wide, and as often as a certain Number of Men pleaſe, to whom the Law gives no Authority over it, and being ſubject to my next Neighbour's Good-will, whether he will aſk me a Queſtion about Oaths, and ſend me to Priſon if he do not like my Anſwer, is not according to my Taſte; and I fancy the Liberty which the Proteſtants of *Ireland*, have at preſent out of their Country and Eſtates, does not, or at leaſt, will not long agree better with their Stomachs. In ſhort, my Dullneſs cannot comprehend, if Force upon our Conſciences, our Perſons and our Eſtates, be the true *Engliſh* Liberty, that it is ſo much better than our former Slavery, as we have and muſt give to boot.

We fear'd for our Properties. The Cargoes and Hulks of Ships enough to make, they ſay, a tolerable Fleet, and fight us with our own Ships, was once an *Engliſh* Property; is it a Jot better ſecured to us by being in the Hands of the *French?* Was the Gentlemen worſe in his Property when his Pound of Rent put 20 *s.* in his Pocket, than ſince it puts but 14 or 15? Was the Merchant worſe, when in Peace with all the World, he had the Sea and foreign Markets open to Trade, than now with his Liberty to walk the *Exchange*, idle, and talk of News, not daring to venture a Ship abroad? Were the Countrymen worſe when they had Merchants at hand in all Places to take off the Product of their Lands, or Fruit of their Induſtry, than now, when after they have wrought hard all the Week, they have their Labour for their Pains on *Saturday* Nights to feed their Wives and Children? For I ſee not how it can be otherwiſe, unleſs foreign Merchants who can trade, take the more Compaſſion on us, and be content to buy our Wares at their own rate. Property ſure might be as ſafe by keeping Trade in our own Hands, as by paſſing it into our Neighbours: And the Way we take, to my Eye, ſhows directly like his *in the Poet*, who would needs kill himſelf for Fear of dying; for we have juſt loſt our Properties for fear of loſing them: They are, and will be evidently leſs, by ſo many Millions as have been,

and

and must be given out of them; and so much decreased, is so much lost in my Arithmetick. I should never have thought diminishing the Stock had been the best Way to encrease it; when we take out so much, only to enable us to venture the rest upon the Thing in the World the most uncertain, the Chance of War. As beating makes Children learn; if we should beat the cowardly *Irish* into an Humour of fighting at last; if King *James* should find more Friends than we yet discover: In a word, if he should prevail any Way at any Time, we shall have secur'd the Remainder of our Properties which the War, in the mean time shall leave us, very fairly, by exposing them to the Courtesy of the Man we fear'd, and by forfeiting them legally to the Law, with which we will not have him dispense. However it go, I, for my Part, do not think the Event of a Battle good Security, and could be every Jot as well content to fear for my Money and receive it, as not to fear and go without it.

Lastly, we fear'd for our Laws, not so much I believe for what was done, as for the Manner of doing it, for I am persuaded a good Part of what King *James* did, might have been done for him in a legal Way, and with the Consent of the People; but when we saw him assume a dispensing Power, not vested in him by Law, we were sensible that the same Power which over-ruled one Law, might over-rule another, and all, and fear'd the pernicious Example: This, I think, was the Case and the Disease. The Antidote now which we have taken against the Poison of this bad Example, is it not an Example as bad, or worse, and our remedy against one illegal Power, which we have pull'd down, a setting up another altogether as illegal?

For the Law acknowledges not for a legal Parliament, any Number of Men, who are strong enough, a legal Call; no, tho' they convene in the Parliament-House, and vote themselves a Parliament, nor that Man for a King, whom the Law places not in the Throne. Unriddle me now, who can, in what an illegal dispensing Power, was more dangerous to our Laws, than an illegal enactive, or an illegal executive Power is; or in what the abdicated Example of K. *J.* to dispense with some Laws, was worse than the Example set up now, by which any Number of Men who are strong enough, may assume an absolute Power to dispose of all our Laws, our Religion, our Bodies, Consciences and Purses as they please, with no more Ceremony than the Formality of a transubstantiating Vote. A Liberty and Property-defending Army of *Englishmen*, has done little less within the Memory of Man, and if our *Dutch* Redeemers should take it for the Fashion of the Country, and to compleat our Redemption, set up for the Parliament of *England*, which Way can we plead our Laws in Bar to them, which we have over-ruled already our selves? In short, Illegality is always Illegality, and if that were the intollerable pernicious Thing before, it is so much the more intollerable now, by how much a legislative Illegality is more pernicious than a dispensative one, and an usurped executive Power, more dangerous than a legal one; and yet the Wisdom of our *Fears* has drank down one, as a destructive disturbing; and the other, as a healing settling Draught. I am far enough from Kindness to either, but I will say for the destructive one, that it has been, at least, the more modest of the two, for it only made bold with a single Superstructure, by dispensing with the Test-Act, without which our Government had stood many a

fair Age, and that too with a Pretence on its Side of its being Law, in the Interval of Parliament, and of referring it to a Parliament when it met; whereas our ſettling Illegality has fallen confidently upon the very Foundations of our Conſtitution, and pull'd them quite away. The *Engliſh* Government has hitherto ſtood upon theſe fundamental Maxims, *That the King never dies, and that all Authority is derived from him.* For our wiſe Anceſtors were ſo ſenſible of the ruinous Conſequences of *Interregnums*, *Elections*, *Seditions*, and ſaw ſo well that Nothing could prevent them but a legal King always in being, that they would not allow to Death itſelf, with all its irreſiſtible Power over the Man, any Power over the King, but made the ſame Moment which received the laſt Breath of the Man breathe his regal Power into the next of Blood; and then placing the Fountain or all Authority in this immortal King, ſtopt up for ever all pretending Streams of Sedition. By this it was made impoſſible, for any Pretence to cheat or hinder the People from diſtinguiſhing the Seditious, which they were to avoid, from the juſt Power which they were to obey, there being no more to do, but to aſk which flow'd from that Fountain which they had contrived ſhould always run. Now we have introduced vacant Thrones, filling them as Pleaſure or Humour, not as Blood directs, and a new Power over our Fundamentals themſelves, not derived from the old only Fountain; and now to make the Hinges ſtrait, upon which how much ſoever they were ſway'd before by diſpenſing, our Government ſtill moved, we have knock'd them quite off. I will not be the melancholly Prophet to foretel what will be the Conſequence, but leave every one to gueſs, who will reflect what they have ſeen and felt in one Year's Time.

Fifth Obſervation.

THAT already no Man can count upon Law or his Eſtate, or know what either is; for Judgments of all kinds given in our Courts of Juſtice (if we may believe Lawyers) according to Law, are reverſed, and diſcharged without any Exception ſhewn to them; and our Eſtates are leſs than they were laſt Year by a Fourth, and to ſome a third Part. No Man can promiſe to lie in the ſame Bed at Night out of which he roſe in the Morning. For if a certain Gentleman called a Serjeant at Arms (who has walk'd the Streets more frequently this Year than ever, upon thoſe Errands) invite any Paſſenger to his Lodging, there is no refuſing his Civility. The Height of Merit, the Spirit of Soldiers to ſerve their King and Country is become a Forfeit of the Right of a free-born *Engliſhman*, no Man being able to ſay he ſhall breathe his native Air, as long as there are Quarrels abroad, in which his ſtarving, or knocking on the Head may be uſeful. Our general Liberty of Conſcience is confin'd to thoſe who make none of Perjury, or find hard Expedients, to avoid it; not that the Government receives any Security from Oaths; for as the Oath of a Man perjur'd in any Caſe, is no Evidence, there can be no Security in that Oath which is the Breach of a former, nor Confidence in that Fidelity, the Promiſe wherof is itſelf Infidelity, 'till I can be convinc'd at leaſt by one Example of a confiding Man, made ſo by ſwearing, who was not ſo before; I ſhall as ſoon take the Oaths to this Goverment (which I think I ſhall never do) as believe the

Go-

Government takes them for any Security, especially while so many think it sinful to take them, and yet a great deal more sinful to keep them; or at least, as I heard a very understanding Man say, not long ago (reflecting upon the Capriciousness of our present Circumstances) while Men think they shall starve if they do not take the Oaths, and be damn'd if they keep them. But perhaps a Conquest may not seem complete to our Conquerors, which overcomes not our Consciences, as well as our Country; and it may be as useful, if it can be compassed, as insultingly pleasant to evince the World there grows not now a single Plant of unshakable Honesty in this Kingdom, that so it may appear charitable and necessary to cut down our cumbersome Stocks of *English* Growth, and plant us, or at least engraft us anew with Strangers, to make the Nation flourish.

Sixth Observation.

THAT tho' we thought to make our Court to our new King by deserting our old, as we are generally an honest upright People, our Consciences possibly, if they were not ashamed to speak, could tell strange Stories of the Self-Denial this Compliment cost us, and the hard Shifts and Pains many of us made, and took to mortify the struggling Rebellion of Nature against that which we unnaturally hurried ourselves into against our King. And for getting the better of ourselves, for the Fruits of this glorious Victory, our Ears tell us every Day, that Cowardice and Treachery (reproaches heretofore unusual to *Englishmen*) fly in our Faces from the Mouths of our Conquerors, from such of them at least as cannot be hindered from saying what they think, which is enough to instruct us what the reserved rest have to say, whose time it is not yet to speak their Thoughts. Our Eyes tell us, that no *Englishman* is trusted in any thing, no not those who for Form-Sake sit in Places of Trust, for as our *English* Estates are often settled in Trust, our *English* Trust itself is in Trust now; the fine Titles worn by our Ministers and Privy-Counsellors of *England* being Nothing but gay Liveries, to make them show the handsomer Tools to finish up the Work cut out by *Dutchmen* in the Closet. And our Reason will tell us we cannot complain, nor expect it ever should be otherwise. For no wise Prince will trust a Man whom he has Cause to suspect will not be true to him; and our K. *W.* cannot forget that he was not born in *England*, that he did not inherit the Crown, that he cannot reign without Wars and Taxes: and that therefore he cannot (tho' he would never so fain) securely count upon those Men, whereof every one who presents himself for Employment, must of Necessity come with this Speech in his Mouth; You, Sir, are King *de Facto* and may be sure of me; for I am just come from being false to a King *de Facto*, and *de Jure* both, who was my Countryman, besides, twenty to one, my particular Benefactor, and whose Reign was a Reign of Peace and Plenty. Our Compliment therefore has put an inevitable Necessity upon our new King, never to trust us to counsel or fight for ourselves, but under a sure Guard, and to furnish himself with Store of foreign Heads and Hands, to carry on the Interest of *England*; at which we are neither to wonder nor complain, for Necessity has no Law.

Seventh Obſervation.

THAT all this Miſchief cannot follow only (as ſome would have, and do infer) from K. *James*'s going away, called *Abdication*; for tho' Abdication is a hard Word, which I will not pretend to underſtand, becauſe my Dictionary does not, I am ſure it means not what his going away plainly was, trying to eſcape a foreſeen Reſtraint, and eſcaping at laſt an actual one. But I gueſs what they would have meant by it is, that K. *James* when he went away, ceaſed to be K. ſome Way or other, which yet was neither giving away out of Liberality, nor ſelling for Money, nor loſing his Crown by Chance, nor forfeiting, nor ſurrendering, nor dying. But what unintelligible Way ſoever it were, the Moment in which he ceas'd to be King (according to our Conſtitution) ſome other was King; in which Caſe we had no more to do but to let our Government move upon the old ſure Wheels, and our Happineſs would have gone on along with it under the new King, whom God and Nature, and the Law of *England* have always in Readineſs for us when the old fails So that let abdicating ſignify what it will, I ſee no Neceſſity of ſhaming our ſelves with the Imputation of a faithleſs, ſimple People, neither to be truſted by any King, nor ſo much as with our own Concerns and Intereſt? No Neceſſity of Foreigners, and the Calamities they muſt bring along with them?. None of ſubverting the Foundation of our Conſtitution, and cruſhing ourſelves with the falling Building? It had been but keeping the Laws, and they would have kept us. But as we have handled the Matter, with our anteponing and poſtponing, we have brought the Government of *England* to the domineering of a pure Mobile, with all their Whimſies, and all their Violence, with only a more formal Outſide: for there is no ſuch Thing as a Government left, to which any body is obliged to ſubmit for any Reaſon but Fear: No ſuch Thing as Law, which has been, or can be legally made or executed; and let a Man have deſerved to have been condemned never ſo much the laſt Year, he needs his Pardon who condemned him. In ſhort, we are abſolutely in the State of Nature before Society, where all the Power which one Man had over another was his greater Strength, and all Authority Violence. 'Tis by Violence K. *W.* calls Conventions and Parliaments; and Violence is all the Validity of their Acts. They have no other Authority than the Laws which Thieves make among themſelves to rob the more methodically and ſafely; and we ſubmit to both, for the ſame Reaſon, Fear of worſe. Violence ſeizes our Money and our Liberty, and we yield to it, juſt as we ſuffer ſtronger Highwaymen to bind us and take our Purſes. Were the juſt Scales of the Law in Uſe, (for the diſpenſing with which in one Particular we were in ſuch Frights before) every Order now for a Tax, every Aſſeſſment, every Collection, and perhaps (if Neceſſity help us not off) every Payment would weigh more than Felony, downright Treaſon: And what the Men of Might do to us, every one of us, who happens to be ſtrong enough, may with as much Right do to them.

Eighth Obſervation.

TO conclude: Here we are, and here we muſt be eternally, till we learn Wit of a Carter, and ſet the over-turn'd Cart on the Wheels again; in plain Terms, till we re-ſettle King *James* on his Throne. The Happineſs of *England* depends upon a rightful King, we ſee it always went out with him, and 'tis in vain to hope it ever will, or can return without him. So our Conſtitution, ſo the Temper of the People is made, and by a long and ſweet Experience, inflexibly ſettled. Hither it muſt come at laſt, let us torment our Brains never ſo much, and whirl them giddy in the endleſs Windings of projecting Policy. We had a great deal better therefore ſave ourſelves, the Treaſure, the Blood and Miſery, which ſtruggling vainly againſt it, will coſt us, and embrace it unanimouſly at firſt. Perhaps we have no Time to loſe; Foreigners ſwarm in upon us daily, and if they become too numerous for us to maſter them, they will, in ſpite of our Teeth, maſter us. But it is not yet too late, I hope to ſhake off our preſent, and prevent our future Calamities, if we be not in love with them.

We may have a lawful Government, and true Parliaments again, Security of our Religion, Laws and Rights, and be once more the Freemen we were born, re-enfranchiz'd from Wars and Taxes; for all theſe Things are Waiters in ordinary, and return with the King of courſe. If any Remnant of our former Fears hangs ſtill uneaſy about us, he is not ſo far off, but a willing Mind may have Recourſe to him, whither he has more than once invited us for that Purpoſe, and be eaſed. And it is not now to be ſuſpected, he will boggle at condeſcending to any Thing that is reaſonable in our Fears, much leſs that we ſhall ever have Reaſon to complain hereafter of Non-performance. For as there is no Security like Intereſt, and he cannot but be ſenſible of it, who ſees that not to keep his Word, is not to keep his Kingdom. If we have but Wit enough to judge as the wiſe *Romans* did, even upon the Suggeſtion of a conquered Enemy, that a reaſonable eaſy Peace on both Sides, is ſincere and laſting; an unreaſonable grating one on either Side, of no longer Durance than till the next Opportunity for War, and ſo keep ourſelves from grating unreaſonably upon him; the Wit of a burnt Child in him, will ſet our Hearts at reſt for that Matter: But have him we muſt on any Terms, or be the moſt wretched Nation under the Sun: For the Fire of War is kindled, which of Neceſſity muſt otherwiſe conſume us. As it has taken firſt in *Scotland* and *Ireland*, it has hitherto ſinged us in *England* only at a Diſtance, but when the Flames ſpread hither, if it be not preſently choaked, it muſt entirely devour us. Alas! it will not be as in our late Civil Wars, where the Enemy was always a Countryman, often a Kinſman or Friend, but never without Compaſſion for his own Nation and Language; and yet even thoſe Times are remembered with Horror. Foreigners now will be the main Body, the *Engliſh* but a thin Sprinkling in the two great Armies, which muſt fight the Quarrel, and decide the Fate of *England*. Both Armies muſt live on us, and yet how ſhall we pay them, when every Redcoat that paſſes takes the Horſes out of the Plough, the Corn out of the Barn, the Cattle out of the Field, the Ware out of the Shop, and when in the general Tumult,

mult, in every Corner of the Nation, here is no levying Money though we had it? Of Neceſſity, then, they muſt pay themſelves and come to free Quarter, and Contribution, and Military Execution; Terms of Art, which as we only find in Gazettes, every Body perhaps does not know, ; that free Quarter ſignifies ſo many Meals of ſo many Diſhes, with ſo much Money under the Trencher; Contribution, ſo much aſſeſs'd upon the neighbouring Diſtrict by the next Garriſon, as that Garriſon thinks fit, which if it be not brought in by a Day, is collected by what they call Military Execution, that is, by carrying away all that is moveable, and utterly deſtroying the reſt. All this is regular Proceeding in Soldiers, but we muſt be at the Mercy of every ſtruggling Party beſides, for there are no ſtrong Holds here as in other Countries, to ſhelter People and their Goods from ſudden Storms; and for any Shelter from the Law, it is to add Scorn to the reſt of our Miſeries, to talk of Law to a Soldier. How ſhall we *Engliſh* bear more than other Countries, who cannot hear of the Miſeries they endure without Compaſſion for the Sufferers, and Indignation at the Doers? We who cry'd out upon *England* as a ruined Nation, if a Soldier who ſtole a Night's Quarter, or a Pot of Ale, took Sanctuary under his Colours, which, contrary to the King's Directions too, as is confeſs'd ſince, protected him often with Deſign that we might cry out the louder. As bare Relation of our Neighbour's Miſery is nothing to feeling it ourſelves, we ſhall be much otherwiſe afflicted, when our own Perſons are ſeized, our own Goods partly plundered, partly deſtroyed, and our own Houſes fired. And this Affliction too (unleſs King *James* end it) muſt be like that of Hell, without Hope of End, for it muſt of Neceſſity laſt as long as he lives, or any of his Poſterity, who takes Place of our new coin'd Succeſſion; and yet who can anſwer, that a regular War ſhall be our only, or our greateſt Miſery? If deſperate Sufferings ſhould grow into deſperate Rage, and that Rage begin to think of the Authors of thoſe Sufferings, believe me I ſhould be ill at Eaſe with Fear, leſt lawleſs Oppreſſions ſhould meet with lawleſs Revenges, and *De Witting* be learned of our Maſters in more Senſes than one, which God forbid ſhould happen to any, however the Devil has made them deſerve it. I hope the moſt Guilty will go quit with the Infamy of their Crimes, which will never forſake them; and what a Brand to themſelves, and Reproach to their Deſcendants, muſt the Names of thoſe needs be, who ſkrewed themſelves into an Authority abominably lawleſs, only to uſe it extravagantly ill, who with their Taxes half ruined us before-hand, to nouriſh a War which ſhould ruin us altogether, and who, while they made ſo bold with our Eſtates, paid not a Farthing out of their own; for Officers paid Taxes for them, and rewarded them for taxing us beſides, who ſeized on the Government only to pull it down, not ſparing the very Foundation, that we might be irrecoverably miſerable; and for a Prelude to much worſe, have already fixed their Infamy upon the whole Nation. We live in an Iſland, where converſing only among ourſelves, we are apt to think the World goes as the Cry goes with us, and perceive not how abominably we ſtink in the Noſtrils of all Mankind; beſides, not excepting the very *Turks*, nor our delivering Maſters themſelves, for the Glory of wearing whoſe Chains, we have made ourſelves ſo wretchedly deſpicable. Not to flatter ourſelves, all *Europe* loaths a Nation, which having murthered one King, is now murthering another,

another, and that not by a ragged Mobile whose unthinking Fury starts more excusably into horrid Crimes, but by a Mobile of another Make, a Mobile of Honour dressed up in the Wisdom and Devotion of the Nation; a thinking godly Mobile, which kills in cool Blood, and fasts and prays to sanctify the Murthers. To be plain, all *Europe* hates our Hypocrisy, who pretending Zeal for the Protestant Religion, are all the while worse than the very worst of Papists.

Alas! that *England* should for our Sakes, bid fair to lose its old Name, and be known hereafter by the Name of the *Barbarous*, the *King-killing Country*, and our Religion the *Faithless*, the *Hypocritical Religion*.

But it is time to end, and I will if I can end with Demonstration. It is Demonstration that, unless we recover our old Constitution by Consent, we must, besides the intermediate Miseries, sink at last under arbitrary Power. It may be monarchical, and it may be Republican. But Arbitrary it must be, if we suffer it to come either to a Conquest of King *William*, or King *James*, or to a Commonwealth; which, by the way, would be the worst of all; we can at least complain under an arbitrary Prince, and the Shame and Vexation of just Complaints is some Check to him, let him be never so absolute. Under a Commonwealth there is not so much as that poor Ease; as Imaginations of Law, or Fancy, I know not whether, makes us do, whatever our Representatives do; no Burthen can pass for Oppression, nor Complaint for just. For we oppress ourselves all the while, and must complain of ourselves, and whatever we suffer in Reality, all is Ease and Liberty in Imagination. But this is no Place for the Dispute betwixt Monarchy and a Commonwealth. It is enough that Conquest makes a Conqueror absolute; that nothing can be more arbitrary than a Commonwealth must be, and that a Weight weighs its Weight, however it be laid on. It is Demonstration that we cannot recover our old Constitution, without our old King. It stands upon Right of Blood, it fell with that Right, and we may as soon build a Castle in the Air, as think to rear and prop it again with our politic Fancies. It is Demonstration, that if the present Quarrel come to be decided in *England*, we must either sit still, or side; and if we side either all one Way, or some one Way, some another. To sit still and save our private Stakes, whoever wins the public Game, may be the Project of those who consider not, that Neutrality is for Allies, not Subjects. In our Case, it is neither possible to sit still, nor to save Stakes by it, though it were possible; for where shall Neuters live, when to be sure neither King will suffer either than declared Friends in either of their Quarters, nor count those for other than declared Enemies who are not in their Quarters. However, we understand the true Allegiance which is so dexterously sworn to both Kings, the Law includes in it defending them, to the utmost of our Power, against all Persons whatever; so that, which Side soever prevails, the Neuter can no Way avoid direct Treason, by the Law either of King *William* or King *James*; considering then how much Cause both will have to be angry, and how many to reward with Forfeitures, Fighting, I believe, will prove a less Hazard than Neutrality, and being Friends to neither being Enemies to both. To divide ourselves between the Kings, will indeed secure the Half which chuses the lucky Side, but with a worse Inconvenience, for ballancing the Parties is protracting the War, that is, feeding

a Fire which must consume the whole Nation, and with it the Fortune of every particular Man. This is the very worst of Errors never to be retracted, for it will no more be in our Power ever to end a War, which by equalling the Forces, we have suffered to get a-head, than to quench a Fire which has got the Mastery, and must burn on till it have spent itself in an utter Destruction.

To side universally with *William*, is to put it out of the Power ever of Victory itself to end the War; the most it can bring, is a Cessation of Arms till King *James* recruits, or his Son (true or supposed is all a Case) is grown a Soldier, whose Quarrel too, may chance to fight before he be strong enough to fight himself; neither can we promise ourselves so much as a Truce. For as we are impatient enough of being subject to arbitary, conquering Mercy; 'tis all to nothing we shall whine away our breathing Intervals, in a new War betwixt Monarchy and a Commonwealth.

As no Body who will not purposely shut his Eyes can, I think, chuse but see this to be Demonstration: I will draw out the Thread no longer, but take my Leave of my Reader and of all Hopes, if we will suffer our Jealousies, our Animosities, our Passions and our Hate of others, to blind us into a Hate of ourselves, and what we should value more than ourselves, our Country. Our Frailties, our Errors, our very Crimes may yet be cancell'd, and every one who needs a Pardon, be sure of it, because he may deserve it. Our Religion and Laws may yet be secured to us, our old Constitution may yet be recovered, and with it a lasting Quiet, instead of Confusion and Desolation otherwise unavoidable. In short, it is yet in our Choice to be happy or miserable; to chuse Misery, is plainly a Madness beyond any which ever came within the Walls of *Bedlam*, and nothing but Madness to such a Degree can make Men do it; as he well understood, who said in his Pagan Language, *Quos Deus vult perdere hos dementat prius:* "From those whom *Jupiter* would destroy, he first takes "away their Wits."

God in his Mercy forbid that we should be the unfortunate Generation, which fills up the Measures of our Fathers, and of which shall be required all the righteous Blood shed from Abel *to* Zacharias.

A true and exact Account of the Regiments of Horſe and Foot in the Service of their Majeſties King *William* and Queen *Mary*; and alſo an Account of the *Iriſh* Forces under the late King *James*. Written by a late Captain of Foot in the Lord *Caſtleton*'s Regiment in *England*, now at *Liſburn* in *Ireland*, to his Friend in *London*. Together with a perfect Relation of the moſt remarkable Actions lately there, and particularly ſince the Wounding of Colonel *Owſley*. In a Letter from *Liſburn* of the 26th of *May*, 1690.

SIR,

ACcording to my Promiſe in my laſt, I have ſent you the following Account.

A LIST *of the ENGLISH* ARMY.

HORSE.

Princeſs *Anne*'s Regiment.
The General's Regiment.
Major General Sir *John Lanier*'s Reg.
Lord *Devonſhire*'s Reg.
Lord *Delameer*'s, now Col. *Ruſſel*.
Col. *Langſton*'s Reg.
Lord *Hewett*'s, now Col. *Byerly*.
Col. *Villers*'s Reg.
Col. *Coy*'s Reg.
Six Troops of Guards.
Mr. *Harbord*'s Troop.

DRAGOONS.

Royal Regiment, Col. *Hefford*'s.
Col. *Leviſton*'s Regiment.

FOOT.

Princeſs *Anne*'s Regiment.
Lieut. General *Dowglaſs*'s Reg.
Major General *Kirk*'s Reg.
Col. *Beaumont*'s Reg.
Brigadier Sir *John Hanmor*.
Brigadier *Steward*.
Col. *Babington*'s Reg.
Sir *Hen. Bellaſis*'s Reg.
Col. *Careſton*'s Reg.
Col. *Deering*'s Reg.
Earl of *Drogheda*'s Reg.
Col. *Erle*'s Reg.
Col. *Floyd*'s Reg.
Col. *Fowlk*'s Reg.
Col. *Grebin*'s Reg.
Col. *Haſting*'s Reg.
Col. *Herbert*'s Reg.
Lord *Kingſton*'s Reg.
Lord *Liſburn*'s Reg.
Earl of *Meath*'s Reg.
Col. *Trelawny*'s Reg.
Col. *Wharton*'s, now *Brewer*'s Reg.
Col. *Cutts*'s Reg.

Inniſkillingers.

Col. *Owſley*'s Reg. of Horſe.

Col. *Winn*'s Reg. } Dragoons.
Col. *Conningham*'s Reg. }

Lord *George Hamilton*'s Reg. }
Guſtavus Hamilton's Reg. } Foot.
Col. *Tiffin*'s Reg. }

Derry Foot.
Col. *Michelburn*'s Reg.

Col. *White*'s Reg.
Col. *St. John*'s Reg.

The *French* and *Dutch* Guards.
Col. *Lecallimot*'s Regiment.
Col. *Du Cambon*'s Reg.
Le Melonier's Reg.
Naſſau.
Vitte.

Note, None of the *Daniſh* Horſe or Foot are here particularly inserted, which are 6000 Foot and 1000 Horſe.

Colonel *Owſley* (ſince his Shot upon the Belly, and upon Recovery) ſent out a Detachment of his Horſe ſeventeen Miles into the *Iriſh* Quarters (beyond our Frontiers) who upon *Sunday* the 18th Inſtant put to flight the *Iriſh*, and brought back four hundred Black Cattle, three hundred Sheep and Lambs, and eighty Horſe, whereof about twenty fit to ſerve for Dragoons.

An Intelligence from *Dublin* informs, that the *French* have begun to fire the Suburbs, in order to make the City more defenſive, and leſs obnoxious to our Incurſions and Bombs. It is believed they will burn every Place they deſert, on Deſign to prevent our Winter Quarters near them in Houſes, and to enforce us to encamp, whereby the cold Weather might deſtroy our Army.

At preſent all Affairs wait the King's Arrival (which God grant ſafe and ſpeedy) and then a Method of Marching will ſoon follow.

A LIST *of the IRISH* ARMY.

HORSE.	Troops.	Men.
Lord *Tyrconnel*	9	50
Lord *Galmoy*	9	50
Col. *Sarsfield*	9	50
Col. *Sutherland*	8	50
Lord *Abercorn*	8	50
Col. *Hen. Luttrell*	8	50
Col. *John Parker*	8	50
Col. *Nich. Purſel*	10	50
	69	3450

DRAGOONS.		
Lord *Dungan*	10	50
Lord *N. O Neal*	10	50
Col. *Den. Obryan*	12	50
Col. *Simon Luttrel*	10	50
Col. *Clifford*	10	50
Sir *James Cotters*	12	50
Col. *Maxwell*	12	50
	74	3800
Troop of Guards commanded by the Lord *Dover*		200

FOOT.	Comp.	Men.
A Reg. of Foot Guards	20	90
Lord *Montcaſtle*'s Reg.	13	92
Earl *Clencarty*, Ditto		
Lord *Fitz James*'s Reg.		
Col. *John Hamilton*'s Reg.		
Col. *Clenricart*'s Reg.		
Earl of *Antrim*'s Reg.		
Earl *Tyrone*'s Reg.		
Lord *Garmongſtone*'s Reg.		
Lord *Clark*'s Reg.		
Lord *Galway*'s Reg.		
Lord *Slaney*'s Reg. ditto		

Lord

Lord *Duleck*'s Reg. 13 62
Lord *Kilmore*'s Reg.
Sir *John Fitzgerald*'s Reg.
Sir *Morrice Euſter*'s Reg.
Col. *William Nugent*'s Reg.
Col. *Henry Dillun*'s Reg.
Col. *John Graſe*'s Reg.
Col. *Richard Butler*'s Reg.
Col. *Edward Butler*'s Reg.
Col. *Thomas Butler*'s Reg.
Col. *Jo. Bowker*, now Lord *Boylen*'s R.
Col. *Charles Moor*'s Reg.
Col. *Carmac Oneal*'s Reg.
Art. M'Mehan, Earl of *Weſtmeath*'s R.
Col. *Charles Cavenah*'s Reg.
Col. *Charles Macalamoor*'s Reg.
Col. *Gerard Oneal*'s Reg.
Col. *Neal Brown*'s Reg.
Col. *John Barret*'s Reg.
Col. *Dan. O Danavan*'s Reg.
Col. *Olives O Gara*'s Reg.
Sir *Mic. Creagh*, L. Mayor of *Dublin*'s R.
Sir *Dan. Brown*'s Reg.
Col. *Dudley Bagnal*'s Reg.
Col. *Charles O Brian*'s Reg.
Col. *Roger Mac Elliot*'s Reg.
Lord *Kilmallox*'s Reg.
Lord *Iveagh*'s Reg.

Col. *John Brown*'s Reg.
Col. *Edward Nugent*'s Reg.
Col. *M'Mahan*'s Reg.
Col. *Edward Reyley*'s Reg.
Col. *Fielding*'s Reg. ditto.

Horſe	3450
Dragoons	3800
Horſe Guards	200
Foot Guards	1800
Foot	37882
Total	47132

Diſbanded.

Major General *Boyſloe*'s Reg.
Lord *Caſtle Connal*'s Reg.
Col. *Rog. O Connel*'s Reg.
Col. *Ch. Geohagan*'s Reg.
Col. *Many O Donnel*'s Reg.
Col. *Jam. Butler*'s Reg.
Col. *Rog. O Cahan*'s Reg.
Col. *Ch. Kelly*'s Reg.
Col. *Bryan Mac Dermot*'s Reg.
Col. *Jam. Talbot*'s Reg.
Sir *Ulick Bourk*'s Reg.
Sir *Edw. Scot*'s Reg.
Col. *Miles O Reyley*'s Reg.

The Quarters of the Army uncertain, being every Day rowling, and much ſcattered.

Note, Though each Troop and Company are ſaid to have the foregoing Numbers of Men, yet few or none are full; neither have they Arms for near the Number, and many are armed with Scythes.

The *French* Recruits landed this Spring are not inſerted.

But it is obſervable, that the *Iriſh* and *French* cannot march into the Field with this Number, nor encamp, becauſe, by all reaſonable Conjecture, their Garriſons will require, *viz. Dublin* 7000, *Drogheda* 3000, *Cork* 1000, *Kinſale* 3000, *Limerick* 2000, *Galway* 2000, *Athlone* 2000.

Alſo their Policy is to defer the War upon a Defence; hoping the Braſs Pay will exhauſt the *Engliſh* current Coin.

The Keys of *Dublin* are in *French* Hands. The Bomb-Carts and Carriages painted with Flower-de-Luces. So that the Diſtinction is not ſo much *William* and *James*, as *England* and *France*, or *Proteſtant* and *Papiſt*.

A Letter to a Member of the Committee of Grievances, containing ſome Seaſonable Reflections on the preſent Adminiſtration of Affairs, ſince managed by *Dutch* Councils.

SIR,

IF you have read or heard of the Changes between 1640 and 1660, you cannot be ſurprized at the Accidents between 78 and 89. The Pretences, the Succeſſes, the Methods uſed and had in both, are ſo exactly agreeable, that the laſt would have been impoſſible, but that the ſame Men who did procure the firſt have occaſioned the latter: The Deſigns we obſerve to be the ſame, and we begin to feel the Conſequences much like the other, or rather worſe. To inſiſt on the Parallel, is as needleſs as to ſhew their Malignity: It is enough now for us to bethink ourſelves how we have been twice gulled and cheated by thoſe Men already. It is true, Grievances we have had, and ſtill have, and muſt expect more, as long as thoſe are at the Helm, who when they had forfeited their own Intereſt and Share in publick Adminiſtrations, complained of every thing which others did; until by Murmurs, Lyes, Libels, Lampoons, and Ballads, they had made others as uneaſy as themſelves; that during a Convulſion of State they might mount the Saddle, and ride us all, and with a Vengeance, as now they do. Their Pretences were ſpecious, but falſe. In their Pamphlets, they complained of Falſhood and Inſincerity, yet never ſhewed us the Mother of the Prince of *Wales* brought over in the *Dutch* Fleet; the Original League under King *James*'s own Hand with the *French* King, to cut Proteſtants Throats; or, the two Witneſſes of *Eſſex*'s Murder, as they promiſed to us. They complained of ſham Stories put upon the People; yet they publiſhed, and gained more by a third ſham Declaration, than by the former; a ſham Paper of a Fight in *Ireland* between Papiſt and Proteſtant, of 6000 killed of one Party, and 4000 of the other; and induſtriouſly ſent Men at Midnight to the ſeveral Corners of the Town to alarm the City with Fears of a Maſſacre from the *Iriſh*, and the ſame throughout the Country; ſham Stories of the *Dutch* taking King *James*, and carrying him to *Holland*; ſham Papers of his Death, and thoſe licenſed by Authority. They complained of a Breach of Promiſe, and a Variance between the Declaration at Council-Board on the 6th of *February* 1685, on the Behalf of the Church of *England*, and the Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience; but will not now remember the Harmony between the Promiſe to the *London* Clergy on the 20th of *February* laſt, for the Support of the Church's Eſtabliſhment, and *that they might depend on it*; and the Speech made in Parliament the 16th of *March* for to capacitate all Perſons, not excepting *Atheiſts*, *Fifth Monarchy-Men*, &c. to enjoy all the Preferments and Offices in the Nation. They feared unqualified Men ſhould come into Parliament,

liament, yet have admitted Perſons out-lawed and attainted to it. They feared Members would not take the Oaths in King *James*'s Parliament, but themſelves never took the new ones in eight Days after they had made them, when by their own Law none was to ſit or vote till that was done; and yet they ſat and acted all that Time, and paſſed the Money Bill, which now hath relation to a Day, when by an Act of Parliament, 30 *Car.* II. *cap.* 1. it appears they were not qualified to make it. They complained of Court Officers being Members of Parliaments; yet have ſolicited and procured the Choice of many ſuch, when for their Turn. They did complain of Judges not taking the Oaths; but have made ſeveral without ſwearing Allegiance, as the Statute of King *James* I. requires at the Time of taking the Oath of Office. They complained of Judges Patents, that they were not during good Behaviour; but make all their own Grants *durante bene placito*, even ſuch as were uſually for Life, as the Maſter of the Rolls, and the like. They complained of lewd and ſcandalous Perſons employed and encouraged with publick Offices; yet preferred an Outlaw, *viz.* *R. F.* to be Houſe-keeper to the Exciſe Office, and many others. They complained of turning out *Engliſh* Officers to gratify the *Iriſh* with their Employments; but they are excuſable to take the Bread out of the Mouths of hundreds of *Engliſh* Proteſtants, to feed Foreigners in their Places. They complained of cauſeleſs Removals of Perſons from public Places; but, the bitter Cries of many numerous Familes, depending for a Livelihood upon the late Owners of thoſe Employs, ſhew what the Practice now is. They complained of Cloſetting; but have removed ſeveral for Voting according to their Conſciences, as the D. of *Grafton*, *&c.* They complained of billeting Soldiers upon Publick Houſes againſt the Owners Will; but ſtill do the ſame Thing. They complained of hanging Soldiers for Deſertion as Felons; but after long Threats, have now made a Law, *That whoſoever ſhall excite, cauſe, or join in any thing they ſhall call Mutiny or Sedition, or ſhall deſert, ſhall ſuffer Death, or ſuch other Puniſhment as by a Court-Martial ſhall be inflicted.* They complain of a Popiſh Army; but don't aſſign any Difference between one Papiſt and another, while they maintain 4000 Foreigners of that Perſuaſion at the Proteſtants Charge. They complained of not taking the Teſts; but would not allow any Term or Seſſions to take them in. They complained of Paſſive Obedience, as an unreaſonable, fooliſh, and impertinent Doctrine; but now it is treaſonable to deny it. They complained of the buying of Places, yet they themſelves ſell all, nay turn out all that will not pay a Year's Value. They complained of the treaſonable collecting of the Revenue after King *Ch.* the IId's Death; yet receive it without an Act of Parliament, and after it is devolved to the People by the Abdication, as was agreed by all the Lawyers in the Houſe the firſt Day, though the Caſe was altered, and they changed their Opinions five Weeks after. They complained of oppreſſive Subſidies; but give to the *Dutch* above half a Million of Money, even without Examination of Accounts, when in Juſtice they ought to have paid us much more, being Gainers by the Diverſion of this Year's Storm from themſelves, by making us the Seat of War to preſerve their own Peace. They complained of a Breach upon *Engliſhmen*'s Liberties, by long Impriſonments, for Want of exceſſive Bail demanded in Evaſion of the *Habeas Corpus* Act; but themſelves have abſolutely ſuſpended it, though it is hoped,

they

they may live to repent of the Precedent, as an Argument hereafter for the like, or a longer Suſpenſion upon an alledged Neceſſity. They complained of the Encouragement given to a Gentleman for writing an *Obſervator*; but themſelves have maintained a *Gazetter* and a *Remarquer*, which is two to one. They complained of *Johnſon*'s Uſage for writing a Book, *viz. Julian the Apoſtate*; but goal'd the Author of a Sheet of Paper, *viz. The Deſertion diſcuſſed.* They complained of Sir *Thomas Armſtrong*'s Execution without the Aid of a Jury, though in purſuance to a Statute, *viz.* 5 *Edw.* VI. *cap.* 11. yet threaten others with Attainders, without calling them to anſwer, though in Priſon, and at forthcoming. They complained of unjuſt Accuſations and Perſecutions; yet Sir *John Moor* was proſecuted before a ſmall Committee, conſiſting chiefly of ſuch Perſons who were his Accuſers, or unqualified for acting according to the known Cuſtoms and Uſages of the City. They complained of the Decay of *Engliſh* Trade; and yet *Dutch* Foreigners are encouraged and employed to import Goods, which by Law ought to be done by *Engliſh* Bottoms only. They complained of Breach of the Laws, but have forgot what the Law ſays, That there can be no *Interregnum*, and that a Father is elder than a Child, that an Uncle is preferable to a Nephew, a Brother before his Siſter, in caſe of Inheritances. They are very preſſing for a Bill of Comprehenſion and Indulgence; yet are about to impoſe their new Oaths of Allegiance with the utmoſt Rigour; hoping to raiſe Money, or impriſon or ruin all thoſe who make Conſcience of their Oaths to King *James*. And inſtead of preſerving our Properties, a fourth Part of the Money of the Nation will ſcarce ſerve for a preſent Supply to ſecure their Uſurpations. Thus you ſee what are our Grievances, and how we are relieved.

Juv. Sat. 13.

Committunt eadem diverſo crimina fato;
Ille Crucem pretium ſceleris tulit, hic Diadema.

With different Fates Men act the ſelf ſame Crimes,
Whilſt one's Reward's a Croſs, th' other's a Diadem.

Reaſons for a new Bill of Rights: Humbly ſubmitted to the Conſideration of the enſuing Seſſion of Parliament. By Sir *Bartholomew Shower*, Bart. 1692.

CONSIDERING the many impetuous and convulſive Struggles which this Land hath ſo frequently groaned under, between the People and their Prince; and that ſome Perſons of Honour, Senſe and Sagacity, have always been engaged in thoſe Convulſions; it muſt provoke an Agony of Wonder, that no more, or better Proviſion is hitherto acquired, for the Inſurance of Men's Lives, Eſtates and Liberties.

The Defect can be aſcribed to no other Original, than the ſudden Ceſſer of violent and eager Eſſays for that Purpoſe, which Violence is ſeldom durable, and

and therefore the Occaſion of its own Diſappointment; but now in the preſent Circumſtances, when a foreign War hath employed the warmer and more ſanguine Part of Mankind, and an entire Calm o'erſpread the Face of domeſtic Councils and Affairs, the Seaſon perchance is arrived, for a mature and ſedate, and conſequently ſucceſsful Conſideration of ſound, proper and true Methods, to ſecure ourſelves and Poſterity in theſe Particulars.

However, a Provocative of this Kind can never be unſeaſonable; though Proviſions of Money in the approaching Parliament will be one Thing, yet it cannot be the only one neceſſary, eſpecially when a Flaw in our Title to any of theſe Ingredients of Bliſs, deſtroys the Neceſſity of that: It is therefore to be hoped, that the Courtier, Stateſman and Officer will permit the Country Gentleman in ſome ſoft Degree, to attempt the Supply of his own, as well as their Occaſions; nor can the Propoſal of the one obſtruct the juſt Progreſs of the other; for it is the old fundamental Doctrine of a true *Engliſh* Parliament, that they ſhould always concur, and now there's Reaſon and Opportunity for both.

To obviate Prejudice and Objection againſt a Peruſal or Regard of the following Lines, it may not be amiſs to premiſe, That the Author is neither Republican nor Enemy to the preſent Eſtabliſhment; nor can the uſual Artifice of Nicknaming a Propoſition as Antimonarchial, render it the leſs acceptable to him that's concerned, as every *Engliſhman* formerly was, is To-day, or may be To-morrow, in this: It is too well known to have been an ancient, as well as modern Court-Trick, to adviſe Kings from encouraging, and the Commons from proſecuting of a full Security by juſt and rational Means, with the Terror and Dread of a Commonwealth, as the unavoidable Conſequent of a true Liberty, though whoever knows Men in *England*, muſt alſo know that Figure of Government here to be impracticable: But methinks ſince the Diſcovery of Prieſtcraft in Religions, and the Detection of Intriguery in State-Matters, Men ſhould be wiſer than to ſlight, or reject Endeavours for their own Happineſs, becauſe of Names, Titles or Epithets if of an harſh Sound, though improperly applied.

I am ſenſible of another Objection from the *Bill of Rights*, but ſurely that Scruple vaniſhes upon the firſt Reflection: for the Nicety of the then Circumſtances, the Multitude of incurring Exigencies both at Home and from Abroad, may well be agreed to have hindred a plenary, or ſufficient comprehenſive Thought of all our then Grievances: It muſt be confeſſed, that the Inſtances there mentioned are conſiderable and great, and the Proviſions made for them are uſeful and good, though too generally expreſſed, and perhaps obnoxious to ſome different Conſtructions, whenſoever reduced and applied to particular Uſe; the Settlement of Religion and Churchmen's Property by thoſe *Items* is politic and happy; and in Truth the Bill doth extend to little more than that, and the Health of Corporations; but the Acquirement of thoſe Reliefs, was never intended to be excluſive of more, if more appeared neceſſary; the private Lay-Gentlemen deſerve ſome Conſideration, for their Number exceeds both Clergy and Officers, though the latter are ſufficiently numerous; nor is the Ballance of the Gentry inconſiderable in the Government.

Another Cavil is expected at these Papers as needless, because the Judges are fixed and free from Temptation, their Patents are not now upon Pleasure, and those at present in *B. R.* (where the ensuing Queries do most frequently arise, and are most properly determinable) are Persons endued with Learning, Probity and Resolution.

Agreeing all this, and more, that they are, and so indeed they are, the Glory of the whole Revolution, it doth yet still remain worthy of a Thought that they are mortal, and another King may arise in *Israel*, that may make another Choice; and notwithstanding they should be more dependent, through the Certainty of their Office and Salaries, than formerly; yet it may be of Men temptable by the Accruer of a greater Pension, or the like: It cannot be forgot what some Ministers have rung in the Ears of former Princes, that Hearts, not Heads, were necessary for that Court, that the Humour of the Man, and not his Knowledge in the Law, was the most considerable in the Election of a Judge; that Complaisance to Prerogative was a much better Quality, than that of a judicious and crabbed, if stubborn Lawyer: But further, we should deserve the Pity of Fools, if after so much Treasure, and Blood spilt for the Redemption of Liberty, the same should be ascertained by no better a Fund than the Lives of three Men at the present in Power; nor can their Preservation ensure *Englishmen* against Hardships in the subsequent Cases; for this Proposal evinces the Imperfection of our Laws as now received and practised, and the Necessity of another Statute to explain or amend them; and therefore this Objection is an Argument rather to inforce, than to discourage the Prosecution on't; for sure we are, these Judges will and must (as by Oath obliged) observe those Rules; and from thence springs the true Cause for new, but better Provision; nor do those Remarks aim at, or import Reflection upon the present Practice, but merely endeavour to demonstrate the Necessity of a Law or two more; now new Laws do not always suppose Faults in *Fact*, but many Times in *Posse*, they are as often made to obviate, as to relieve against Grievance and Oppression; and were it otherwise, this is no more than every Act of Parliament past hath done; and therefore such new Law (as is here contended for) doth still appear necessary.

Now for Particulars,

First, As to Life; the late Bill for regulating Trials in Cases of Treason is a clear Evidence of the imperfect Defence which the Laws in being afford to Men's Lives; the Misfortune which attended that Bill doth call for a Reinforcement of that Design; the Opposal it met with (considering the Persons who made it) doth in a demonstrative Manner declare its Conveniency and Necessity; and therefore the honest Part of the Nation do hope that the next Session will pass that or another such; nor is there any Reason to despair on't, unless Men improve in their Fondness of Danger, even of Death; for no Person living can be undoubtedly secure, that he never shall become or be deemed a Malecontent, both which are one in Point of Danger: As to the pretended Reasons against such Relief, a Line of Answer is more than they deserve; but however to propose some Hints convictive of their Weakness may not be improper: It argues some Defect in thinking to pretend that the 25 of *Edw.* III. hath governed our Forefathers, and hitherto to the present Age, and therefore

we

we need no other Law; for might not this Objection have damned the Petition of Right, or any, or every other Act of Parliament, becauſe we had a *Magna Charta* before; beſides Innovation, and the diſmal Conſequences on't, was always a Bugbear both in Church and State, to prevent Alterations even for the better; but wiſe Men, if honeſt, have as often contemned the Pretence as ever 'twas objected, or otherwiſe we ſhould have wanted that Pittance of Security which we have acquired already; but do hope to increaſe: It is manifeſt upon the firſt, ſecond, third, and every Reading of that Statute, that 'tis a general, uncertain and obſcure Proviſion, ſufficient Confuſion, Doubt and Contradiction hath there been in expounding it; the Chronicles and Reports of every Age ſince *Edw.* III. proves this, nor can our own Obſervations fail of furniſhing us with Arguments of infinite Difficulties reſulting from that Law, and many with Semblance of Reaſon and Authority on both Sides; the late Paper Skirmiſhes about the unhappy Lord *Ruſſel*'s Caſe do prove the Need of a new explanatory, directive Act; as alſo the new Notions vented in the Earl of *Stafford*'s Caſe about Witneſſes to ſeveral Facts, or rather Circumſtances, which have precedented it almoſt to every ſubſequent Trial. Then in the Name of God, what Harm can accrue to the Public in general, or to any Man in particular, that in Caſe of State Treaſon, Council ſhould be allowed to the Accuſed, what Rule of Juſtice is there to warrant its Denial, when in a Civil Caſe of a Halfpenny Value the Party may plead either by himſelf or Advocate? That the Court is Council for the Priſoner can be no effectual Reaſon, for ſo they ought to be in every Action, unto each Party, that Right may be done; but the *Frenchman's* Remark upon this Phantom, for 'tis no more, hath ſufficiently cenſured it, *That my Council aſk no good Queſtions for me, my Council make no good Sign for me, me no like my Council:* And it hath too often proved according to that poor Fellow's Obſervation; nothing but Practice, *No written Law excludes from Council in any Caſe*, (ſays the great and late honeſt *Coke*) and there is the ſame Pretence for denying a Copy of the Indictment, though that has been granted in Caſe of Felony in one *Bathe's* Caſe, the which is in a Book called, *More's Reports.*

But ſome bold Whiſperers do pretend, that the Times are, or may be dangerous, the Crown ought to have a Power to ſupport itſelf, this will make Convictions difficult, the Government muſt ſometimes have a Lift, there muſt be Methods to lop off an Enemy, or the Head of a Party now and then, and there is no better Convenience for it than a doubtful Law, and therefore no Explanation or Amendment is politic.

'Twas thought that theſe Principles had been abdicated with the late King, but ſince their Renewal calls for an Anſwer, I'll briefly obſerve to thoſe which vent them, that all human Affairs are ſo unſtable, and Courts under ſeveral, nay, under the ſame Sovereigns, do ſo often change Intereſts and Inclinations, and conſequently Parties, that 'tis poſſible a malicious Chance may make the Enemy's Lot to become the Objectors; and ſo hath Fate moſt frequently doomed it in a moſt ſmart and exemplary Form upon the Opponents of their Country's Liberty, that they have been laſhed with that very Rod which they have refuſed to remove, have endured that very Oppreſſion, which, when in their Power,

they denied to redreſs: *Engliſh* Story is too full of ſuch Inſtances, and God forbid the Increaſe of them again.

This Objection is abſurd and ſubverts Fundamentals, for in ſuch extraordinary Emergencies of State and Conſequence, the Parliament is, or ought to be at Hand; the Uſe of that Aſſembly is not barely the Gift of Subſidies, but to help the King and People according to their reſpective Occaſions, and there is the Crown's *Recipe*, Impeachments or Bills are his infallible Remedy; and our Conſtitution never intended any other Relief in caſe of ſuch Difficulties, than that of a Parliament; then if we conſider the ſtrict Rules of common natural Juſtice, 'twill appear much more eligible, that ſundry Offenders ſhould eſcape than one Innocent ſhould ſuffer, for that ſuch Caſes admit of no Reſtitution, the Reverſal of an Attainder injuriouſly procured cannot render a Satisfaction; the Head returns not to the Shoulders, nor Life to the Party, though the Title be reſtored to the Name, and the Eſtate to the Son of ſuch a Martyr.

It is evident beyond Contradiction, that within twelve Years paſt, many would have reſigned the Half of their Eſtates for the Procurement of ſuch a Law, as now (to the Wonder of the Nation) themſelves have oppoſed: The Fact admits of no Reaſon but Revenge, or the Change of their Principles upon the Occaſion of Power and Employments, each whereof is alike unmanly, and therefore unwarrantable; but methinks they ſhould conſider, that they are not certain of the Stability and Continuance of their preſent Settlements, much leſs of their Intereſts, and the ſame Occaſion as formerly, may in future Ages revive, and then the Reviver of Complaints with their Suffering may be fruitleſs and vain, when the Opportunity of Relief is fled and gone; not good Hopes concerning future Adminiſtrations but good Laws only, that can give a Plerophory or full Aſſurance of Security: Now is the Seaſon, if ever, for a Fixation of our Franchiſe from the Perils, from the actual Endurance whereof we are but juſt delivered; it may be preſumed, that the late Turn of our *Engliſh* Affair is not yet baniſhed our Memory, nor the End of the Change buried in Oblivion, and the preſent Propoſal was unqueſtionably one Deſign of the Revolution: The Convention of the Eſtates of the Realm in 1688-89, intended ſomewhat more than the Ejection of thirty or forty fat Officers, and the preferring as many others in their Places, though of the more intelligent and honeſt Principles, for theſe are ſtill Men, and liable at leaſt, I will not ſay prone, to human Infirmities, and though not poſſibly equal, yet like to thoſe of their Predeceſſors: The Purpoſe of the Nation's Wiſdom was to gain a Security beyond the Reach of Conſtruction, Power or Craft to evade, and if the ſame be not hitherto accompliſhed (which whether it be or not, let the Reader be Judge.) It is now therefore the Duty of all ſincere and true *Britons*, to endeavour the Perfection of ſuch their Security againſt every of their former, or the like Miſchiefs; the Neceſſity of the War ſummons a Parliament for Supplies, and this renews our Opportunity for to finiſh the intended Errand of the firſt Aſſembly after the Abdication: *This is the Time*, ſaid a great Man upon a leſs Occaſion, and every Man may ſay the ſame now, and with more Reaſon: Then as to the Second concerning our Eſtates.

It

It cannot be denied, that both Law and Equity do in their Practice need a Regulation; the Exorbitances of that prerogative Court, called *Chancery*, do loudly cry for a Bridle, and that by an Act of Parliament: There 'tis that the ſingle and ſudden Thoughts of a Keeper are the only Rules for Juſtice, and the Power is but *Durante* (it muſt not be ſaid) *ſecundum bene placit' R.* and this may caveat the Rich and Bulky to promote ſome moderate Reformation of that Court, or elſe to reſolve, that his Quarrel ſhall never be with a Courtier, and that he'll never incur the unfortunate Character of diſaffected to the Government; for it hath been formerly, and may be hereafter very eaſy, with one of thoſe Monoſyllables, Fraud and Truſt (which have already almoſt devoured every other Title in the Law) to decree ſuch a one a Beggar; Nickname his Purchaſe and his Eſtate doth inſtantly change its Owner; then if a Commoner prove his Adverſary, whoſe Inheritance commands a *Borough*, the Wretch is remedileſs, and his Beggary everlaſting; for there's no Appeal but in Parliament, and with his Hopes of Relief commences Priviledge, and then he muſt wait, at leaſt till the Iſſue-male of the Family be extinct, and that is too long an Expectancy to be called a Relief: To expoſe the Dilatories and Expences of that Court is a Province much fitter for ſome Lawyer's Pen than mine: My only Remark is this, that that Court is too dependant upon another, that it's Power is too arbitrary, and its pretended Rules too uncertain; and although the Probity of the preſent Keepers do prevent Miſchief at the preſent, yet future Reigns may uſe Creatures of a worſe Kidney, and to worſe Purpoſes, and then the Authority of the Seal as now in practice, will afford Opportunity to do Miſchief more than ſufficient: Then for the Law, it muſt be agreed to ſtand in the like need of a Purge too; but ſuch Topicks would be proper to employ the Head of ſome Practitioner, whoſe Experience capacitates him to diſcover its blind Side and Corruptions; that which I obſerve is this, that there wants ſome Act to facilitate the Practice of Attaints, by allaying the Severity of the Judgment therein, and then we might hope to ſee Corruption of ſtanding Juries reformed, and the Conſequences of that Corruption baniſh'd too, *viz.* the forc'd Practice of granting new Trials, when the Verdict diſpleaſes the Judge, though the Fact be not within his Sphere; at our Aſſizes I have for ſeveral Years obſerved a great Uncertainty in the Rules of Evidence, in the Gift of Actions, and in the Notions both of Titles of Land and Property in Goods, every Circuit perhaps differing from the laſt, but that ſeems aſcribable to the great Latitude given to the ſudden Opinion of a Judge by the predominant Increaſe of general Iſſues, which leaves too much at the Diſcretion of a ſingle Perſon: Theſe and many more Hints might be given of this kind, but of this enough, for they are Trifles to my laſt and chief Topic, becauſe, concern but a few; for Men with Temper and Wiſdom may eaſily prevent the Plague of Law Suits, and the Want of one of them is generally the cauſe of Vexation either by Common Law or *Chancery*; but there's no Fence againſt Impriſonment, for the Caſt of a Man's Eye, the Smiles or Frowns of his Face, entire Silence or too much or too little Speech, as the Company pleaſes to interpret and repreſent, may raiſe Suſpicions concerning Principles: If he keeps Company he is judged by the Humour of that, if he keeps none he's thought reſerved, and therefore the more dangerous; if a Maggot in his Head or a fanciful Thought in his Brain occaſion a Laugh when

Ill-

Ill-news is arrived to the Court, or if the Diſaſters of his perſonal or family Concern, or a Pain in his Body provokes a ſour Look upon the talk of a Victory or the like, theſe and a thouſand more ſuch are Badges of Malice to the Government, where Conſtruction is at liberty, ſo that the following Doubts are of conſequence to every one.

Thirdly, Liberty of Perſon; 'twould be Subject of Ridicule and Jeſt to attempt the Conviction of our Countrymen, that Liberty is pleaſant, and to preſerve it deſerves our Care: It's one of our firſt Principles connatural to an *Engliſh* Heart, to be tender and jealous of its Loſs and Abridgment. The Contentions here both with Tongue, Pen and Sword for its continuance hath proved ſuch a Theme needleſs; our *Magna Charta* places the Contrary in equal rank with Diſſeizin and Exile, both which are ſufficiently odious, the one depriving a Man of his Country, the other of his Fortune, and this debars him of the Pleaſure, nay Uſe of both; 'tis pretended by all the Judges, that Liberty is the Darling of the Law, and Reſtraint the Badge of Bondmen and Vaſſals, but the Practice in almoſt all Ages hath given the Lye to ſuch Pretence; for nothing hath been ſo often and eaſily loſt, to Peers and Commons, to the Grandees and the Peaſant, upon every little or no Suſpicion as perſonal Liberty: That particular Piques or private Malice of State Miniſters, or perchance that which is leſs Cauſe, the inſolent Humour of Commandments in Power, or the generous Behaviour of a Gentleman with its uſual attendant Popularity, (which is always an Eye-ſore at Court) or the Fears of Stateſmen tho' reſulting from their own Weakneſs when there's no Danger, or from their own falſe Steps in Government. Where there is theſe and ſuch like Occaſions, have frequently goaled great Numbers of the beſt Part of the Nation in all Ages: It muſt be impertinent to recollect Inſtances, ſince Members of Parliament have not been free even in Parliament Time; as for the Oppreſſions of which Impriſonments, whoſoever hath ſuffered them is ſufficiently convinced, and he that hath not, may eaſily conjecture; for much the greater Part of the Nation either by themſelves, or their Friends and Acquaintance hath experimented the Pleaſure of ſuch forced Retirement, within leſs ſpace than forty Years paſt, and therefore I'll forbear to enlarge on't.

The Cauſe of this Grievance hath ſprung from the Imperfection or Uncertainty of our Laws concerning this Subject; the Queſtions about it in *Car.* 1. Time were ſo fiercely debated, not only within the Walls of the Commons Houſe, but in the Preſs and Field too, that their Notoriety recalls them to every Man's Remembrance; the Opinions of Parliaments was always againſt indefinite, general, or cauſeleſs Commitments, but no Man imagined himſelf ſecure till the late *Habeas Corpus* Act, which inflicted Penalties upon its Violators, nor hath that accompliſhed the Deſign of enſuring a true Liberty, as I ſhall now endeavour to demonſtrate; that this Act was, and is a wholſome Law, cannot be denied, and 'twas worth the Price it coſt; but yet another will deſerve twice as much, for the former is deficient to a great Degree: To convince that it is ſo, let it be conſidered that 31 *Car.* 2. did that Statute paſs the royal Aſſent, and ſince that time five hundred Perſons to one have been committed more than ever were tried, or ſo much as indicted: It is obſervable that every Year or two, a dozen or twenty Lords are uſually ſhopt, toge-

ther.

ther with incredible Numbers of the greateſt Commoners, over and beſides the ſmall Fry of &c. Halls and Churches have been turned into Priſons, when the common Goals were crowded even to Danger of Infection; and I am apt to believe that hundreds have been committed without Oath, and conſequently without juſt Cauſe of Suſpicion, for there ought to be Oath of that Fact or Circumſtance which rendered the Party ſuſpected: And this is the firſt Defect in the Statute, that it doth not enjoin an Oath to be mentioned in the Warrant, which is unqueſtionably conſonant to Reaſon, that the Perſon and his Judges may become privy to the true Reaſon of his Commitment; perhaps it may not be for the Service of the Crown to name the Informant upon the firſt Accuſation, but that no Commitments ought to be without Oath firſt made, is certainly Law; and an Injunction to mention an Oath in the Warrant, together with a Penalty for Impriſoment without Oath in Writing, will make the Miniſters concerned more cautious in Caſes of Liberty; nor can any Reaſon be aſſigned in Nature why Priviledge ſhould not be denied by Act of Parliament, in caſe of the Violation of the Subject's Freedom, which is and ought to be dear to us all: The end of frequent Parliaments is for Maintenance of Perſonal Liberty, and why ſuch Frequency ſhould hinder Suit for Incroachments on that Liberty, the Reaſon is behind the Curtain: Another Fault is, that the Cauſe of Commitment is not enjoined to be ſpecially ſignified, charged for compaſſing the King's Death, or adhering to his Enemies, is in truth no more ſpecial or plain than to ſay for Treaſon, for there are a thouſand Acts and Ways of doing both theſe, and thoſe dependant upon Conſtruction, ſo that a Man is not a whit the better informed to prepare for his Trial or Defence by the one than by the other; for when he conſiders of one Action obnoxious to ſtrain, another, a third, or a hundredth may be trumpt to his Charge; the end of that Proviſion certainly was to have the Fact known whereof the Party was accuſed: Again, Warrant to ſeize being charged for High Treaſon *in compaſſing or adhering*, &c. *and to bring before me to be examined*, and ſuch Meſſenger to detain for Days, Weeks and Months, ſeems ſomewhat unreaſonable, when the Party granting ſuch Warrant expreſſes himſelf doubtful in his Judgment concerning the Charge, and the Fact indeed to need an Examination, yet this Caſe is not bailable; whether Secretary or Privy Councellor, not having actually taken the Oath of a Juſtice of Peace can commit for Felony or Treaſon, is no ſmall Query, but the Ferments of latter Times, and the ſuppoſed Neceſſity ariſing from thence hath anſwered that Problem by ſome Years Practice, and therefore that Point is not to be ſtirred without Doors, but ſurely they ought to be in the ſame State as other Juſtices, to anſwer Suits for unjuſt or wrongful Reſtraint of Men's Perſons, and the Greatneſs or Priviledges of theſe Officers ought not to exempt from common Actions, but the rather an Acceſs to Relief againſt them, ſhould be made more eaſy, ſince they monopolize that Trade, and conſequently are more frequently liable to Miſtakes wilful or by accident; the Method for ſuch Relief is above my Reach either to contrive or propoſe.

When the Cauſe is only Suſpicion, Bail, and that at Diſcretion of the Judge, is now required, and this is all the Relief at Preſent, and that is tantamount to none; for if the Judge or Miniſter do not ſuch extravagant Sums and Eſtates may be required, as to render the Party remedileſs, and his Continuance in

Goal

Goal inevitable; here's no Measure prescribed, nor any Penalty imposed on the Judge if he be guilty of Excess in such his Demand: In case of an actual Breach of Peace, and the Complainant swears a Danger of his Life, the common Rate is 40*l.* Principal, 20*l.* a piece the Bail; but for Suspicions of Treason, or as generally disaffected to the Government, swinging Sureties for Bulk in their own Estates, and Sums in their Recognizance, have been and may be again exacted, and no Relief.

Commitments with the Clause of denying Pen, Ink and Paper, or Friend or Relation, are not provided against, nor yet in truth warranted by that or any other Law; for if the Party be not guilty of the Charge, or but suspected without Evidence sufficient, the Usage is not humane or *English*; if he be guilty and there's Evidence for such Guilt, then Liberty of Access ought to be allowed to his Friends with the Use of Writing, that he may prepare for a Trial: For the Law never impowered a Secretary to commit a Man because thought dangerous to the Government, but because he is guilty of a Crime, and that he is only to secure him to be forth coming to a Trial, not to punish him before his Trial, for till then it remains in doubt whether guilty or innocent.

Another Defect is this, Suppose a Man committed in *Trinity* Term for the Charge of Treason, and after the Expiration of four or five Months, and before the arrival of *Michaelmas*, the Secretary thinks fit that Bail be admitted, then tho' no Indictment or other Prosecution, this Bail may be continued from Day to Day, and from Term to Term, for seven Years together, and he can't help himself; within the Memory of Man this hath been practised for seven, nine, nay twelve Terms successively upon the same Recognizance; then it is an infinite Default, that if a Man be committed to a Country Goal, and perhaps that may be, as it hath been, to *Hull* or *Canterbury*, this Man is remediless till an Assizes, and that sometimes not happening in several Years, and then this Wretch can't make his Prayer in *B. R.* he hath not Money to procure a Commission of *Goal Delivery*, or *Oyer* and *Terminer*, and if he could, perhaps 'tis denied him, and no Provision made against such Denial: Now here's an indefinite Imprisonment, this Difficulty arises from a constructive Opinion upon that Law, that the Prayer may be either in *B. R.* or before *Oyer* and *Terminer*, as to be taken distributively and respectively, if here about Town in *B. R.* if in the Country then at the Assizes, tho' the Words are general, one or the other.

Further the Remedy is, *If no Indictment the first Term, the Party is to be bailed, unless Oath be made that the King's Witnesses could not be produced that Term:* Now this needs an Explanation for the end of our Law-makers unquestionably was, that he should be bailed, unless there was Evidence sufficient whereon to indict, and such Evidence could not be produced; whereas according to a literal Construction of that Clause, any Man may be detained tho' not Evidence enough to found an Indictment, as if Oath be made that there is Evidence against *A. B.* and *C.* and every of them, that the Witnesses against them could not be produced, and no Possibility to convict the Jurate of Perjury, for it may all be true in some Sense (and if true in any Sense it excuses from Perjury) and yet besides the Intent of the Law to have the Persons detained,

tained, there might be two Witneſſes, one againſt one, and another againſt the other, and yet no Indictment could be on this for want of two Witneſſes againſt each: Now 'tis plain when the Law ſays, *If he be not indicted he ſhall be bailed, unleſs Oath be made that the Witneſſes could not be produced*, it muſt be meant ſuch Witneſſes as could ſwear to the Indictment, which one alone could not, becauſe the Statute requires two even upon the Bill, beſides ſuch litteral Conſtructions renders the *Affidavit*-Maker Judge of what is Evidence, when perhaps he is ignorant of the thouſandth Part of the Difficulties and the Doubts upon that Subject; then for *could not be produced*, 'twould be but reaſonable that the Court ſhould know and judge of the Reaſon of the *Non-produce*, and not the Swearer; perhaps the Reaſon might be ſufficient in the Court's Opinion, but more than ſufficient in the Swearers; he might think an Horſe-Race, or Wedding, want of Pay or Recantation, or Forgetfulneſs of Part of his Teſtimony, a Reaſon; nay, the Witneſs might be dead, and yet his Oath true, for there might be Evidence by Papers, and one Witneſs to prove them, and the other Witneſs departed, and ſo could not be produced; though theſe Thoughts are equivocal, yet they'll deliver him from the Charge of a wilful, falſe, corrupt and deviliſh Perjury; theſe ſhort Notices are enough to ſhew an Occaſion of an additional, explanatory Act.

Another Defect is this, that if committed to any Goal in *Wales* as a dangerous Man, or upon Suſpicion of Treaſon, he is remedileſs by this Law, unleſs he has Money to pay for a Journey to *London*, and that muſt be paid down before he ſhall be brought; for no Judge or other Authority there is bound to bail him, and then if he lies till their Seſſion of *Goal Delivery*, he can't be bailed upon the Want of an Indictment, becauſe the Treaſon is not ſpecially ſignified; and then he is left as at common Law, and how uncertain and mercileſs a Remedy that was before the making of this Act, we and our Forefathers have been ſufficiently taught. A further Enemy to Liberty, is a Power ſtill reſerved to Judges of a Court, to commit upon Pretence of Contempt to them, and this out of the Act, and ſuch an Authority hath every little petty Court of Record in the Nation, and Miſtreſs *Experience* tells us, every ſlight Matter makes a Contempt to them, and there's no examining the Cauſe, for the Court that commits is Judge of the Contempt, and further there's no Deliverance, till Submiſſion and their Diſcharge.

Add to theſe Opponents of bodily Freedom, the new found Offices of a King's Sollicitor, *&c.* a Novelty never heard of till the latter End of *Charles* II. and the Subject has Reaſon to thank God that 'tis ſo late an Invention, for before that time the King had as few, and ſince hath had more Cauſes than any of his Subjects, 'tis from thoſe Mutes that Characters are received, which extorts a bleeding in the *Culprit*'s Pockets, for as that moves either open or ſhut, ſo doth the Sign of a Shrug with the Shoulder, or a Wink tipt upon his ſuperiour Officer, produce Hardſhips or Eaſe to the trembling Goal Bird; perhaps the Hint doth not take, and th n there's a Neceſſity of a ſecret Whiſper, that the Bird in the Cage, is either a damned Tory or a confounded Republican, as the Times reſpectively require; but if the Medicine requiſite was duly applied, then with a Smile in the Face and the Hand on the Purſe as the Cauſe, proceed theſe or the like Words, *he is an honeſt, harmleſs, fair-conditioned Fellow*;

and an immediate Aſſent to the Parties Bailment or Diſcharge is the certain Conſequence: In old time, the Ability of Bail was tried by Examination upon Oath in Court, but this new Office hath introduced a new Practiſe of giving Notes of the Names in order to Enquiry, and the Uſe and the Profit of ſuch Practice is notoriouſly evident.

Laſtly there's a Penalty on the Judge or Judges, if they deny any *Habeas Corpus*, but none if they refuſe to bail or diſcharge, when and where they ought; then there's one thing more which ought to be conſidered, for it plainly ſpoils our Claim or Pretence of being a Free-People, and that is the Power of our Lieutenancy as now eſtabliſhed, for they are made and continued at the Will of another, and they at their own Wills may commit whom, and when, and for ſo long as they pleaſe; and as I am informed there's no Relief, they ſit and act whenſoever they are bid, and are compoſed in all Places and Times of ſome one predominate Party, for the Ballance can ſeldom be ſuppoſed exactly equal in ſuch Aſſemblies, and by Conſequence the leſſer Party muſt expect their Mercy on every the leaſt Occaſion; now conſidering the Sides and Factions in *England* and their natural Eagerneſs each againſt the other, and the ſmall Hopes there are of an Union, methinks true Policy ſhould direct ſome Meaſures and Rules of Reſtraint, to prevent Oppreſſions and Hardſhips on either Part; the Form of making ſuch Proviſion muſt be ſubmitted.

Theſe are but few among many Inſtances, which might be produced to evince the Neceſſity of a new Law; nor is it convenient for a private Perſon to enumerate every thing of this Kind deſerving Remedy; it ſuffices to offer ſuch and ſo many *Items*, as may excite the Parliament to conſider of theſe and the other Miſchiefs which need a Proviſion, and to continue Methods accordingly.

To conclude, a Word of Religion cannot be improper, the Act of Toleration hath exempted Diſſenters from the Proſecution of the ſanguinary and other penal Laws; but that Exemption is imperfect, for that a Force ſtill remains on their Conſciences in Reſpect of their Children, for though themſelves are not conſtrained to frequent the legal Church, yet abſurdly enough they are conſtrained to educate their Children in Methods contrary to their own Opinions and Sentiments, for no School is permitted them, though but to teach the *Aſſemblies Catechiſm*, and this ſeems inconſiſtent in itſelf, that their Judgments may be freely perſued in the one and yet reſtrained in the other, eſpecially if a religious Reaſon induced the former, for if ſo the ſame obliges to the latter.

Now after all, the Intent of theſe Lines is only to propoſe and not reflect, and ſurely thinking muſt convince Men, that ſuch a Law would add to our Happineſs, if procured; nay, it ſeems ſtrange that any ſhould oppoſe it, ſince that the want of it may prove any Man's Misfortune, and no Man can be profeſſedly deſirous of Slavery, or dependance on another's Will for Liberty; but to the Shame of our Nation, there are too many in it, that are willing to be Slaves to a few, ſo as many may be Slaves to them; and from that Corner we expect an Oppoſition; therefore to provoke an Appetite and Zeal for true Liberty, let us conſider our Government and its Nature; 'tis a Monarchy Royal (as an Attorney General hath confeſſed) and not Seignoral, and by our Law the Subject hath an entire, abſolute, independant and uncontroulable Intereſt both in Land and Goods; now yet without Freedom of Perſon, and that aſ-

certained,

certained, we are not Freemen but Villains, and ſhall *Engliſhmen* content themſelves to hold their Liberty upon Will? Let us conſider the Examples of our Forefathers and follow them, let us read and recollect how the Patriots of the laſt Age, *Coke*, *Selden* and the reſt, did eſteem and value it, when they tugged it ſo nobly in their Conference with the Lords, *Anno Car.* I. *Quarto*, though the Argument then was againſt general Commitments, yet their Zeal and Courage was true and cordial for Liberty in general, and ſo ought ours to require an ample and compleat Security on't: If we conceive ourſelves in Perſon to be exempt from the Danger, becauſe the Complaiſance of our Principles may ſecure us from Hazard upon every Turn, let Generoſity and a true *Engliſh* Good-nature raiſe a Concern for others, whoſe Diſcretion may prove defective upon ſuch an Occaſion; nay, the Inconſtancy of Men and Things may deceive even ourſelves in ſome Events, and baulk ſuch our Confidence.

Let us be humane and pity the Miſerable and Forlorn, that have been made ſo upon Suſpicion only, during the Rage of other Men's Plots either real or ſham, or that may become ſo hereafter upon the like Contingencies; to deſcribe the Misfortunes of Patients in this kind, with their ſeveral Circumſtances in particular and at large, would I am confident, melt the Soul of the moſt obdurate Reader, and to affect him there would need no Uſe of Rhetoric; my Requeſt is only, that he would once viſit our common Priſons and view thoſe Lodgings, which have at ſeveral Times received the beſt of our *Engliſh* Worthies, and perhaps ſome of his own Acquaintance; if this be too nauſeous a Taſk, let him but frame an Image in his Mind, that he ſaw the Body of a diſturbed Citizen, haul'd and dragg'd with Swords and Staves, from his Houſe and Bed in the Mid'ſt of Night; then conſider him as bled by ſome Harpy of a Meſſenger for a certain Seaſon, and withall liſten to thoſe inſolent Huffs and Abuſes of thoſe inſatiable Devourers of Coin and Liberty, during ſuch his Bondage, under their Dominion, then ſee him hurried to a Goal or Dungeon, there loaded with Irons in abundance, diſabling him to ſit, or lie, or ſtand, without actual and continued Torment, excluded from the Benefit of Light or Friend, Pen or Ink, Paper or Book, Fire or Candle, or other Help of Nature, then conſider the Fears and Anxiety of ſuch a Captive, either for himſelf, or Family, or other Relation, and that continued for Nights, Days, Weeks, Months; and inviſible to any human Creature, except ſome griping Turnkey, whoſe Viſits perhaps are followed with the Approach of ſome deviliſh Tempter who comes to increaſe his Torture by the falſe Promiſes of Reward, if he will confeſs, diſcover and evidence ſome unknown Story; or elſe inhumane Menaces of an infinite Miſery and Death as its only End in Caſe of Refuſal; then review him as alone, his Soul wreck'd, tortured and diſtracted between the Dread of Diſhonour and Gallows, and his Keeper's Uſage chang'd (and that by Command of the tempting Undertaker to facilitate his Deſign) and then the Wretch's Corps is reloaded with a double Train of Artillery, and therewith removed to a naſtier Sty, if ſuch there be, and immediately the Nickhole of Light, if any, is ſtopt, and the Man left alone overwhelmed with Chains, Darkneſs and Stench, to which you may add the Diſturbance of his Mind and Thoughts about the laſt Temptation, which is uſually repeated while in this or the like Condition; and here you may leave him a while to himſelf, and

turn your Eye to his Wife and Children with Tears and trembling Attendant at the Grate, after having by Pawns or Beggary got ſome Guineas wherewith to ſoften (if poſſible) the Goaler's Heart, you may hear them begging and intreating for a Sight of this their Relative though at a Diſtance, nay ſometimes praying but a Notice and View of thoſe Exteriors of thoſe Walls, within which ſuch their Deareſt lies thus entomb'd, and even this ſhall be denied with execrable Reproaches and Inſults, and all under Pretence of expreſs Orders.

Then follow thoſe ambulatory Wretches and you'll find them making their Court to the Criminal, Agent, or his Deputy, for Leave to apply to the Secretary for Leave to ſee this *Engliſh* Slave, and this firſt Leave muſt be paid for too, or elſe there will ariſe an Hope of Evidence with an Aggravation of his ill Character, and ſo an Oppoſal of this their juſt and legal Right; but anon you'll meet them at *Whitehall*, where, after four or five Days Expence in Waiting, and a Courteſy dropt with a Crown to the Porter, and two of them with double the Sum to the Footman, my Lord's Clerk becomes viſible; and when both are doubled again to him, at laſt the Secretary is ſeen, but then her firſt Addreſs proves certainly abortive, and the ſecond procures only an Adjournment for Inquiry and Recollection after the much no Evidence, which however to her Aſſurance of the Accuſed's Innocence yield ſome Hopes, and then it may be the Widow's Importunity extorts a Promiſe of Speech with King or Councel about the Matter, eſpecially if the Dun be followed cloſe; but then Buſineſs of Neceſſity enforces two or three more Excuſes, and at laſt, if the Woman's Patience and Money can hold out to gain a frequent Acceſs, ſo as to diſturb his Lordſhip with repeated Cries and Tears, a Promiſe is made of an Order for Leave. Now to tire the Reader no longer with theſe Difficulties, upon Payment of Expedition Money, and the uſual Fees, the Order is drawn and ſigned, and with Thanks and Joy received; notwithſtanding all this Labour and Charge, this Order is not legible at the Priſon, unleſs the Keepers Spectacles be gilt, and when allowed 'tis worth but little, for the Keeper's Preſence is commanded, and not a Word muſt paſs between Wife and Huſband but in his Hearing, which frequently makes it a ſilent though mournful Meeting, for Fear of Miſrepreſentation, and this dear-bought Leave can ſerve but once, and its Renewal in Price comes little ſhort of the firſt.

After all this, when the Man's Body hath contracted Diſtempers, and his ſmall Fortune is quite exhauſted, and his Employment with his Credit loſt, and conſequently his Family undone, and his Children, if not himſelf conſigned to Pariſh Care; then without Trial or Indictment *Ex mero Motu*, of a ſudden an Order iſſues for the Delivery or Bailment of this miſerable Captive; and this called, and muſt be owned as Grace, though nothing but Sufpicion did found the Commitment, or that the Man was thought of a Party, or had been in Company with ſome that were thought ſo, and ſome of them perchance had been dabbling at Treaſon, or it may be only at true Politicks; and now what Reparation ever was, or ever can be made for ſuch injurious Hardſhips; this hath been the *Engliſh* Practice, and the ſame may be poſſibly repeated: It is certainly therefore the Duty and Intereſt of our Senators to be wiſe, and conſider and provide for their own and our Poſterity now in this, their, and our Day.

Further,

Further, consider Imprisonment as a possible and safe Instrument, or Means of Revenge even to Death, for there the Nod of a great Man may be an easy but effectual Guide to a Goaler) I need not add here any Epithet, or harder Name than his own) to provide unwholsome Lodging and worse Diet for his Enemy, especially if he be of a tender Constitution, and then 'tis finishing Work, without the useless Formality of a Challenge, or the ignoble Method of Hirelings and Assassinates, or the more base Fatigue of belabouring Witnesses and managing Juries, in all which there's somewhat of Danger and Hazard to the Avenger, and this hath been practiced too in *England*.

When these Particulars are duly considered, with the pretty trickling Retirements of the Nobles and Rich of our Realm, and those repeated several times in one Age and Year, and without Evidence upon some of them, it may be justly expected, that such Consideration will create an Abhorrence of the least Uncertainty or Doubtfulness in the Laws of Liberty.

Some will object that these Proposals will embarrass the King's Affairs in the next Session, and therefore unseasonable; but this Objection doth answer itself, the Occasion for Supplies at present makes our Relief probable in this Conjuncture, which upon another Meeting may find greater Opposition; and if the last Session countermined Part of this, a future may damn the whole, therefore now, if ever, is the Attempt convenient: Besides a sound Zeal for the present Government cannot be better testified than by a cheerful Promotion of such Laws, for that these Methods do conciliate and fix the Interests, Opinions and Affections of the People to the Crown, and a Sense of present Ease, Safety and Liberty, with a certain Security of its Continuance is the surest Preservative of Duty and and Assistance from the Subject; whereas an Opposition hereto, must make the Goverment lose Ground by narrowing of its Bottom; for that which crosses the Interest must alienate the Affections of the People, and this hath been found true in three Reigns already within our Memory: No Authority or Power can be so considerable and lasting as that which is founded on Love and Esteem, and those can never be acquired with any great Certainty, but by the Allowance of such Concessions as the People need, or think that they need, and do desire, or demand: Now the Miscarriages of former Reigns with the Observation of the *French* and others Tyranny, which multiplies Commitments upon slight Fears or Suspicions, are so continually in their Minds and Mouths, that their Belief of the Need of such Securities is not to be eradicated.

'Tis a gross Mistake to imagine, that an easy and full Power of chopping Men in Pieces upon a Block, or confining them to *Newgate*, or other Goals, can add any Strength to the Crown, for *Englishmen* generally speaking are fond of a King, not only for his, but their own Sakes, and consequently such Fondness can be but of an equal Duration with their Ease and Liberty, and a Suretiship of its Permanency; for the Loss, or Fear of the Loss of either, will quickly produce Aversion, and that Hatred, and that, somewhat worse: upon which Account, 'tis incumbent upon all true Friends of their present Majesty's to promote this Prosecution of an additional Security.

POST-

POSTSCRIPT.

At last it may be queried, *What need of all this Bustle and Stir about Liberty, when Parliaments meet so often, that their Awe prevents all these and many more possible Oppressions?* To this I'll answer by another Query, *What new Security have we got, that if the War cease, we shall have a Frequency of those Assemblies?*

ADIEU.

A true List of the *French* Fleet for the Year 1692, commanded by the Count *de Tourville*, consisting of two Squadrons, the *Blue* and the *White*, with the Number of Men and Guns. From the Copy Printed at *Paris*, by the *French* King's Order. Licensed and Entered according to Order.

Avant garde commandée par Monsieur *de Chasteau-Renaut.*

The Avant Guard commanded by Monsieur de Chasteau Renaut.

Noms des Capitaines.	*Ships Names Fr.*	Ships Names En.	Guns	Men
M. Che. Château Renaut	Le Formidable	*The Formidable*	94	650
M. le Comte de Relingue	Le Foudroyant	*The Thunderer*	84	600
M. le Chev. d' Anfreville	Le St. Philippe	*The St. Philip*	84	550
M. de Coëtlogon	Le Magnificque	*The Magnificent*	76	550
M. Gabaret	L' Orgueilleux	*The Proud*	90	650
M. du Maignon	Le Conquerant	*The Conquerant*	84	550
M. d' Alteloire	Le Fier	*The Fierce*	76	490
M. le Ch. de Belle Fontaine	Le Belliqueux	*The Warrior*	76	490
M. de Septe Ville	Le Terrible	*The Terrible*	76	490
M. de Bellile Ecard	Le Floriſſant	*The Flouriſher*	84	490
M. de Septemes	Le Tormant	*The Torment*	76	490
M. Manchot d' Ablemont	Le Triumphant	*The Triumph*	76	490
M. le Che. de Monbron	Le Couronne	*The Crown*	76	490
M. Daligre	Le Pompeux	*The Pompous*	74	450
M. le Chev. d' Anfreville	Le Gaillard	*The Gay*	68	400
M. le Chev. de S. Maure	Le Contant	*The Content*	64	380
M. Ch. de Châteaumorant	Le Glorieux	*The Glorious*	64	380
M. le Marquis Deblenac	Le Serieux	*The Serious*	64	380

M.

Noms des Capitaines.	*Ships Names Fr.*	Ships Names En.	Guns	Men.
M. Demericourt	L' Ecneil	*The Shelf*	64	380
M. le Chevalier Deſcombes	Le Brillant	*The Gliſtering*	68	370
M. de Socquigny	Le Furieux	*The Furious*	60	350
M. Che. de la Rougere	Le Fort	*The Strong*	60	350
M. le Che. de Vilars	St. Michael	*The St. Michael*	60	350
M. le Che. d' Arbouville	L' Agreable	*The Agreeable*	60	350
M. le Che. de Fecquieres	Le Diamant	*The Diamond*	60	350
M. de Sevigny	L' Entreprenant	*The Undertaker*	58	350
	8 Brulots	8 *Fire-Ships*		300

Eſcadre Blanche Corps de Bataille.

The White Squadron, the Line of Battle.

Noms des Capitaines.	*Ships Names Fr.*	Ships Names En.	Guns	Men
M. de Tourville Admiral	Le Soleil Royal	*The Royal Sun*	106	900
M. Forant	Le Daufin Royal	*The R. Dauphin*	100	750
M. de Nemond	Le Monarque	*The Monarch*	90	650
M. Panetir	Le Grand	*Le Grand*	86	630
M. le Mar. de Langeron	Le Souverain	*The Soveraign*	84	560
M. d' Amblemont	Le Victorieux	*The Victorious*	92	700
M. le Mar. de la Porte	Le Fulminant	*The Thunderer*	96	550
M. le Mar. de la Villette	L' Ambitieux	*The Ambitious*	96	550
M. le Mar. de S. Hermine	L' Intrepide	*The Undaunted*	84	530
M. de la Galiſonniere	Le S. Eſprit	*The Holy Ghoſt*	74	450
M. Deſcombes	L' Illuſtre	*The Illuſtrious*	70	450
M. de Reales	L' Aymiable	*The Amiable*	68	420
M. de la Rochealar	Le Henry	*The Henry*	64	400
M. de Colbert St. Marc	De Courtiſan	*The Courtiſan*	64	380
M. de Perrinet	Le Bourbon	*The Bourbon*	64	380
M. du Queſne Guidon	La Siraine	*The Mairmaid*	60	380
M. le Che. de la Luzeone	Le Courageux	*The Couragious*	58	350
M. le Che. de Chateaureneau	L' Aſſure	*The Confident*	60	350
M. le Mar. de Rouvroy	L' Apollon	*The Apollo*	60	350
M. de la Roche Parcin	Le S. Louis	*The St. Lewis*	60	350
M. du Rivant Huet	L' Excellent	*The Excellent*	60	350
M. de la Vigerie	L' Arrogant	*The Arrogant*	60	350
M. de Bagneux	Le Prince	*The Prince*	60	330
M. Omougon	Le Fleuron	*The Bloſſom*	58	330
M. le Che. du Palais	Le Temeraire	*The Raſh*	54	330
	8 Brulots	8 *Fire Ships*		300

Arriere

Arriere Garde Commandée par Monſieur *d' Anfreville.*

The Rear Guard commanded by Monſieur d' Anfreville.

Noms des Capitaines	*Ships Names French*	Ships Names Engliſh	Guns	Men
M. le Mar. d' Anfreville	Le Merveilleux	*The Marvellous*	94	650
M. de Beaujeu	L' Admirable	*The Admirable*	90	650
M. du Hoſelart	Le Vainqueur	*The Conqueror*	84	500
M. le Che. du Chalais	Le Brave	*The Brave*	60	350
M. de Serville	Le Sans Pareil	*The None-ſuch*	60	350
M. de Champigny	Le Juſte	*The Juſt*	64	350
M. Dericourt	L' Entendu	*The Skilful*	60	350
M. le Che. de Sangere	Le Maure	*The Moor*	52	300
M. de Very	Le Moderé	*The Moderate*	52	300
M. le Che. de Pourbin	La Perle	*The Pearl*	56	300
M. le Che. de Rougemont	L' Heureux retour	*The Happy Return*	52	300
M. Debellaire	Le Fidele	*The Faithful*	48	280
	Le Fendant aux Illes	*The Tearer of the Iſles*	54	330
	Le Trident aux Illes	*The Trident to the Iſles*	52	300
	Le Francois	*The Frenchman*	52	280
	Le Prompt	*The Ready*		400
	Le Comte	*The Count*		200
	L' Alcion	*The Halcion*		200
	Le Tygre	*The Tyger*		150
	Le Jeu	*The Game*		150
	Le Neptune	*The Neptune*		280
	L' Hercule	*The Hercules*		130
	8 Brulots	8 *Fireſhips*		300
	Vingt-ſix Fregattes	26 *Frigats*		2650
	Vingt-ſix Fluſts	26 *Pinks*		1040
	Quatorze Barques Longues	14 *Long Boats*		800
	Faiſant le tout enſemble quatre vingt dix ſept Vaiſſeaux avec les Brûlots.	*Making in all 97 Ships with the Fire-Ships*		
	En Hommes 40299 Sans comprendre Meſſieurs les Officiers	*In Men without reckoning the Officers*		40299
	En Canons des Vaiſſeaux de ligue	*Guns in the Ships*	5019	
	En Canon des Brûlots	*Guns in the Fire-Ships*	162	
	En Canon des Barques longes	*Guns in the Long-Boats*	240	
	Toute l' Armée eſt Compoſée de 163 voiles, non Compris les traverſieres	*The whole Fleet conſiſts of 163 Ships, not including thoſe that have Sails and Oars.*		

My Lords and Gentlemen,

OF the Proportional Tax in Decimals, an Arithmetician, in two or three Hours, may proportion each County's Share of any Number of Thousand Pounds, whatsoever shall be laid; and if it should be laid wholly on Acres or Houses, it would prove nearly as in the Table: In which I remark, that *London*, or the Lord Mayor's Jurisdiction only, without the Suburbs in *Middlesex* and *Southwark*, bears near the Sixteenth Part of the Tax; that *Middlesex*, abstracted from *London* (the Lord Mayor's Jurisdiction) bears near the Two and Twentieth and half Part of the Tax; and both together, abstracted from *Southwark*, bear the Ninth and half Part of the Tax; that *Cumberland* bears but One Penny the Acre towards the Tax; but *Middlesex*, including *London*, bears Five Shillings and Eleven Pence the Acre; that *Yorkshire* has about the Tenth and half Part of the Acres of the whole Kingdom, the Eleventh Part of the Houses (much about the same Number with the Bills of Mortality) and bears about a Twentieth Part of the Tax. It seems to me, that the Places over-charged have about 150 Parliament Men; those under-charged, about 130 Men; those that have no Reason to complain, about 220 Men. Whether this Table may shew Reason for Alteration of the Method of Taxing, I submit to proper Judges. The Matter of Fact I here endeavour to demonstrate, and am,

My Lords and Gentlemen, Your most obedient Servant, JOHN HOUGHTON, *F. R. S.*

COUNTIES.	*Monthly Tax, 1691.* *l.*	*s.*	*d.*	*Proportional Tax in Decimals.*	*Acres.*	*Houses.*	*Parts of the whole* *Tax.*	*Acres.*	*Houses.*	*Acres per House.*	*Years Tax per* *Acre.* *s.*	*d.*	*House.* *s.*	*d.*
Bedford	1793	15	6	013032186	260000	12170	a 77th	a 154th	a 96th	21	1	8	35	6
Bucks	2630	12	10	019112214	441000	18390	52	91	63	24	1	5¼	34	6
Berks	2264	13	2	016453262	527000	16906	61	76	69	31	1	0½	32	3
Cambridge	2040	0	0	014821067	570000	17347	50	70	67	33	1	2	38	0
Ely	699	15	10	005084147										
Chester	1495	14	4	010866724	720000	24054	86	55	48½	30	0	6½	16	0
Chester City	106	16	8	000776168										
Cornwall	3081	16	6	022390164	960000	25374	45	42	46	38	0	9¼	29	2
Cumberland	336	12	2	002445536	1040000	14825	410	38½	78½	70	0	1	5	6
Derby	1724	16	8	012531308	680000	21155	80	59	55	32	0	7¼	19	6
Devon	6459	18	4	046932775	1920000	56310	21	21	21	34	0	10	28	8
Exeter	232	14	8	001690860										
Dorset	2689	0	10	019536505	772000	21944	51	52	52	35	0	10	29	8
Pool	21	19	4	000159593										
Durham	647	13	6	004705507	610000	15984	213	66	73	38	0	3	9	9
York	6938	10	4	050409913	3770000	106151	20	10½	11	35	0	5¼	15	8
Essex	6196	17	8	045021777	1240000	34819	22	32	33½	36	1	2½	43	0
Gloucester	3617	0	6	026278514	800000	26764	37½	50	43½	30	1	1¼	33	0
Gloucester City	78	16	0	000572500										
Hereford	2263	6	8	016443636	660000	15006	61	61	77½	44	0	10	36	3
Hertford	2691	12	6	019555272	451000	16569	51	89	70	27½	1	5¼	39	0
Huntington	1267	8	4	009208073	240000	8217	109	166	142	29	1	3¼	37	0
Kent	6653	17	4	048341866	1248000	39242	21	32	29	32	1	3¼	41	0
Lancaster	2013	7	0	014627449	1150000	40202	28	35	29	28½	0	5	12	0
Leicester	2160	8	6	015764379	560000	18700	64	64	60	30	0	11¼	28	0

Lincoln	5150	4	0	037417383	1740000	40590	27	23	$28\frac{1}{2}$	43	0	$3\frac{1}{2}$	30	0
London	8583	2	8	062358430	247000	30997	16		$37\frac{1}{2}$				66	8
Middlesex, Westm.	6081	3	0	044179858		69139	$22\frac{1}{2}9\frac{1}{2}$	162	$16\frac{1}{2}$	$3\frac{1}{2}$	5	11	21	0
Monmouth	780	0	0	005666878	340000	6490	177	118	180	52	0	$6\frac{1}{2}$	28	10
Northampton	2827	16	4	020544736	550000	24808	49	73	47	22	1	3	27	6
Nottingham	1746	16	0	012690902	560000	17554	79	$71\frac{1}{2}$	$66\frac{1}{2}$	32	0	9	24	8
Norfolk	6741	4	0	048976362	1148000	47180	$19\frac{1}{2}$	35	$24\frac{1}{2}$	24	1	6	36	2
Norwich	360	0	0	002615482										
Northumberland	745	11	4	005416712	1370000	22741	184	29	51	60	0	$1\frac{1}{2}$	7	10
Oxon	2271	1	4	016499819	534000	19007	61	75	$61\frac{1}{2}$	28	0	$12\frac{1}{4}$	28	8
Rutland	480	17	10	003493788	110000	3263	287	364	357	34	1	$0\frac{1}{2}$	35	4
Salop	2407	8	4	017490433	890000	23284	57	45	50	$38\frac{1}{2}$	0	$7\frac{3}{4}$	24	10
Stafford	1705	3	4	012388426	810000	23747	$80\frac{1}{2}$	49	49	34	0	$6\frac{1}{4}$	17	6
Litchfield	26	0	0	000188896										
Somerset	5543	1	4	040271649	1075000	44686	25	37	26	24	1	4	32	0
Bristol	398	16	8	002897615		5122	345		227				18	8
Southampton	4378	17	4	031813469	1312500	26851	$31\frac{1}{2}$	$30\frac{1}{2}$	$43\frac{1}{2}$	49	0	$9\frac{1}{2}$	39	2
Suffolk	6597	1	4	047929200	995000	34422	21	40	34	29	1	7	46	0
Surry	3194	0	4	023205262	592000	34218	43	68	34	$17\frac{1}{2}$	1	$3\frac{1}{2}$	22	6
Sussex	3642	15	6	026465594	1140000	21537	38	35	54	53	0	$9\frac{1}{4}$	40	8
Warwick	2384	17	6	017326663	670000	21973	58	60	53	30	1	$10\frac{1}{4}$	26	0
Worcester	2107	18	0	015314376	540000	20634	62	74	$56\frac{1}{2}$	26	0	$11\frac{3}{4}$	25	10
Worcester City	110	19	0	000806077										
Wilts	3933	15	2	028579655	876000	27093	35	46	43	32	1	1	35	0
Westmoreland	232	0	0	001685533	510000	6501	595	$78\frac{1}{2}$	179	79	0	$1\frac{1}{2}$	8	6
Anglesey	251	7	4	001826234	200000	1840	550	200	630	109	0	$3\frac{1}{2}$	32	4
Brecknock	565	0	11	004105187	620000	5934	244	65	197	104	0	$2\frac{1}{3}$	22	10
Cardigan	211	11	7	001537171	520000	3163	650	77	370	164	0	$1\frac{1}{4}$	16	0
Caermarthen	544	13	4	003957128	700000	5352	254	57	218	131	0	$2\frac{1}{4}$	24	5
Carnarvan	293	4	4	002130286	370000	2765	470	108	423	134	0	$2\frac{1}{4}$	25	5
Denbigh	447	1	2	003247981	410000	6398	308	98	183	64	0	$3\frac{1}{4}$	16	9
Flint	237	14	8	001727187	160000	3150	580	250	371	51	0	$4\frac{1}{4}$	18	1
Glamorgan	757	15	8	005505469	540000	9644	182	74	121	56	0	4	18	10
Merioneth	201	12	2	001464730	500000	2590	685	80	451	193	0	$1\frac{1}{4}$	18	8
Montgomery	552	4	4	004019245	560000	5660	249	$71\frac{1}{2}$	207	99	0	3	23	5
Pembroke	653	0	0	004744194	420000	4329	201	95	270	97	0	$4\frac{3}{4}$	36	2
Haverford West	30	6	10	000220439										
Radnor	348	13	4	002533143	310000	3158	395	129	370	98	0	$3\frac{1}{4}$	26	6

A true Account of the horrid Conſpiracy againſt the Life of his Sacred Majeſty *William* III. King of *England*, *Scotland*, *France*, and *Ireland*, &c. Setting forth by whom it was contrived, how it was to be carried on, and the Manner of its Diſcovery. Publiſhed by Authority. 1692.

SOME of the Miniſters in the higheſt Employments, and of the greateſt Credit in the *French* Court, having formed a Deſign to aſſaſſinate his Majeſty of *Great Britain*, they made Choice of one *Bartholomew de Liniere*, Kt. Sieur *de Grandvall*, as their Inſtrument to manage the Enterprize, to find out Perſons fit to be employed in it, to engage them by Promiſes of great Rewards; as alſo to be aiding and aſſiſting in his own Perſon.

The ſaid *Grandvall* being informed, that one *Anthony Du Mont* had already been engaged in this Deſign, in the Life-time of the late Marquis of *Louvois*, he propoſed it to him again; to execute the ſame, by Order of the Marquis of *Barbeſieux*, and ſome others. Whereupon ſeveral Projects were drawn up, ſeveral Petitions delivered, and many Conferences were held, and at laſt the Reſolution was taken to bring it to effect the laſt Campaign 1691. But the Providence of God having diſappointed them, yet notwithſtanding they did not let fall the Proſecution of their horrid Deſign. But *Grandvall* was employed to write frequently to *Du Mont* (who was retired to *Hanover*) to ſtir him up to another Attempt this Campaign, which at laſt they agreed upon.

One *Leefdale* coming to *Paris* about that Time, *Grandvall* making an Acquaintance with him, diſcovered to him the ſaid Deſign, which *Leefdale* ſhewed a Willingneſs to be concerned in; but ſoon after gave Notice of it by Letters to his Relations in *Holland*, that they might inform his Majeſty. And the like Diſcovery was made by *Du Mont* to his Highneſs the Duke of *Zell*, who acquainted his Majeſty with it about the ſame Time that he received the other Account.

In the mean time *Grandvall* having appointed *Du Mont* a Rendezvous at *Uden* in the Country of *Raveſteyn*, he ſet out from *Paris* in Company with *Leefdale*, paſſing through *Bruſſels*, where he communicated his Deſign to one *John d'Amours*, who was formerly a domeſtic Servant to *Leefdale*'s Father. From thence they went to *Antwerp*, and ſo to *Eyndhoven*, where *Grandvall* was ſeized and carried to *Bois le Duc*.

His Majeſty directing the Examinations to be taken there, *Leefdale* was firſt examined, who declared, with great Exactneſs, all the Circumſtances of the Conſpiracy. But it is not neceſſary to mention more of them here, than that *Grandvall* told him, the King of *Great Britain* was looked upon as the only Obſtacle to the *French* King's Deſigns. That *Grandvall* had ſent to *Du Mont*

laſt Winter above 200 Piſtoles, to keep him firm to the Buſineſs; and that he ſent him ten Ducats from *Bruſſels* by Bill of Exchange. That whilſt they were at *Mons*, a Report being ſpread of ſome Diſorders in *Scotland*, which would oblige his Majeſty to croſs the Sea again: *Grandvall* fearing it might happen before he could execute his Deſign, ſpoke to *Leefdale* in theſe Words; Dear Friend, we are like to loſe our Fortunes: I beg of you that we may go away immediately.

John d'Amours being next examined, depoſed, That *Grandvall* told him at *Bruſſels*, he had a great Buſineſs to do, which had miſcarried the laſt Year. And they two falling into a Diſcourſe about his Majeſty, *John d'Amours* asked *Grandvall*, if he had any thing to ſay to the King? Yes, anſwered he, to break his Neck. *John d'Amours* repreſenting to him the Difficulties that might attend ſuch an Attempt; *Grandvall* replied, I have given my Word to Monſieur *Barbeſieux*, and I'll do it. *D'Amours* adds further, That going one Day with *Grandvall* and *Leefdale* by the *Jeſuits* Church at *Bruſſels*, *Grandvall* ſaid, Let us go in and ſay a *Pater-noſter*, that God would bleſs our Undertaking. And accordingly they went into the Church.

Du Mont having been examined ſince, has owned the Fact in all its Circumſtances; adding ſeveral other Particulars, *viz.* That Madam *Maintenon* was acquainted with the Deſign; and that *Grandvall*, in one of his Letters ſent to him, uſed this Expeſſion, That he would accommodate the Matter by the Means of Madam *Maintenon*. That *Grandvall* told him, the Buſineſs ſucceeding, he (ſpeaking of himſelf) ſhould have an ample Recompence, even to be a Duke. That whilſt he was at *Hanover* he imparted the Deſign to Monſieur *Bedal*, alias *Hasfelt*, who was at that time the *French* King's Miniſter in that Court; that he ſhewed to the ſaid Monſieur *Bedal* all the Letters he writ to Monſieur *Barbeſieux* and *Grandvall*, as alſo the Anſwers he received from them; that the ſaid *Bedal* approved the Deſign, ſaying, It would be a very good Buſineſs, if it could be brought to paſs; and that *Bedal* lent him fifty Crowns at *Hanover*. *Du Mont* adds further, that he was intimately acqainted with one *Miller*, an Agent for *Bedall*; that the ſaid *Miller* told him, as a great Secret, that *Bedal* had ſent him ſeveral times to *Holland* with Diſpatches, that came from *France*, for Monſieur *Moreau*, Envoy to the King of *Poland*; that he always gave thoſe Pacquets into Monſieur *Moreau*'s own Hand, and Monſieur *Moreau* gave him the Anſwers to them in like Manner. And that by the Help of Monſieur *Bedal* and Monſieur *Moreau* the Court of *France* managed their choiceſt Correſpondence in *Holland*.

At laſt *Grandvall* was examined, who perceiving that the Matter was diſcovered, and that his own Letters could be produced to convict him, he ingeguouſly confeſſed all the Circumſtances of the Deſign, as they are particularized in the Sentence.

After which *Grandvall* being brought to the Army, he was put upon his Trial before a Grand Court-Martial, conſiſting of General Officers, where he appeared ſeveral Times, together with the Witneſſes above-mentioned, who not only perſiſted in what they had already depoſed, but added many other Particulars and Circumſtances, of which there were very few that *Grandvall* did not

not agree too, and that freely, without ſo much as naming the Rack to him, either before or after Sentence.

Grandvall, during his Impriſonment, drew up two Petitions to be preſented to his Majeſty, all written with his own Hand; in which he ſays, That as to the before-mentioned Deſign, he acted in it but in Obedience to the Orders he had received from Monſieur *Barbeſieux* and Monſieur *Chanlois*. That *Du Mont* was guilty; that *Leefdale* was guilty; and that he *(Grandvall)* was guilty, ſince every one that conſpires againſt a crown'd Head is worthy of Death, acknowledging his own Fault.

The Judges after this having met ſeveral Times, at laſt gave this Sentence, which is here inſerted Word for Word.

WHEREAS *Bartholomew de Liniere*, Knight, Sieur *de Grandvall*, born at *Liniere* in *Picardy*, aged about forty-three Years, and now a Priſoner, hath confeſſed before the Grand Court-Martial, without any Conſtraint, by Pain, or being in Irons; and it further appearing to the ſaid Court-Martial, that the late Marquis *de Louvois*, in his Life-time, Secretary of State to the *French* King, in the Year 1691, entered into an Agreement with one *Anthony du Mont*, about the Murther of his Majeſty *William* III. King of *Great-Britain*, &c. and that the ſaid *du Mont* had framed a Project, ſetting forth in what Manner that Deſign might be executed; that he delivered the ſaid Project to the ſaid Marquis of *Louvois*; that the Priſoner ſome time before the Marquis of *Louvois*'s Death, aſking his Leave to go ſomewhere elſe, was ordered by the ſaid Marquis not to go away, for that he had ſome Buſineſs of Conſequence to employ him in, which the Priſoner ſuppoſes to have ſome Relation to the ſaid Deſign, but the Marquis of *Louvois* dying ſome time after, there was no farther Progreſs then made in the ſaid Deſign.

That the Marquis of *Barbeſieux*, Son to the ſaid Marquis of *Louvois*, as alſo Secretary of State to the *French* King, having five Days after his Father's Death found the ſaid Project, together with a Warrant for thirty Piſtoles to be paid to the ſaid *du Mont*, among his Father's Papers; the ſaid Deſign was revived again, and the thirty Piſtoles were paid accordingly. That the Priſoner contracted an Acquaintance with *du Mont* at Monſieur *Rabenac's* Houſe, where Monſieur *Paparell*, Pay-Maſter General to the *French* King's Armies, ſaying one Day to Monſieur *Rabenac* (the Priſoner being preſent) That if they had a Mind to ſeize the King of *England*, *du Mont* would be a fit Perſon for it: *Du Mont* reply'd with Execrations, That he would carry off his Majeſty alive or dead, as he had promiſed to Monſieur *de Louvois*.

That *du Mont* having delivered the ſame, or the like Project, to Monſieur *de Barbeſieux*; the Priſoner to promote the ſaid Deſign, had ſeveral Conferences with Monſieur *Barbeſieux* and Monſieur *Paparell*, in one of which Monſieur *Barbeſieux* told the Priſoner, That he ſuſpected his Father was poiſoned by Order of the Prince of *Orange* (meaning his preſent Majeſty of *Great Britain*) and therefore he would be revenged of him. That Monſieur *Barbeſieux* told the Priſoner in another Conference, That he would give *du Mont* Notice that his Majeſty of *Great Britain* wore a Coat of Mail, which the Priſoner acquainting *du Mont* with, he anſwered thereupon, It is no Matter, I'll kill him for all that.

That *Barbeſieux* had ſaid further, He would not ſpeak himſelf with *du Mont*, fearing he might be taken Priſoner; and if he ſhould happen then to name him, it might make a great Breach in his Fortune.

That the Priſoner was engaged with one *Parker*, a Colonel belonging to the late King *James*, to put the ſaid Deſign in Execution; and that *Parker* had told him, He had formed the ſaid Deſign with the late Marquis of *Louvois*.

That at laſt the Priſoner, with the ſaid *Barbeſieux*, *Paparell*, *Parker* and *du Mont*, agreed upon the Manner of executing the ſaid Deſign, *viz.* That the Priſoner and *Parker* ſhould meet at the grand Guard of the Duke of *Luxembourg*'s Army, where they were to have fifteen hundred Horſe; that *Du Mont* ſhould go to the King of *England*'s Army, and watch the time when his Majeſty went to viſit the grand Guard; and at the ſame time he was to ſhoot his Majeſty; that the Priſoner and *Parker*, with fifteen hundred Horſe, were to reſcue and bring him off, the ſaid *Du Mont* giving timely Notice to the Priſoner of the intended Execution. That *Barbeſieux* giving the Priſoner Orders to accompany *Du Mont* to *Menin*, he gave him at the ſame time an Order to the Duke of *Luxembourg* for furniſhing the Priſoner with ſuch a Detachment of Horſe as he ſhould require, and think neceſſary for the Deſign.

That the Priſoner, by Monſieur *Barbeſieux*'s Order, received of Monſieur *Paparell* eighty Lewis d'Ors; and, in purſuance of Monſieur *Barbeſieux*'s Directions, he gave to *Du Mont* fifty-five Lewis d'Ors out of that Sum, *viz.* fifteen Piſtoles in Specie, and a Bill of Exchange for 460 Livres, *French* Money, to be paid at *Ghent*; that the Priſoner accordingly left *Paris* the 11th of *September* 1691, and went Poſt with *Du Mont* to *Menin*; that he defray'd the whole Charge of the Journey; that *Du Mont* acquainted him on the Way, that Monſieur *Barbeſieux* had promiſed him an annual Revenue of 20,000 Livres, and to make him a Knight of the Order of St. *Lazarus*, in caſe the Deſign took Effect: That the Priſoner coming to *Menin*, went to the Governor Monſieur *Pertuis*, as he had been directed by Monſieur *Barbeſieux*, and obtained of him a Paſſport for *Du Mont*, who parted immediately for *Ghent*, promiſing the Priſoner, that according to their Agreement he would ſend to him at the grand Guard; that the Priſoner thereupon went to the Duke of *Luxembourg*'s Army, and he and *Parker* continued at the Head of the grand Guard till the Day before the Rencounter at *Leuze*, without hearing from *Du Mont*.

That *Du Mont* going to *Hanover*, the Priſoner had kept a conſtant Correſpondence with him about executing the ſame Deſign at ſome other Opportunity; that the Priſoner communicated what Letters he received from *Du Mont* to Monſieur *Barbeſieux*, who gave him Directions what Anſwers he ſhould return: That the Priſoner reſolved with Monſieur *Barbeſieux*, that the Deſign ſhould be executed this Campaign, *Anno* 1692, which had failed the laſt; that the Priſoner had taken ſome Meaſures concerning the ſame with Monſieur *Chanlais*, Quarter-Maſter General to the *French* King.

In the mean time one *Frederick Aelbreyt*, *Leefdale*, heretofore Captain-Lieutenant of a Troop of Dragoons in the Service of the High and Mighty States-General of the *United Provinces*, coming to *Paris*, was brought acquainted with the Priſoner by the Means of one *Sterck*; that the Priſoner having contracted an intimate Familiarity with the ſaid *Leefdale*, diſcovered the ſaid Deſign to him

towards

towards the latter end of *March* last 1692, telling him, That an Officer who would ingratiate himself in the King's Favour, must venture at something of Consequence; that he the Prisoner had concerted the Execution of a Design upon which his Fortune depended; that it was indeed a Matter not without Hazard, but the greater the Difficulties were the more would be the Honour, encouraging *Leefdale* to be concerned in it; and the said *Leefdale* shewing a Readiness to comply with him, the Prisoner opened himself with greater Freedom, and told him, That he was engaged last Campaign, with one *Du Mont*, to assassinate the King of *Great Britain*, but it had no Effect, by Reason of his Majesty's leaving the Army so soon; but it was resolved again to put the same in Execution this Year; that *Du Mont*, by many repeated Oaths, had sworn he would do it; yet he the Prisoner feared that if he were not present, *Du Mont* would not so exactly observe his Orders, and therefore he was resolved to go along with *Du Mont*, asking *Leefdale*, If he would be of the Party, who answering, That he would, the Prisoner discoursed to him at large of all Particulars concerning the Design, and afterwards brought him to Monsieur *Barbesieux* and *Chanlais*.

That *Chanlais*, in one of the Conferences held upon that Subject, told *Leefdale*, the Prisoner being by, That a great Reward should be given him, the Business succeeding: That *Barbesieux* and *Paparell* had both of them Knowledge of the promised Rewards.

That he the Prisoner, with the said *Leefdale* and Colonel *Parker*, went to *St. Germains* on the 16th of *April* 1692, to speak with the late King *James* about the same Design, who had Knowledge of it, and to take leave of him before they began their Journey; that the Prisoner had Audience at the same time of the said King *James*, the late Queen being present; King *James* telling him, *Parker* has given me an Account of the Business; if you and the other Officers do me this Service, you shall never want: And *Parker*, the Prisoner, and *Leefdale* entered into a Discourse about this Design.

That *Du Mont*'s Wife delivered to Monsieur *Barbesieux* several Letters, which she received from her Husband whilst he was at *Hanover*; and the Prisoner continuing his Correspondence with him all the said Time, he engaged *Du Mont* by Letters, especially those dated the 20th and 25th of *April*, and 12th of *May* last, to come from *Hanover* to a Rendezvous at *Uden* in the Country at *Ravesteyn*, in order to take a final Resolution with the said Prisoner and *Leefdale* concerning the Manner of executing their Design; the Prisoner pressing *Du Mont* to hasten his Journey, for Fear the King of *England* should have Occasion to repass the Sea; the Prisoner adding withal, That he should be mad if he failed in his Business.

That the Prisoner, with *Chanlais* and *Leefdale*, where agreed in what Manner the Assassination should be committed on the Person of his Majesty, *viz.* that when the King should ride along the Lines, or should go out to take any View, or when the Army should decamp, that *Du Mont* should lie in Ambuscade, and when his Majesty should pass within a hundred Paces of him, he should then fire upon the King; that *Chanlais* (to whom Notice was to be given before of the Time) should be with three thousand Horse at the Duke of *Luxemburg*'s grand Guard; that the Prisoner had told *Leefdale*, There would

be

be no Danger for him, ſince *Du Mont* had a Secret to charm People's Eyes, and at all Adventures they two would keep with thoſe who followed the King; and when every Body was purſuing after *Du Mont*, they ſhould have Time to eſcape and ſave themſelves, and carry the Account to Monſieur *Chanlais*; and it little concerned them whether *Du Mont* ſhould be taken or not, provided they could eſcape themſelves; that the Priſoner and *Leefdale* received their laſt Orders from *Chanlais*, who told them he was going to *Mons*, and that they ſhould ſtay for him there.

That the Priſoner and *Leefdale* went from *Paris* the 17th of *April* laſt, and arrived a few Days after at *Mons*, having waited ſome time for Monſieur *Chanlais*'s Arrival; and finding he did not come, they reſolved to go forward to the Rendezvous by the Way of *Bruſſels*; that the Priſoner, as they were travelling on the Way, told *Leefdale*, That their Deſign taking Place, the Alliance among the Confederate Princes would be broken; that the Princes concerned would each of them recal their Troops, and the Country being thereby left without Soldiers, the King of *France* would eaſily make himſelf Maſter of it, and King *James* would be reſtored again.

That the Priſoner with *Leefdale* went to the Mayory of *Boiſleduc*, and was apprehended at *Eyndhoven*.

And whereas this horrid Deſign is contrary to the Laws of God, of Nature, and of all Nations, and ought, for the deterring of others from the like Machinations, to be puniſhed with the greateſt Rigour, the ſaid Court-Martial having with mature Deliberation examined and conſidered the whole Matter, have thought fit to judge and declare, as they do hereby declare, the Priſoner to be guilty of High Treaſon, and do condemn him to be drawn on a Sledge to the Place of Execution, there to be hanged on a Gallows; to be cut down before he be dead; his Body to be opened, and his Bowels taken out and burnt; his Head to be ſet upon a Pole; his Body to be quartered; and the four Quarters to be hung up where his Majeſty ſhall think fit. And do further declare all his Eſtate to be confiſcated, and condemn him to bear the Charges and Coſts of this Trial.

Given and pronounced in the Head Quarters of the Army under the Command of his Majeſty of *Great Britain*, by the Earl of *Athlone*, General of the Horſe, Preſident; the Lieutenant-General *Van Scnavenmore*, and Lieutenant-General *Talmaſh*; the Marquis *de la Foreſt*, the Heer *Van Weede*, Count *Noyelles*, and the Heer *Zobel*, Majors-General, and the Brigadiers *Churchill* and *Ramſey*; *Cornelius Van Wou*, and *Richard Uthwayt*, Judges Advocates aſſiſting, at *Lembeck*, the 11th of *Auguſt*, 1692.

Signed,

ATHLONE.

And lower,

By Order of the Court-Martial,

Thomas Du Val.

In Purſuance of the Sentence abovementioned, the Chevalier *De Grandvall* was executed in the Camp on the 13th Day of *Auguſt*, 1692. All that he ſaid at the Place of Execution was, to recommend himſelf to the Prayers of thoſe that

that were preſent: But the ſame Morning before he went to Execution, he writ this following Letter.

Du Camp de Halle, ce 13 Aout, 1692.

Madamoiſelle,

JE vous prie d'aller trouver Monſieur l'Archevêque de Rheims, avec Monſieur Jourduil, & faire connoître au dit Seigneur Archevêque, qu'il m'en couſte la vie, pour avoir obeyé aux Ordres de Monſieur Barbeſieux. C'eſt la grace que vous demande vôtre ſerviteur,

De Grandvall.

Voyez Monſieur le Marquis d'Arſy, qu'il contribuë à faire prier Dieu pour moy.

A Madamoiſelle Juré, ruë Trevelle, vis à vis de la ruë des deux Eſcus, prés de l'Hoſtel de Soiſſons, à Paris.

From the Camp at Hall, Aug. 13, 1692.

Madam,

I Pray you to go to the Archbiſhop of *Rheims*, with Monſieur *Jourduil*, and to let the Archbiſhop know, That it coſt me my Life for having obeyed the Orders of Monſieur *De Barbeſieux*, which is the Favour deſired of you by your Servant,

De Grandvall.

Speak to to the Marquis *D'Arſy*, That he take Care I be pray'd for.

To Madam *Juré*, in *Trevelle-ſtreet*, over-againſt the Street of the *Two Crowns*, near the *Hoſpital* of *Soiſſons*, at *Paris*.

Upon the Occaſion of this Letter, it will not be improper to take Notice of a Paſſage that happened ſome Days before *Grandvall*'s Condemnation, ſince it has ſo great an Agreement with the ſaid Letter, and may ſerve to explain it, if it needed any clearer Light, which is as follows.

One diſcourſing with the Chevalier *Grandvall* in Priſon, and obſerving he ſought to juſtify himſelf upon the Orders he had received from the Marquis of *Barbeſieux*, he told him, Though that was in itſelf a very weak Excuſe for being engaged in a baſe Action, yet ſtill it might prove ſo much the worſe, as that it was like enough Monſieur *Barbeſieux* would diſown that he gave any ſuch Orders, or that he was any ways concerned with him in a Buſineſs of this Nature. To which *Grandvall* reply'd, Let him deny what he pleaſes, yet if I were put upon it, I would make it appear very plain; for I have an original Paper under Monſieur *Barbeſieux*'s own Hand, which I have lodged with a Friend of mine, who will not part with it to any one but myſelf, and no body elſe knows with whom I have intruſted it.

An

An Impartial Account of ſome of the Tranſactions in *Scotland*, concerning the Earl of *Broadalbin*, Viſcount and Maſter of *Stair*, *Glenco-Men*, Biſhop of *Galloway*, and Mr. *Duncan Robertſon*. In a Letter from a Friend. 1695.

SIR,

THOUGH I be none of the moſt curious to pry into foreign Matters, yet the various Reports we have had of the Proceedings of, and Conteſts betwixt ſome of the Members of the *Scots* Parliament, prompted me to deſire the Favour of you (as a Perſon I believe not much concerned in Factions or Parties) to let me know ſomething of the Matters of Fact were in Agitation there: As alſo who thoſe Perſons are, and their Actions have been, who occaſioned ſuch great Heats concerning them, at ſuch a Juncture, when all good Men ought to be cemented for the Good of the Publick, and ought to ſtand by one another, as one Man, to oppoſe the evil Deſigns of the common Enemy. For my Part, I find in ordinary Converſation, that both good and bad People ſpeak generally of theſe Matters, as they affect ſuch Men and Parties, *&c.*

Sir, I will avouch that my Steadfaſtneſs to the preſent Government is known by good Men to be ſuch, that I cannot in Juſtice be termed diſaffected; and my Intereſt is ſo little with particular Parties, that I dare tell ſo much of the Truth to the Government's Friends, and my own alſo, as is convenient: Will therefore ſtrain my Inclinations to give you a ſuccinct Account of ſome Matters of Fact; as alſo what I could learn concerning theſe Men you writ of, which can give no Offence: And though my Obligations to great Men (ſince the late happy Revolution) be little, yet will do them all the Juſtice imaginable. But before I come to anſwer your Expectation in Particulars, will take the Freedom (by way of a *Euſtick* Preamble) to paraphraſe a little upon ſome wiſe Men's Sentences. *Seneca* ſaid, that the moſt univerſal Vice in the World was Ingratitude, becauſe puniſhable by no Statute Law, but by public Hatred, and the Diſcourſe of the Schools, which is ſaid to be the greateſt Puniſhment; yea, Ingratitude ſways the Scepter in moſt Places, as well in private as in public Men. Some Men were ungrateful to their Countries (of whom we could name ſeveral) and ſome Countries were ungrateful to their own worthy, loving, and affectionate Children: Pride, Contempt, Avarice, and Envy, are ſaid to be the chief Reaſons, and ſeldom all theſe concur without Malice, and Height of Rigour: But I ſuppoſe that that Part of a Nation is either the indocile, ignorant, or vicious. *Socrates* ſuffered for doing Good to his Country, even whilſt he was doing Good to his Countrymen in Priſon, they condemned and put him to death. Some will object, that there is ſome ſecret Crime brings on a Puniſhment, and that ſome Men ſuffer for Crimes they may not be guilty of; and ſo it's their Judgment.

ment. But be it so or not, that's neither Argument nor Excuse for the Instrument's being cruel or ungrateful, to punish by guess, without a fair Trial, and conscientious Jury, in Estate, Fame, or Body; for he who makes no Scruple to take away a Man's Good Name, will make none to take his Life also if he can.

Philosophers as well as Historians declare, that the *Epicureans* denied a Providence, but that the *Stoicks* asserted it; whatever might be in that Contest amongst the ancient Heathens and modern pretended Atheists, yet we, who assume the Name of Christians, must not only own a Providence, that it overrules all Actions, Motions and Events, exalteth one, and pulleth down another; but also createth Friends and Enemies, and that a Society of good as well as of bad Men may differ in Opinion, which oftentimes occasions not only Jealousies, Emulations and Debates, but also Strifes, Contentions, Threats, Persecutions, War, and the Death of many well and evil-designing Men. *Cato* struggled long before the People of *Rome* could understand his Counsels to be for their Good and Safety; he was affronted and contemned by them, nor did they ever consider his Worth till they lost him. *Scipio* was dismiss'd, *Cicero* exil'd, and *Seneca* destroyed, he by a tyrannical Prince only for his Goodness. *Paul* suffered as an evil Doer; yea, our Saviour himself was contemned, set at nought, and condemned to the shameful Cross by his Countrymen, out of Pride and Ignorance, for his Kindness and Goodness to them. So it's no new thing for good and bad Men to be mistaken, and others to be mistaken of them. It is an ancient Saying, That Loyalty often suffers the Punishment due to Rebels, and Treason receives the Reward of Fidelity. There may be two principal Reasons for this; Ignorance, and Depravity of Men's Natures. Ignorants not being Judges of Men fit for Government, nor the Governor's Actions, or Secrets of State, which is generally the Failure or Mistakes of the Populace. Here you will always find *improborum duces*, who influences the blind Populace *vela dare suæ fortunæ*, to accomplish their Designs, though it were upon the Ruins of the Commonwealth. And under the Second, may be comprehended all the Vices of the Mind, which would be too long to be named here; only this one observed by the Wise, That we have the Wickedness of other Men always in our Eyes, but cast our own over our Shoulders (*a*). This confirms all the Proofs of the former Reasons of Ingratitude. Whence it comes to pass, that a Peasant would be a Tribune, a Tribune a Prætor, a Prætor a Consul (as the Philosopher said) never minding what he had been in a little time before but looking still forwards to what he would be (*b*). I know not but *Brutus* thought (that when he had destroyed *Cæsar*) to have been *Cæsar* himself; but he had only in Place thereof, Remorse left with him, (with, *Et tu mi file Brute*) for his great Expectations. Both good and great Men we see are subject to Envy; for some People never think themselves happy till such and such Men be out of their Way, as in the Case of *Haman* and *Mordecai*; but neither they, nor the Commonwealth can well know the Want of such Men till they be gone, when there is no retrieving: For in what sad Condition had *Esther* and the poor *Jews* been, if *Haman* had conquered *Mordecai*? And it had been better for *Haman* he had let *Mordecai* alone. Upon which Considerations, it were advisable for Societies,

(*a*) *Lineæ foris talpæ domi.* (*b*) *Fortuna non mutat genus.*

if they be any ways ſplit in Parties, to take the Wiſe Man's Advice, before they accuſe or proſecute, and to conſider three Things: Firſt, their Strength whom they accuſe. Secondly, the Enterprize and Merit of the Cauſe. And Thirdly, the Perſon or Perſons they have to do withal; and that in reſpect of their Superiors, Equals or Inferiors, *&c.* For as no good Muſic, ſo no good Government or Society without Concord, which cannot well be without bearing of Injuries. And *Epicurus* ſaid, That wiſe Men will bear with all Injuries, *Ardua res hæc eſt*, where the Public is concerned. I will therefore conclude this Point with a Sentence of *Seneca*'s, when in an Epiſtle to his Friend, he was condemning Anger and Choler, he adds a *But*. But (ſays he) in caſe of exemplary and proſtitute Diſſolution of Manners, when *Clodius* ſhall be preferred, and *Cicero* rejected; when Loyalty ſhall be broken on the Wheel, and Treaſon ſhall ſit triumphant on the Bench; is not this a Subject to move the Choler of any virtuous Man? Now, leſt I ſhould weary you too much with this ſimple Diſcourſe, (yet know it is to my Friend only) I come to ſatisfy ſo much your Curioſity as is in my Power, without Reflection or Byaſs: *Nam pacis mihi cura tenendæ.*

Illud amicitiæ Sanctum & venerabile nomen
Sed
Dat veniam corvis vexat Cenſura Columbas
Hoc impedit, &c.

As for the Biſhop of *Galloway*, being firſt in view. In the Year 1686. The late King *James* having ſent the Earl of *Murray*, his High Commiſſioner, to *Scotland*, with Inſtructions to repeal the Penal Laws againſt Papiſts; the aforeſaid Biſhop ſtood firm to the Proteſtant Religion, and though very infirm, went every Day to the Meetings of Parliament, to give his Teſtimony againſt the Courſes then in hand; for which there were evil Deſigns againſt him, but that God removed him in great Age and Peace a little time after the adjourning of that Parliament. He being a pious, hoſpitable, and generous Man, left his Lady (being upwards of eighty Years old) but poor: His eldeſt Daughter was married to one Mr. *Patrick Smith*, Advocate, many Years before his Deceaſe. His ſecond Daughter was married to a Parſon; and the third was run away with, a little time before his Death, by the aforeſaid Mr. *Duncan Robertſon*, without the Biſhop's or any other Friend's Knowledge, the ſaid *Robertſon* judging her to be a great Prize, the other two Daughters being married, and ſhe being then the only Child in *Familia*.

The aforeſaid Mr. *Duncan Robertſon* was a Highland Gentleman's Son, bordering upon *Athol* and *Lochquhaber*, bred up ſomething to the Law at *Edinburgh*, became a Sollicitor that way, and practiſed that Employ when he run away with, and married the aforeſaid Biſhop's Daughter.

When the laſt Earl of *Argyle* was forfeited in thoſe Days, (and his Children ſcattered here and there, and the Eſtate being ſequeſtered by the then pubic Authority; and all *Argyle*'s Officers and Friends in his vaſt Dominions being laid aſide) he, the ſaid *Robertſon*, what by Money and Intereſt he made in thoſe Days, ſtept into the Clerkſhip of the Sheriffſhip of *Argyle*; but upon the late happy

happy Revolution, *Argyle* being reſtored to his Eſtate, the ſaid *Robertſon* was juſtly excluded from the ſaid Office of Clerkſhip, the ſame being heritable in the Earl of *Argyle*'s, and his Family's Gift, paſt Memory of Man.

The Lord Viſcount *Stair*, he is the Repreſentative of the ancient Family of the *Dalrymple*'s of *Stair*, a Barony in the County of *Kyle* in the Weſt of *Scotland*, he being educated in, and endowed with all Manner of Learning and Sciences of our Horizon, was received into the Faculty of (*c*) Advocates in the Year 1648, having before had (when but very young) a conſiderable Poſt in the Army, verifying *Ovid*'s Phraſe in him, *Pace data terris ad civilia*, &c.

In the Year 1650, he was made Choice of by the then Parliament, to be Clerk or Secretary to the Committee of the Parliament, and Miniſters went for King *Charles* II. to *Holland*, where he not only gave great Satisfaction by his Behaviour to the Committee of Parliament, and all concerned in the ſaid Tranſaction, but likewiſe King *Charles* took particular Notice of him, &c.

Upon the Reſtoration of King *Charles* II. he was created Knight and Baronet, and advanced to be one of the Lords of (*d*) Seſſion, at which time he began to obſerve and write the (*e*) Deciſions of the Lords of the Seſſion, and afterwards digeſted them, with former and after Obſervations of his own and others, in a Syſtem or Body, theſe being Precedents, or Rules to decree by, (afterwards) in parallel Caſes.

In the Year 1662, the Preſbyterian Government being aboliſhed, and the Epiſcopal Government eſtabliſhed in *Scotland*, there was a Declaration formed, abjuring the Preſbyterian Government, all its Conſequences, and all the Oaths formerly taken: Which Declaration he not being clear to take, left the Bench, travelled abroad, and coming to Court after his Travels, King *Charles* excuſed and reſtored him to his Place again, diſpatching a Letter to the Lords of the Seſſion (ſignifying that Sir *James Dalrymple* of *Stair*, having given him full Satisfaction in relation to the ſaid Declaration) required them to receive him again to the Bench, without ſigning the ſame. Thus I find it marked in the Books of (*f*) *Sederunt* of the Lords of Seſſion, *Anno* 1664. Then it was that he began to compoſe a Syſtem of the Civil Law, intermixt with the Law of *Scotland*, and Practices and Precedents of that Sovereign Court, which makes the Law intelligible and known to all the King's Subjects there, who can read *Engliſh*.

When Sir *John Gilmor* (being then (*g*) Preſident of the Seſſion) was called up to Court to draw up the Contract (or Articles) of Marriage between the Duke and Ducheſs of *Monmouth*, the Lord *Stair* was choſen *vice Præſes* of the Seſſion, as he was ſeveral times afterwards, when Sir *John Gilmor* turned infirm; and all along when the ſaid Lord *Stair* was a ſingle Lord of the Seſſion, and ſitting by Turns on the Bench in the outer Houſe, where moſt of the Caſes and Proceſſes are heard and decreed in the firſt Inſtance by a ſingle Lord, and where the Judges as to their Parts, Judgment, Juſtice or Injuſtice, are moſtly known, having none other of the Lords Votes to interfere with their Judgment; he had the greateſt Character of Diſpatch and Juſtice of any Man

(*c*) A Counſellor at Law.
(*d*) Or one of the 15 Judges.
(*e*) Caſes.
(*f*) Journal.
(*g*) Or Lord Chief Juſtice.

that ever ſat upon that Bench; all Men being deſirous to have their Cauſes brought and tried before him (*h*).

In the Year 1670, he was one of the Lords who went up to Court about the Union, deſigned then between *England* and *Scotland*; at which time Sir *John Gilmor* (the then Preſident of the Seſſion) died, and he was advanced to be Preſident of the Seſſion. Upon this Step ſome envied him.

The Lord Preſident was ſent for to Court in *March* 1676, to have ſome Differences compoſed, when he was offered to be Chancellor, which he declined. But ſeeing the great Men then turning into Factions, and fearing the thing which came afterwards to paſs, did intend to leave the Bench, and to travel Abroad (*i*).

In Winter 1679, the Duke of *York* being ſent to *Scotland*, ('twas thought, by Advice of the Duke of *Lauderdale* for his Safety) the Preſident would not adjourn the Seſſion, to meet him upon the Road towards *Edinburgh*, (in Proceſſion with all the Lords of Seſſion) as was expected; (and as moſt of the Nobility and Gentry of *Scotland* did) giving for his Reaſon in his Speech, (when he, and the reſt of the Lords of Seſſion went in their Formalities to wait upon the Duke as a Prince of the Blood, at the King's Palace of *Holyrood* Houſe, the next Day after his Arrival) that the Seſſion could not adjourn themſelves (being a conſtituted ſovereign Court, inſtituted by King and Parliament) without the King and Parliament, which gave Offence; as did alſo another Expreſſion in his ſaid Speech, *againſt Popery and Bigotry*; the Duke then maſked, and not going publickly to Maſs.

In the Spring 1681, the Duke of *Rothes*, Chancellor, dying, (when there was a Commiſſion given by King *Charles* to the Duke of *York*, to be his High Commiſſioner for *Scotland*) 'twas mightily talked then, that the Lord Preſident would be made Chancellor. But in that Parliament 1681, the deſigning Party of the Nobility and Clergy flattering the Duke of *York*, that all would be as he wiſhed; Matters look'd with a very bad Aſpect, the Preſident could expect no Good. Yet, as God ſaid to the Prophet, (that there were ſeven thouſand in *Iſrael* that had not bowed their Knees to *Baal*) there was ſome of the Clergy, many of the Nobility, and moſt of the Gentry, who did foreſee the Torrent, they laid aſide their private Heats and Emulations, joined Hands to ſtop the Current, and by Plurality of Votes (though ſome Things did paſs current in that Parliament before that time, would have been prevented, if ſome Men had not been lull'd aſleep,) they did ſtop more Miſchief.

For the Preſident had drawn up a Teſt for Preſervation of Religion, Liberty and Property (too long to be inſerted here) made a Speech in Parliament to that Purpoſe, and, though ſeconded by very many, was thrown out, but ſome of the then Court-Party drew up another Teſt to their Purpoſe, which was carried the very next Morning into the (*k*) Articles, and paſſed current there.

At

(*h*) *Qui vindice nullo ſponte ſua ſine lege fidem rectumque colebat.*

(*i*) *Beatus ille qui procul à negotiis*, &c. Horat. car. 5.

(*k*) The Articles was a Committee of Parliament then in Uſe, made up of the Eight Stateſmen, Eight Noblemen, and ſo many Biſhops, and Eight Burghers, and the Commiſſioner and Stateſmen ruled all there.

At the Meeting of the Parliament that Morning the Court Teſt was preſented and read, whereupon the Duke of *Hamilton*, the Earl of *Argyle*, *Haddington*, *&c.* the Biſhop of *Dunkell* (*Bruce*), the Lord *Stair*, Preſident, Sir *George Lockhart*, Sir *John Cunningham*, and many others of the ſeveral States, ſtood up to oppoſe the ſaid Teſt, but could not do; and all they could gain by the Arguments uſed, was to get the Confeſſion of Faith (made concerning the Proteſtant Religion, mentioned in King *James* the Sixth's Acts of Parliament) inſerted in their Text. The inſerting of which Confeſſion of Faith (the intriguing Party then not underſtanding the Thing, being fond to paſs their own Teſt with any Quality without Examination) was the very Thing made ſome of the Biſhops, Nobility, and Gentry ſtand firm againſt taking away the penal Laws in the Parliament 1686. (They and all the Members of that Parliament having taken the ſaid Teſt.) But when the Biſhops and others of the then Court Party (after the Adjournment of the Parliament that Evening) had met together, and conſidered what they had done, in voting the ſaid whiggiſh Confeſſion of Faith (as they called it then) and procured the royal Aſſent thereto, went in a Body to the Duke of *York*, and exclaimed againſt the Lord *Stair*, Preſident, as the only Man who had wheedled them in the Matter, by Surprize; but were told the Thing could not be helped then, being it was paſſed the royal Aſſent, but that the Contrivers ſhould be animadverted upon; and in ſome few Days that Parliament being adjourned, and the Preſident in Diſgrace, he retired to the Country, ſent his Son, Sir *John Dalrymple*, now Maſter of *Stair*, to the Duke, to ſignify, that ſeeing his Father was not pleaſing to his Royal Highneſs, he intended to go to Court, and give up his Commiſſion to the King his Maſter, who gave it to him. Upon the Delivery of which Meſſage, the Duke of *York* (being ſurprized) diſpatched Col. *Graham* (then his Privy-Purſe) Poſt to the King, to give Account of the Lord Preſident's Behaviour, which was the Occaſion the Preſident had no Acceſs to the King when he went to Court; but the King deſired to tell him, that he might live at Home privately under his Protection; upon which Aſſurance he went to his Country Houſe in *Scotland*, did not live there long without an Alarm, which obliged him to repair privately to *Edinburgh* to adviſe his Safety; nor was he long there, when there was a Warrant to ſeize him, upon which he went *incognito* to *Holland*: For certainly his Fate had been the ſame which was the late *Argyle*'s if he had ſtaid at Home; when in *Holland* there were Ruffians ſent to ſeize him, but by Providence made his Eſcape to Corners, diverting himſelf there with the Converſation of the Schoolmen and Scholars of the two famous Univerſities of *Leyden* and *Utrecht*, and then writ a Syſtem of Natural Philoſophy. His Lady was harraſſed, and forced to fly to *Holland* alſo. His Houſe made a Receptacle of Soldiers, his heritable Office taken from him, and his Tenants ſpoiled.

The then Government raiſed Proceſs of Treaſon ſeveral times againſt him; but they could not reach his Eſtate, by all the Stretches of Law were made.

In the Year 1687, King *James* ſent him a (*l*) Remiſſion to *Holland*, which he ſlighted, judging himſelf guilty of no Crime deſerving a Remiſſion, and being

(*l*) Or Pardon.

being ſafe under the Protection of the Prince of *Orange* and the States of *Holland*, reſted ſatisfied.

In *November* 1688, he, the ſaid Preſident, came over with the Prince of *Orange* (now our gracious King) his Majeſty being pleaſed to communicate his Reſolutions to him as a Man fit to give, and keep Counſel.

Sir *George Lockhart* being Preſident of the Seſſion when the King came over (but being unfortunately murdered in *March* 1689, by a baſe Ruffian, for pronouncing an unjuſt Sentence againſt him, as he alledged, though no ſuch thing) my Lord *Stair* was re-eſtabliſhed in the Preſident's Chair again.

In the Year 1690, he is created Viſcount of *Stair*, Lord *Dalrymple* and *Glenluce*. And though this hath been an Age, where meaner Men were aſhamed to ſerve God in their Families, I will add this one good Quality more to him, that he (beſides his private Devotion) was never a Day in the worſt of Times but he read the Scripture, and prayed himſelf twice in his Family, were there never ſo great or many Strangers preſent, which might be a Reflection in theſe Days, but I hope not now, and to tell the Truth, I dare give no worſe Character of him. As for his Behaviour in Matters of State, theſe are Matters I do not meddle with, let him put his Miſbehaviour in Public who will venture to do it, if they can; but I judge it will puzzle any to do it; and rational Men will judge, that he who rules his Family beſt at Home, is the fitteſt to rule in Public, and I pray God long may ſuch Men rule amongſt us. I will not ſay, but the Lord Viſcount *Stair* is envied by ſome People for his Parts and growing Greatneſs, but that ſhould be no Argument with rational good Men, being that Men's Virtues ought not to be accounted their Crimes. And I believe he may ſay in his old Age, *Whoſe Ox, or whoſe Aſs have I taken* (*m*)?

The Maſter of *Stair* is the foreſaid Viſcount's eldeſt Son, liberally educated and bred to the Law, being on his Travels in the Time of the *Dutch* War, he and one *Ramſay*, Son of Sir *Andrew Ramſay*, of *Abbots-Hall*, being intimate Companions, happened to be at *Chatham*, and, as I am informed, preſerved one of the King's Men of War from being blown up by the *Dutch*, with the Hazard of their own Lives; for which brave Action (when they were but very young) King *Charles* knighted them, before he knew who they were, thus I heard it.

In the Year 1672, Sir *John* was admitted, after his Trials, to be an Advocate, which Employ he followed for ſeveral Years, being of the firſt Rank.

In the Year 1683, when the ſaid Viſcount (his Father) was forced to abſcond in *Holland*, as is ſaid before, the Laird of *Claverhouſe* (afterwards Viſcount *Dundee*) having the Command of the Army, which was ſent to the Weſt Country to ſpoil and dragoon the Diſſenting Party (not without our *Scots* Biſhops Conſent) did attempt to poſſeſs himſelf of the Office of Baily of the Regality of the Lordſhip of *Glenluce* (which did heritably belong to the ſaid Sir *John*, and the Viſcount of *Stair* his Father). Sir *John*, now Maſter of *Stair* (by Creation of his Father, Lord, Baron, and Peer of the Realm) did oppoſe the Lord *Dundee*, and beat him off, for which he was convened before the Council, and fined in 500 *l.* which he paid.

In

(*m*) *Hic murus aheneus eſto, nil conſcire ſibi nulla paleſcere culpa.*

In the Year 1684, the ſaid Maſter was ſeized at his own Houſe, when his Lady was juſt to lie in, and made Priſoner, being ſuſpected, it ſeems, by the then Government to have Correſpondence from *Holland*, and to have carried on Intrigues againſt the Government; and being brought to *Edinburgh*, was carried from the Palace of *Holyrood-Houſe* (where he was examined by the Miniſters of State) as a Trophy (it ſeems to diſgrace him) between the common Soldiers, along the public Streets, to the common Priſon, more than half a Mile's Diſtance; was kept cloſe Priſoner there for ſeveral Months, not knowing for what Crime, (but as himſelf then ſaid) for the original Sin of the Father. At laſt, after many Petitions, he had the Favour granted him by the Council, to be enlarged to the Caſtle Priſon, where he lay a long time, till the Government was aſhamed they could not fix a Crime upon him, ſet him at Liberty.

In the Year 1687, there being none of the Advocates (but theſe who were advanced to be Lords of the Seſſion, for their then Zeal and Loyalty to the Cauſe in Hand, fit to be the King's Advocate (*n*) the Court hoping to gain him to their Party, and to wheedle his Father over from *Holland*) made the Maſter King's Advocate, (that being the Time of the Toleration) and during a whole Year he continued King's Advocate, there was none proſecuted to death, but one Man, upon the Score of Nonconformity. The Court perceiving the Maſter's Behaviour in that Poſt that Year, intending to take another Courſe, by the Diſpenſing Power; and finding him not to be a fit Tool for their Purpoſe, brought in Sir *George Makbenzie* again, to be King's Advocate, and they degraded the Maſter to be Juſtice Clerk; then they found out he was the Man ſaved the Biſhop of *Roſs*, in *Anno* 1686, by adviſing him to appeal from the Biſhops Court to the Parliament.

Upon the Revolution, the Earl of *Perth* (then Chancellor, fearing the juſt Indignation of the enraged Mob) taking his Flight, the ſaid Maſter (and ſome others of the Privy Councellors) taking care firſt of keeping Things in Order, and diſtributing (ſo far as was then in their Power) the Government in the beſt Hands; went up to wait upon the Prince of *Orange*, in *December*, 1688, concurred in making the Addreſs to the Prince, for taking on the Adminiſtration of the Government, aſſiſted in the Convention 1689, as a choſen Member thereof; was the Man chiefly (with the indefatigable Pains and Endeavours of the late Duke of *Hamilton*, choſen Preſident of the Convention) who concerted the Reſolution, and ſtated the Vote of forfeiting King *James*, and Proclaiming his Majeſty and the late Queen, King and Queen of *Scotland*. The Maſter of *Stair* in conjunction with the Earl of *Argyle*, and Sir *James Montgomery* were voted, and ſent up Commiſſioners from the three Eſtates of *Scotland*, to make offer of the Crown to their Majeſties, when our gracious King was pleaſed to make the Maſter his Advocate again, and Lord *Melvil* Secretary of State, *&c.*

The foreſaid Convention being turned into a Parliament (the Duke of *Hamilton* made Lord High Commiſſioner) ſome People (who pretended great Matters for Religion, Liberty and Property, being diſpleaſed, it ſeems, that they were not advanced inſtantly to ſome Places of high Dignity and Truſt in the

(*n*) Attorney General.

the Government, recoiled: And then it was that we unhappily turned into Parties, which put the Subjects in a Ferment, made our Proceedings uneasy ever since at Home, and makes the King's Affairs sometimes to be retarded both here and Abroad, thus by our Divisions, giving too much Encouragement to the disaffected Party.

In the Winter, 1690, the Master of *Stair* was advanced to be conjunct Secretary of State with the Earl of *Melvil*, who, upon the Revolution, was made sole Secretary of State for *Scotland*, as aforesaid, which he did merit as (formerly) a great Sufferer, and always a true Commonwealth's Man.

In the Year 1692. Mr. *James Johnson* was made conjunct Secretary of State with the Master of *Stair*, and the Earl of *Melvil* sent to *Scotland*, to be Lord Privy Seal: And as to these three Persons they continue in the same Stations and Offices still.

The Earl of *Broadalban*, who was formerly called Sir *John Campbell* of *Glenorchy*, an ancient Family in the Highlands, a Cadent of the Family of *Argyle*, when he married the late Earl of *Argyle*'s Sister, (Countess Dowager of the late Earl of *Caithnes*, who died without Issue-male) he the said Sir *John* was created Earl of *Caithnes* in the Year 1677, or 1678, and brought several Debts upon the Earldom of *Caithnes*, and made Use of Force to possess himself of the Estate, which created him Enemies; afterwards, an Heir-male and of Tail appearing to the deceased Earl of *Caithnes*, he the said Sir *John Campbell* took a new Patent to be Earl of *Broadalban*.

In the Year 1677, by Order of Council, he sent a double Regiment of his Tenants and Vassals, in conjunction with the Marquis of *Athol*, Earl of *Perth*, and several other Noblemen and Gentlemen to the West Country (which was then called the *Highland Host*) there was a Commission of the Council sent along with them to try the Dissenters; this created the Earl of *Broadalban* Enemies also. Upon the Revolution he stood out, but being convinced of his Error as to the Alteration from that of arbitrary and despotick Power, to that of a mild, merciful and peaceable Government, tracing the true Constitution and fundamental Laws of the Nation; he joined Forces and offered his Service to the Government, by bringing in of the Highland Clans and Rebels by fair Means, or necessary Stratagems to make the Effects answer the End.

As for the *Glenco* Men, the Truth is, *hic Labor*, *hoc Opus est*, to describe them without Reflection upon my Countrymen, which I would willingly avoid; but the real Truth is, they were a Branch of the *M Donnels* (who were a brave courageous People always) seated amongst the *Campbells*, who (I mean *Glenco* Men) are all Papists, if they have any Religion; were always counted a People given to Rapine and Plunder, (or Sorners) as we call it, and much of a Piece with your Highwaymen in *England*: Several Governments designed to bring them to condign Punishment, but their Purses it seems found them out Protectors, and their Country was inaccessible to any small Parties; and though I dare not approve of the Method taken in *January* and *February* 1692 by killing them under Trust, and in cold Blood, yet at the same time they deserved the heavy Hand of Justice, in a regular and legal Manner, which would have made their Neighbours live in more Peace and Tranquility. I do remember when I first heard then of the Matter; I said to some great Persons,

that

that the beſt Method would be to make theſe Men Priſoners, and ſend them abroad to be Soldiers, or to the Plantations, and wiſhes it had been ſo.

Now that I have given you an hiſtorical Account of theſe Perſons in as brief Terms as I could, to make you underſtand the Men, and the Relation of Matters afterwards, I begin again with the Biſhop of *Galloway*, Mr. *Robertſon*, and the Lord Viſcount *Stair*'s Affair.

The Viſcount of *Stair* is by his own, his Author's and Predeceſſors Charters, heretable Baily or Judge of the Royalty or Regality of the Lordſhip of *Glenluce*, within the Biſhoprick of *Galloway* for which the Biſhop is obliged, and was conſtantly in uſe to pay him 20*l. Sterling* Yearly of Fee (or Salary) in Money or value, beſides the Perquiſites of the Court, which is allowed to the Deputy always.

The Biſhop of *Galloway* died, as was mentioned: The three Daughters and their Huſbands did contend about proving the Will of the Deceaſed, the Biſhop's Widow being Poor, and detained from what Effects the Biſhop left, by the Contention and tedious unnatural Law Debates of her Children: Mr. *Hugh Dalrymple* (the Lord *Stair*'s Son) being Factor for upliſting of his Father's Rents, the time of his Father's Exile, as aboveſaid, and the Viſcount himſelf likewiſe after his return home, did ſupport her with Money, that ſhe might not ſtarve, during the Law-Debates; for which they took Security both from herſelf and Mr. *Patrick Smith* her eldeſt Daughter's Husband to repay them.

After long and letigious Debates, the Lords of the Seſſion pronounced a (*o*) Decreet in favour of Mr *Patrick Smith*, being found to have the beſt Right, and who ſupported the Mother by his Credit.

This Mr. *Duncan Robertſon*, encouraged (*p*) by ſome Perſons (not well inclined to the Lord *Stair*, to be ſure) preſented a Petition to the Parliament upon the the 3d Day of *June* laſt, complaining that the ſaid Viſcount had pronounced an unjuſt Sentence againſt him. It would be needleſs, and not to your Purpoſe, to repeat all the ſaid Complaint, and the great and long Debates followed thereupon; ſo I only give you the Subſtance, and the moſt material Points in the Complaint; *viz.* that the Preſident in the Debate betwixt the ſaid *Robertſon* and Mr. *Patrick Smith*, ſhould have done Injuſtice by making up himſelf (or by his Influence) a Debate, or Minutes and *Interloquitor* ſubjoined thereto upon the 29th of *July*, 1692, and ſigned the ſame privately in the Vacation.

2. That after there was a Decree pronounced in favour of Mr. *Smith* againſt Mr. *Robertſon*, (againſt which Decree Mr. *Robertſon* gave in a Bill of Suſpenſion) upon which Bill the Clerk of the Bills refuſed to write a (*q*) *Siſt*, by the Preſident's Order, thereby ſtopping the ordinary Courſe of the Law.

3. That, the Preſident tranſacted during the Dependence of the Plea with Mr. *Smith*, as Executor to the Biſhop, for a Debt due by the Preſident to the late Biſhop, (*r*) and had an (*ſ*) Eaſe from Mr. *Patrick* of the Debt, and took Allowance of 20*l. Sterling* of Baily Fee, which the Biſhop would never have paid.

(*o*) A Decree.

(*p*) *Sic ſtetit ſententia.*

(*q*) A *Siſt* is a ſtop of Execution of a Decree by a Judge for a certain limited Time.

(*r*) Lord *Stair* pay Tithes to the Biſhop.

(*ſ*) An Abatement

The Anſwer made to the firſt was, that if Mr. *Robertſon*, or any other could prove againſt the Preſident, that he did ſign any *Interloquitor* or Debates privately, but what was the Meaning of the Reſt of the Lords (*t*) *in præſentia*, as well as his own Opinion, he were moſt unjuſtifiable; but nothing at all thereof was proved: On the Contrary, one *Smith*, a Witneſs (*u*) adduced by *Robertſon* himſelf, depoſed, that the King's Advocate did dictate them, who is a Man of great Honour and Integrity, and owned the ſame. The Clerk alſo depoſed the ſame, and Mr. *John Frank*, *Robertſon*'s own Advocate, depoſed, that the Point mentioned in theſe Minutes, was ſtated by the Preſident, which ſhould have been debated, Mr. *Robertſon*'s Advocates declined to Debate, and Mr. *Patrick Smith* craving a Decreet, and that the ſame was pronounced in Mr. *Franks* own Hearing and others, ſo not done privately. Two of the Lords of Seſſion, *Halcraig* and *Croſrig*, depoſed to the ſame Purpoſe, and one of theſe Lords doth exactly remember, that before the Cauſe was called, the Lords reſolved, that the Parties ſhould debate the very Points mentioned in the Minutes, which was ſtated truly by the Preſident, as all the Lords reſolved. And it is further cleared (the aforeſaid *Interloquitor* being *res geſtæ*, known to, and authorized by all the Lords) by a ſubſequent Decreet of Suſpenſion which followed thereupon the firſt of *February*, 1693.

It was anſwered to the Second, that the Clerk of the Bills, *James Nicolſon*, did refuſe to receive or write upon the Bill of Suſpenſion, becauſe Mr. *Robertſon* was litigious, and after two Decreets *in foro*, he offered a third Bill, and Mr. *Patrick Smith* having found Caution or Surety to relieve Mr. *Duncan Robertſon* and his Wife of any Proceſs might be intended againſt them, as Executors to the Biſhop, (which was the Pretence or Reaſons of his laſt Bill of Suſpenſion) and all the Lords rejected the Bill, and diſcharged the Clerk of the Bills to receive any other Bill of Suſpenſion from Mr. *Robertſon*, except upon Obedience, he having refuſed to debate before; which Deliverance was ſhewn and duly intimated to the Clerk of the Bills, which is his Warrant: And that the Preſident never ſpoke directly nor indirectly to him about the ſame. The Lord *Aberuchill* alſo ordinary depoſed, that the Clerk did refuſe to write a *Siſt* by Reaſon of the ſaid Deliverance of the Lords *in præſentia*.

It was anſwered to the Third, that, as was ſaid before, Mr. *Hugh Dalrymple*, by his Father's Orders, (when in Exile) and the Preſident himſelf when he came Home, advanced Money to the Biſhop's poor Widow, to ſave her from ſtarving, during the Dependency of the Plea, for which they took Bond, to be repayed as aforeſaid, which was a Security to them *in omnem eventum*, without any Dependance upon the Event of that Plea of Law: For though Mr. *Robertſon*'s Title had been juſt, and ſuſtained by the Lords, the Preſident's Security was good beyond Exception.

1. Becauſe the Widow was provided to a conſiderable (*x*) Life-Rent by her Husband, which was a Debt undeniably preferable to the Intereſt of either Party, *Smith* or *Robertſon*; and the Advancement to her being leſs than her Proviſion, the Preſident could have no Byaſs that Way; beſides that, Mr. *Patrick*

(*t*) In Preſence of, and by the unanimous Conſent of all the Lords.

(*u*) Produced.

(*x*) Or Annuity.

Patrick Smith alſo had an unqueſtionable Intereſt in the Dead's Part, and the *Legittim*, and had acquired the Intereſt of a third Siſter, as Mr. *Robertſon*'s own Bill to the Parliament doth acknowledge. So there was no Hazard to, or Injuſtice in the Preſident, tho' he had advanced more to Mr. *Patrick*, or the Widow, which he never did, and made no other Tranſaction, but as aforeſaid.

And as to the other Member of that Allegation, that the Preſident got an Eaſe from Mr. *Patrick Smith* of the Debt due by him to the Biſhop;

It was anſwered, That it was a very falſe Allegation: For by the Diſcharge granted to the Preſident, it will appear, that the ſeveral and particular Sums paid, are inſtructed, either to be paid by the Preſident himſelf, or Mr. *Hugh Dalrymple* in his Abſence; that the Preſident had no Advantage by it, nor was the Preſident concerned what Mr. *Duncan*'s Claim was againſt the Biſhop, or his Executors, ſeeing the Preſident was not obliged to pay any more to the Biſhop, or any claiming Right to his Eſtate, but what was truly due, and to them who had the beſt Right.

As to that, That the Preſident ſhould have taken an Allowance of 20 *l.* Sterling to himſelf yearly of Baily-Fee. The Preſident owns he did take the ſame, and Inſtructs his Right by an original Charter, *Anno* 1560. And by another Charter under the great Seal, *Anno* 1618, both Charters bearing an heritable Office of Bailiary, and a Fee of Three Chalders of Meal out of the firſt and readieſt of the Fruits and Emoluments of the Lordſhip of *Glenluce*, which three Chalders of the Meaſure of *Wigton* (which is the Meaſure of that Country) will be four Chalders and a Half of *Linlithgow* Meaſure, and which would be worth more than 30 *l.* Sterling yearly; yet the Preſident being only in Uſe to receive an Allowance of 20 *l.* Sterling, he exacted no more. And as the ſaid Preſident's Right was inſtructed by his Charters, ſo the Uſe of Payment appeared by two ſeveral Agreements, one with Biſhop *Hamilton*, *Anno* 1666, who preceeded Biſhop *Aitkin*, and another, *Anno* 1688, with Biſhop *Gordon*, who ſucceeded him, both ſtating the Baily-Fee at 20 *l.* Sterling yearly, After debating of theſe Points before the Parliament, it was moved, that the Affair ſhould be committed to a Committee choſen for that particular Caſe, but it was carried by Plurality of Voices, that it ſhould be committed to the Committee of Safety, who were appointed to give their Report thereof in open Parliament upon the Tenth Day of the ſaid Month of *June*. And the Committee having accordingly examined many Witneſſes upon the moſt material Articles of the Complaint, *viz.* The alledged Injuſtice of the Sentence, nothing was proved, as I can ſee, againſt the Viſcount of *Stair* by *Robertſon*; on the contrary, it was proved by the Depoſitions of the Lords of Seſſion, Mr. *Robertſon*'s own Advocate, and ſeveral other Evidences, as aboveſaid, that the Preſident's Tranſactions were fair, and the Sentence juſt; ſo that Mr. *Robertſon* did not think it adviſeable to inſiſt upon the other Articles of the Complaint. Upon the tenth of *June* it was moved, I hear, in behalf of the Lord Preſident, that the Parliament would call for the Report of the Committee, and either declare the Preſident guilty, or if nothing of the Complaint ſhould be proved againſt him, that they would acquit the Lord-Preſident, and appoint a ſuitable Puniſhment upon the Libeller for ſo impudent a Calumny; but the

Motion was not favoured, there being Matters of greater Importance in Hand. However the Preſident's Friends ſay, they are glad (that even now in his Lordſhip's Abſence) there are no greater Matters of Complaint or Accuſation found againſt him through the whole Courſe of his Life, being ſufficiently vindicated of his Accuſation by theſe and other Grounds repreſented, judging there is enough known (and will be juſtified by all good unbiaſſed Men) of his long Service in the Publick, Integrity of Life, Firmneſs of Principles, his and his Families Sufferings in dubious and dangerous Times, and dutiful Adherence to his Majeſty's Intereſt, before and ſince the late happy Revolution: And that they do confidently hope that his Majeſty's High Commiſſioner, and the Honourable Eſtates of Parliament will ſometime or other find the Juſtice of the Nation intereſted to ſee the Laws and Acts of Parliament for ſecuring maintaining and defending the Honour and Reputation of Judges (who do repreſent his Majeſty's Perſon and his Authority) fully and effectually executed by the exemplary Puniſhment of the malicious Libeller, ſo as Judges in all time coming may be fenced and ſecured from ſuch bold and inſolent Attempts. And upon the whole Matter, the Preſident's Friends ſay further, that he loſt 100 *l.* Sterling by theſe Tranſactions concerning the Biſhop's Affair, which he never expects again; ſo that according to the wiſe Man's Saying, As it is a hard Matter to be both popular and juſt, ſo to ſtrike and not wound, is Anger loſt, for he is invulnerable, and not hurt who is ſtruck.

As for the Matter of the Indictment againſt the Earl of *Broadalban*, in ſo far as I can learn, the Matter is thus: That the Earl *Anno* 1691, promiſed to the King to reclaim the Highland Rebels, which Way he did it, is in Publick now; but *Mac Donnel* of *Glengary* (who is the moſt ſenſible, and of greateſt Probity amongſt them) came in, and depoſed before the Parliament, That the Earl did, by Articles agreed upon betwixt him and them engage, that if King *William* could not condeſcend to ſuch and ſuch Articles, he, the ſaid Earl, ſhould with all his Friends and Followers, join the Highland Army. The ſaid Depoſition being read, it was moved that the King's Advocate ſhould be ordered to commence a Proceſs of High Treaſon againſt his Lordſhip, and that he in the mean time ſhould be committed Priſoner to the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*. And 'twas pleaded for the Earl, that he might have time to deliberate his Anſwer before Impeachment, this being a Surprize to him, and doubted not but he would make it appear to the Parliament there was no Ground for the Impeachment.

It was further pleaded by the Earl, That *Glengary*, not being ſummoned by a Judge to come in as a Witneſs againſt him, and eſpecially conſidering that he was a *Roman* Catholick, had been in Rebellion againſt the King, and never knew he had ſubmitted to the Goverment, unleſs done privately at this time, and carrying an inveterate Enmity to the Earl's Family, he hoped the Parliament would not found a Proceſs of High Treaſon againſt him upon his Depoſition. Theſe Arguments did not prevail.

It was further pleaded by the Earl, that he had an ample Commiſſion from the King to do in that Affair all that he ſhould think fit for effectuating his Deſign: That as well his Majeſty as all the World knew that in ſuch Negociations there muſt be Allowances for Men commiſſioned to go, or at leaſt pretend to go great Lengths,

and

and to yield to such Condescendencies as they find most taking for accomplishing the Design. That the Effect and Consequence had justified the Methods he had taken. That not only they there sitting, and their Constituents at home, who suffered most in that unnatural and cruel War, but also the Kingdom of *England* (who for its own Safety was obliged to maintain some Regiments here in *Scotland*) yea, and all the Confederacy had reaped Advantage by his Conduct in that Treaty, many Troops and much Money being now employed against the common Enemy abroad, which that troublesome War had exhausted for several Years here at home. That seeing the Thing itself was good and advantageous for the Nation, he wondered Persons should take Exception against the particular Methods which in Prudence he was obliged to take in carrying it on; however, that he had made it known to their Majesties, whatever he had said or done in that Affair, and had their Approbation since.

It was alledged that Things now libelled, were not then known. It was answered, that upon a Complaint given against the Earl for these very Things he is now accused of, his Majesty recommended to the Privy-Council here to make Enquiry into the Matter, which was done accordingly, and transmitted to the King; that the Minutes of Council would clearly shew the same, and desired that the Minutes might be called for, but the Parliament did not think fit to call for them. The Earl of *Melvil*, then Secretary of State, and now Lord Privy-Seal, 'tis said rose up, and avouched the Truth of what had been said, and asserted, that the Precognition taken by the Council, was upon a Complaint (if not in the same Words, yet at least to same Purpose) with what was contained in *Glengary*'s Depositions, was sent by the Council to him, as Secretary of State then; that he shewed it to the Queen (the King being then in *Flanders*) who kept it a whole Night by her, that the next Day he transmitted it to the King, who (he knew by the Returns he got from *Flanders*) received and perused it. The Duke of *Queensbury* did declare likewise, that it consisted with his Knowledge that his Majesty received the same, he being then in *Flanders* with the King, and heard his Majesty's Discourse of the Matter very often.

Upon this some Person moved, that seeing his Majesty had taken the Earl's Behaviour to his own Consideration, and had been informed of all the Methods of his Proceedings in the Matter, and had shewn a Satisfaction with the Earl's Conduct, by preferring him at that time to several Places of Honour and Trust, the Parliament would please not to proceed in an Affair of such Importance against one of His Majesty's Ministers of State, until he was first acquainted with it. But this being refused, it was desired in behalf of the Earl, they would delay Proceedings at least until the next Meeting; but it was voted and carried, that the King's Advocate proceeded immediately against him; and an Order of Parliament was signed for committing him to the Castle, where his Lordship was carried immediately after the rising of the Parliament. The Lord Advocate sent him a Copy of his Indictment, and he was ordered to give in his Answer thereto by the first of *July* instant. Upon the first instant the Earl desired an Exculpation which was granted to him. Upon adjourning of the

the Parliament to the Seventh of *November* next, the Profecution of the Earl is delayed 'till that time.

As for the Matter of the *Glenco* Men, which made ſo much ado, we are ſomething in the Dark as yet, nor will I meddle to ſpeak, much leſs to write of any Point the Parliament have voted, only the hiſtorical Part of that Matter is this.

That when the Earl of *Broadalban* did undertake to cauſe the Highlanders to lay down their Arms, give over Hoſtility, and to give paſſive Obedience to the preſent Government, by taking of the Oaths (which was very well done, whoever did it) before they laid down their Arms, there were two or three Indemnities iſſued forth by his Majeſty, encouraging them to come in; and they did come all in by the prefixed (*y*) Diet in the laſt Indemnity, except the *Glenco* Men, who it ſeems finding themſelves without Help or Support by the other Chieftains and Clans coming in, Old *Mac Kean* of *Glenco* himſelf only (as I am informed, as *ad aram ultimam*) went to, and prevailed with *Campbell* of *Ardkinglaſs*, Sheriff-Deputy of *Argyleſhire* (a very worthy honeſt Gentleman, and formerly a great Sufferer) ſix Days after the Diet was elapſed, who received him, and *Mac Kean* took the Oaths; though at the ſame time it was, and is ſtill the Opinion of many good Men, that to confide in theſe Men, or to bring them to Conformity to the Government were *Penelope*'s *telam texere.*

Nor did the taking of the Oaths after the Diet prefixt was elapſed, ſave or protect them or him from the Laſh of the Law (not having come in, in the Terms of the Law) the Mercy tendered in the Indemnity being conditional, in Caſe they came in, and ſubmitted before, or upon ſuch a Day: but was a Ground for Mercy and Mollification of the Rigour of the Law, ſuppoſing him or them to have taken the Oaths *bono Animo*, and upon true Repentance. I do not hear the reſt of his Followers came in, and took the Oaths, judging, it's like, he and they were ſafe by his only taking of the Oaths, though *poſt Meridiem Diei.* The Court (it ſeems) not knowing of theſe Tranſactions at a great Diſtance of four or five Hundred Miles (and being informed by all Hands that they were Neſts of Thieves and Robbers) His Majeſty, after Refuſal of many offered Mercies, ſent to treat them as Enemies and Rebels: Yet at the ſame time his Majeſty, by his Inſtructions, as I am informed, left Room for Mercy to them, according to Diſcretion, and Circumſtances of Time and Affairs, which is all could be expected in Reaſon from his Majeſty.

The Maſter of *Stair*, Secretary of State, writ Letters, it ſeems, likewiſe at the ſame time to the Government, or Officers of the Army there, much to the ſame Purpoſe, but (its ſaid) in ſeverer Terms, and exceeding his Majeſty's Inſtructions, to treat them like the Men they were repreſented. What may be in this we know not, not having ſeen the Maſter's Letters; but many wiſh that they and all the Inſtructions relating to that Matter of the *Glenco* Men, had been printed, to undeceive the Generality of good Men, who ſpeak as they affect, but could make no true Judgment of the Matter, as it then ſtood, only this, that the Parliament has been very zealous to diſcover at whoſe Door the fault, in killing the *Glenco* Men lies. That they were kill'd in cold Blood, and under Truſt (*z*), judging themſelves ſecure and ſafe (with their thirteen Days Gueſts

(*y*) *Diet* ſignifies the Day appointed in the Indemnity to come in by.

(*z*) *Faber eſt quiſque Fortunæ ſuæ.*

Guests or Lodgers) is undeniable. But in fine, the Parliament, as you have it in Publick, finds that his Majesty's Orders and Instructions had Mercy *in Græmio*, so that it cannot lodge there, and God forbid it should. They have likewise voted Sir *Thomas Livingstown* Commander in chief of his Majesty's Forces in *Scotland* (who sent the Orders to Colonel *Hill*, Governor of Fort *William*, and *Hamilton*, his Lieutenant-Colonel) clear of it, as also Col. *Hill*, have summoned Lieutenant-Colonel *Hamilton* to appear before them, to answer concerning the said Matter; and upon further Scrutiny where the said Murder will fix I know not (*Grammatici certant, & adhuc sub Judice lis est*) for the common Soldiers will readily say, that they obeyed but their superior Officer's Command; and the Master of *Stair*'s Friends here say, that they desire the Master's Letters to be printed, that the World may judge of them; and if he be judged to have exceeded Bounds, or his Majesty's Instructions, it was his Zeal for the Government, but never intended at the same time that these Men should be killed in cold Blood; and that he did not at all know that any of the *Glenco* Men had taken the Oaths, (either before or after the Diet) when he writ these Letters, being at Court four or five Hundred Miles distant, as said is; so it's wish'd the Men, who had the Trust of the Execution of the Matter upon the Spot, had acquainted the Court, or our Government of these unhappy Men's then Circumstances, before they went so far on, in which Case I doubt whether any of them had been killed or murdered, and consequently no Reflection had been upon any Part of the Government, or any ever mentioned in the Affair. It's an old Saying, That the Counsels of wise Men are certain, but Events uncertain.

As for my own Part, I know nothing of it, but God in Heaven, and the Master of *Stair* himself knoweth best if he be guilty of a designed Murder of these Men, or any others: Nor will I argue about any Point, such a wise, loyal Parliament have voted or found. But this I may say, that I do not understand where the Master of *Stair*'s Interest lay to destroy the *Glenco* Men, for if he be any ways suspected to be a *Jacobite*, it was not his Interest upon that Score to destroy them by any Means, of all Men in *Scotland*, their Religion and blind Zeal bending them then altogether that Way, whatever new Light these who are living of them have found of late, and if he be thought to be a Church of *England* Man (though that be against our present Constitution, yet no man in his right Wits will call it a Crime.) These Men were not Presbyterians, to be destroyed upon that Score; nor do I think any Man would be so mad as to bribe him to kill them by Authority, without the Hand of Justice going along with it. Some good-natured People may say, out of Good-Will to the Master, that they were idle Men, Robbers, Thieves, & *Telluris inutile Pondus*, granting all that, yet a Statesman's Interest was, to make their young Men Soldiers, or to send them to the Plantations, which had been to good Purpose. But a Man of his Trust, Capacity and Reason, to be accessory to their Destruction in cold Blood, is unaccountable, if he were really guilty; and being the Honourable Parliament has found that Slaughter a Murder, (as no Doubt it was) in the Manner it was done, and that the Master exceeded his Majesty's Instructions, it were a very pertinent Question to ask, What under God's Heavens was the Master's Bias or Interest in the Matter? I can imagine none. There was an

Information

Information printed and diſperſed (as you heard formerly) by Commiſſary *Dalrymple* (hearing that his Brother, the Maſter of *Stair*, and his Letters were made mention of in the Commiſſion appointed for examining the *Glenco* Buſineſs) in Vindication of his Brother's Behaviour and Conduct, as Secretary of State, in the ſaid Affair; repreſenting, that if People did conſtruct ſome Paragraphs, Sentences, or Periods of his Brother's Letters ſo and ſo, without Connexion of other Sentences, *&c.* without hearing (in his own Abſence) they did not know what to ſay of it. But if one Sentence, *&c.* were connected with others, the whole would not bear the Commentaries the People might put upon them *ſeparatim*, (*a*) and ſeveral other Arguments to this Purpoſe. The diſperſing of which Informations, after the Commiſſion's Sentiment (and they being ready to report their Opinion in open Parliament) gave Offence to the Parliament. He ſaid, his printing and diſperſing of them, was before the Vote of Parliament, and ſaid, he intended to give no Offence, mean time he was reprimanded, and was obliged to beg Pardon.

The Parliament ſince ſummoning of Lieutenant-Colonel *Hamilton*, have declared him Fugitive, for not appearing, he is gone ſince into *Flanders*, as we hear, to wait upon his Majeſty. The Parliament have likewiſe made an Addreſs to the King, to ſend Perſons home, who may be found guilty, to be proſecuted for the ſaid Murder, or not, as his Majeſty thinks fit.

Sir, This Parliament have done great things for his Majeſty's Service, and Safety of the Publick: For though there might have been ſome Miſunderſtandings between ſome of the Members, yet all concurred unanimouſly to ſerve the King and the Country. You know what was ſaid concerning the Nation and Commonwealth of the *Romans*.

Tantæ molis erat, Romanam condere gentem.

For great Matters take up much time to effectuate the Ends propoſed; ſo as we have had good Beginnings, good Proceedings, hopes all our Matters will end well; for though the almoſt deſperate and uneaſy *Jacobites* (who but fiſh in muddy Waters) ſhould vaunt upon the Occaſion of ſome Accidents, (as to ſee ſome honeſt, well-meaning Men differ only in Points of Opinion,) they being a People ſoon elevated to Caſtles of the Air, and ſoon caſt down to the Duſt, yet all the Buſtle they make, comes to nothing at laſt, but expoſes themſelves the more to Folly. And I am very apt to believe, that all our ſeeming Differences would vaniſh upon the Sight of our moſt gracious King's Preſence, upon his Throne in our Parliament; ſo will conclude with a great Moraliſt's Saying, or to this Purpoſe, That by the two Bleſſings of Reaſon and Union, we might ſecure and defend ourſelves againſt the Violence of Fortune; Senſe and Reaſon we have enough, and what is wanting of the latter, the Defeat of *Lewis Le Grand*, and our moſt gracious King's (I mean King *William*'s) Preſence once here in our Parliament, would, I am certain, effectuate. I long to ſee his Majeſty here. *Vale, & bene valeat & vivat Rex noſter* Gulielmus.

Querela

(*a*) It's a ſaying of the great *Seneca*. That the beſt Way to help every Thing is by a fair Interpretation, and where there is a Doubt, is to allow it the moſt favourable Conſtruction.

Querela Temporum: or, the Danger of the Church of *England*. In a Letter from the Dean of ----- to ----- Prebend of -----

Dear Sir,

LET me employ ſome few Moments in venting my Thoughts to you at a Diſtance, upon that Subject which has taken up ſo many of our Hours while we were together. The Impreſſion grows ſtronger upon me now that I am alone, and left to the Mercy of tormenting Reflections. The Ruin, which you and I have often bemoaned, viſibly threatning our Church, is exceedingly magnified, and embittered to me, and muſt be to us all, when we ſadly conſider how we have been led on in our Simplicity, like the Men that followed *Abſalom*, to be the Inſtruments of our own Deſtruction: And have been engaged ſo far in it, before we were aware, that we are now afraid to look back, though we are aſtoniſhed to think what the End of all may be.

I am ſufficiently aſſured, that much the greater Part of the Clergy have come in to the Government, as you and I have done, out of a Proſpect to preſerve the Church: For if all had ſtuck out, we did dreadfully apprehend that the Preſbyterians, conſidering our King's Education and Biaſs that way, and their great Merit in the Revolution; (for we were but drawn in, and that late, by a ſeeming Neceſſity, and unwillingly.) Our Reluctance, which we could not conceal (and at firſt many of us did not deſire to conceal it) was the public Diſcourſe of the Nation; and ſo much taken Notice of, that the Act impoſing the Oaths did not ſuppoſe that all the Clergy would take them, and therefore left a Proviſion for a certain Number of ſuch of them as ſhould refuſe the Oaths (which I am heartily ſorry has not been applied;) and thoſe of us who took the Oaths, did it with ſuch Diſtinctions and Declarations, and Salvo's, as made it plain to all the World, that we were not hearty in it, but had a doubting, which is a reſiſting Conſcience. Whereas the Preſbyterians, and Commonwealth-men, (with ſome Atheiſts and Latitudinarians, who called themſelves of our Church, though no otherwiſe than becauſe it was eſtabliſhed by Law) were at the Bottom of the whole Contrivance of the Revolution; and deſired us to ſee into what a Nooſe they had brought us, that we knew not what to reſolve upon: Whether to venture the Reproach of the Nation, by a Change of Principles (at leaſt as it would be thought) and to go in to the Government; or to leave King *William* wholly in their Hands who brought him in, and to run the Hazard of all the Conſequences would follow from his looking upon the Church of *England* as his Enemies, and the Preſbyterians as the only Church which would ſtick by him. I ſay, theſe Conſiderations, joined with his own Inclination, and the little Zeal of the Generality of the Laity for any Church or Religion, farther than ſuited with their Intereſts, made

us to apprehend, that if we had not taken the Oaths, the whole Church might have been overturned all at once; and Presbytery, or something like it, set up in its Place, as has been done in *Scotland*.

When these Considerations had determined us in this Matter, we were not yet without great Fears what might be the Consequence, on the other Hand, that King *William* could not possibly but see that our Conversion was forced, and counterfeit, and would (as such Conversions always do) make us greater Enemies to him than we were before: And that therefore having served his Ends by us, he would watch his Time to destroy us. That he might compass it more easily, though may be not so speedily by our Compliance, having by that made us cheap, and broken our Authority with the People. And (O my Friend) how has he succeeded in that! if that was his Design. I believe no Age can produce so sudden and great a Change, as 'twixt the Affections of the People to us at this Time, and what they were while King *James* was here. I am sure it is a changed World with us, whatever it may be to others! We were then *Hosanna'd*, and now it is next Door to Crucify, while they cannot refrain shewing a Concern and Reverence for our deprived Brethren. So that it is plain, the Cause of our Contempt is our Compliance with those who do now reproach us: And it is needless to argue, That they are in the same Fault, and were first in the Fault, and drew or forced us in. They say we were their Guides, and ought to have led them, and not to have been led by them. They think it no great Matter for them to be in a Fault; they think they have a Privilege to be less strict than the Clergy; and to be severe upon our Miscarriages, seems, in some sort, a Vindication, at least an Alleviation of their own: Which though a very bad Argument, yet we suffer under it.

And it terrifies me to consider how much we may yet suffer by it, when I reflect that the Inclination of the People was made a sufficient Pretence to root out Episcopacy in *Scotland*, notwithstanding that the Prince of *Orange*'s Declaration to that Kingdom from the *Hague*, before he came over, bound him to preserve their Church, as then established by Law, as well as ours.

If you think that the Inclination of the People can never be made a Pretence against Episcopacy in *England*; you will alter your Opinion when you see how little Reason there was for that Pretence in *Scotland*; as it is made fully appear in the Defences and Apologies of the Episcopal Church of *Scotland*, which have been printed here since this Revolution: Which also gives an Account by what Means and Methods a Convention was obtained there, which should vote against Episcopacy.

As to the first, The Inclinations of the People; take the Account given in one of their Apologies, which was digested into ten Questions, and printed here, *Anno* 1690, which informs us,

'That the Nobility of the Kingdom, (a very few, not above a Dozen excepted) had all sworn the Oath, commonly called the *Test*, wherein all fanatical Principles and Covenant Obligations were renounced and abjured: That not one of forty of the Gentry, but had sworn it also; and that not fifty (Gentlemen) in all *Scotland* (out of the West) did, upon the Indulgence granted

'granted by King *James*, *Anno* 1687, forsake their Parish Churches to frequent 'Meeting Houses.

'That the Generality of the Commons live in Cities, and Market Towns; 'that all who could be of the Common-Council in such Corporations, or were 'able to follow any ingenious Trade, were obliged to take the *Test* (and had 'generally done it:) That the Clergy stood all for Episcopacy, there being of 'about a thousand scarcely twenty Trimmers betwixt the Bishop and the Pres- 'byterian Moderator: Which twenty, together with all the Presbyterian 'Preachers, could not make up the fifth Part of such a Number as the other 'Side amounted to. That in all the Universities, there were not four Masters, 'Heads, or Fellows, inclined to Presbytery: That the Colleges of Justice and 'Physic at *Edinburgh* were so averse from it, that the Generality of them were 'ready last Summer (*viz.* 1689) to take Arms in Defence of their Episcopal 'Ministers.'

Thus that Author. And, which is yet a far greater Confirmation of all this to us, his spiteful Presbyterian Adversary, *G. K.* in his first Vindication of the (Presbyterian) Church of *Scotland*, which was writ in Answer to these ten Queries, and printed here in *London* 1690, and reprinted at *Edinburgh* 1691, gives such an Answer to this, as is a plain Confession of it. He yields plainly, all the Gang of the Clergy, (as he calls them) except a few: The Universities, and College of Justice, at least, as lately stated; and the Generality of the Burgesses.

But then he endeavours to make some Amusements as to the so universal Defection (in his Sense) of the Nobility and Gentry, not only in taking the Anti-Presbyterian Tests in the Reign of King *Charles* II. (as Fear, Interest, and such sordid Excuses) but in adhering still to the Episcopal Communion after King *James*'s free Indulgence 1687, for which no Reason can be given but their own Inclinations; the Favour from Court lying then rather on the other Side.

In another of these *Scots* Tracts, called, *An Account of the present Persecution of the Church of* Scotland, published 1690; there in the third Letter we read,

'That in the Years 1687, and 1688, when the Schism was in its Elevation, 'there were but some three or four Presbyterian Meeting Houses erected on the 'North Side of *Tay*, *i. e.* in the greater Half of the Kingdom; and these too 'very little frequented or encouraged. And that on the South Side of that Ri- 'ver (except in the five associated Shires in the West) the third Man was never 'engaged in the Schism.'

In short, we are assured, as well by these Authorities in Print, as by Gentlemen of Sense and Reputation out of that Country, that not a fifth or sixth part of the People of *Scotland* did join, at that time, with the Presbyterians.

And that was the Time to shew their Inclinations, when they might not only do it without Fear or Hazard, but with all the Prospects of Advantage and Preferment.

How much more constant and firm were they to the Church in that Kingdom than in this! We did not bear the Temptation with so little Loss as they.

Every Toleration and Indulgence which has been granted in *England* has made much more Havock, and brought more Ruin to the Church, than we find this (the moſt dangerous one) has done in *Scotland*. We have not yet recovered from the Miſchief of that in 1672. Before which our Church ſeemed to have taken ſome Root, and the Diſſenters were wearing much out of Faſhion; many of the Chief of whom, ſeeing a fair likelihood of the Perpetuity of the Church, were content to ſuffer their Children to be educated in our Communion; though themſelves were aſhamed to comply, after the long Oppoſitions they had made: Which ſhewed they were convinced both of the Lawfulneſs and Expediency of Conformity.

But Fire amidſt Gunpowder does not work its deſtructive Effect more ſuddenly, than that Toleration ſhook and rent, and almoſt overturned our Church. The very next *Sunday* after it was known, the Churches in many Places were almoſt quite deſerted, and the Meeting Houſes, which before were neglected, and reſorted to by but a few, and thoſe little regarded, were like Trenches, when the Sea has broke the Dykes, ſwoln and over-flow'd in a Moment.

And Toleration upon Toleration has brought Ruin upon Ruin ſince; that we are now looſe at the very Roots, and at the Mercy of every Wind and Wave.

And by the Accounts we have given us of *Scotland*, they are both more univerſally and more zealouſly Epiſcopal (eſpecially if you conſider the Gentry and Nobility) than the People even in *England*.

Of which there is another very great Inſtance, ſince the *Scots* Treatiſes above quoted were wrote. And that is, That, notwithſtanding the ſeveral Acts of Parliament there for aboliſhing Epiſcopacy, and ſettling the Preſbyterian Government, and all the fiery Zeal of the Covenanters now in Poſſeſſion, yet, through moſt Parts of the North, and many other Parts of *Scotland*, they, to this Day, refuſe to admit the Preſbyterian Miniſters who were ſent to them, or to part with their old Epiſcopal Clergy, though they neither ſwear nor pray according to the Acts; but keep them ſtill in Poſſeſſion of their Churches, and renounce the Authority of the General Aſſembly, as not being lawfully conſtituted without Biſhops. And have lately publiſhed a Paper in the Name of the whole Miniſters North of *Tay*; and twelve Miniſters at *Aberdeen* gave it, in their own Names, and the Names of all the reſt, to the Commiſſioners of the General Aſſembly, wherein they ſtand ſtill by their deprived Biſhops: And as the Repreſentation of the (ſaid) Committee of the Aſſembly for the North of *Scotland*, to the Privy Council of that Kingdom, printed now by Authority in *London* this *October* 1694, does expreſs it, They not only plainly queſtion their Authority, (*viz.* of the General Aſſembly) but the Authority of the Law whereby the Government of this Church is ſettled. Nay more, the deprived Biſhops there do not only continue to confer Holy Orders, but to fill the Churches with thoſe ſo Ordained; and the People keep them in. As it is complained of in the ſaid Repreſentation, which has been diſperſed by the Preſbyterian Faction through the Coffee-houſes in *London*, as an Aggravation of the Obſtinacy of the *Scots* Epiſcopalians againſt the Government, as they would have it underſtood; with ſome Queries added, to diſengage us who have complied with this Government, from any Concern for the *Scots* Epiſcopalians.

But

But if the Presbyterian Interest is so low in *Scotland*, how came they of late Years to make so great a Noise here? Were they not the People who formed the Rebellions of *Pentland Hills* and *Bothwell-bridge*?

Yes. And were so easily quelled, as shewed the Party to have neither Interest, nor Conduct, nor any other Qualification to render them considerable, besides that of a mad Zeal; like our Fifth Monarchy-men, which, grafted upon *præfervidum Scotorum Ingenium, & ad audendum aptum*, produced horrid Assassinations and desperate Rebellions, without any Apprehension of Danger or Impossibilities: For *quicquid Scoti agunt, valde agunt:* The *Scots* do every thing to the utmost.

But how came that Party to gain such a Convention there, as to vote Episcopacy a Grievance, and contrary to the Inclinations of the People, as it is expressed in their Claim of Right? This looks like Management, or else was very good Luck.

There was both in it, as the *Scots* Episcopal Apologists do explain it to us; and shew the Arts of the Ministers of State who were employed in that Affair. That poor Rabble of Covenanters in *Scotland* were but the Tools who followed the Cue given them; they had other Help than their own.

But there were some Concurrents in that Juncture, which contributed more than all the Politics.

The Nation was in a violent Ferment; and every one almost, except those of the Cabal, were unwilling to dip themselves in the first Act of a new Constitution, not knowing where it might end. Besides, the Episcopalians were, and are still, generally affected towards King *James*; and took as much Pains to keep themselves out of that Convention, as the Presbyterians did to come into it. All which did not, it could not, prevent many more of the Episcopalians to be returned than of the Presbyterians; the Episcopalians being so very much the major Number, especially among the better Sort. But many of the Episcopalians would not fit; and many who sat once, quitted the House, and would appear no more; thinking it culpable to be there. And others were forced away to save their Lives from the Fury of the fanatical Rabble, who were armed, and made the Guard of the Convention, as that extraordinary Man Sir *George Mac Kenzie*, and others. Sir *George Lockhart*, a most eminent Lawyer, and who violently opposed the Vacancy of the Throne, was assassinated in the Streets of *Edinburgh*; some say it was only through a private Pique, but that did not appear to all. The Archbishop of *Glasgow*, and others of the Clergy, were openly insulted in the Streets, and no Remedy. And before the Convention was turned into a Parliament, the Bishops were, by particular Instruments sent to Duke *Hamilton*, then Commissioner, excluded from their Right of Sitting in Parliament.

Yet notwithstanding of all this purging, they could not get that Parliament so model'd, that, if but Half of them had sat, they would ever have abolished Episcopacy, or set up Presbytery: And the *Scots* Episcopal Party do vouch, That there were not one third Part of the Members present, when Presbytery was there established.

I am not now meddling with their Reasons, why they would not venture to sit and vote at all Hazards. This is only to shew, that no Parliament can be had in *Scotland*, which if freely sitting, would abolish Episcopacy: And that the Inclinations of the People cannot be justly collected from what was done by that. Less than a third Part of a Parliament; and that gathered together by strange Artifices, as the *Scotch* Accounts do inform us, as plain as they dare speak, in the Management of their Election, and of the Prince of *Orange*'s circular Letter, by which that Convention was called, being sent where Preparations were made for its Reception, by some Places later, and to some not at all, who yet had Right of electing Members for Parliament.

Yet all this could produce no such Appearance in the Convention as would answer their Designs, but they were forced to take into that Convention Men out-lawed for Treason, and under other legal Incapacities to sit in Parliament, by the Laws and Tests then in Force; as my Lord *Argyle* himself, who, before his Attainder was taken off by the Parliament, sat in that Convention, and was sent up hither with the Tender of the Crown of *Scotland*.

And when they had done all, tried all their Ways and Means, legal and illegal, what a contemptible Appearance was it which they were able to procure, at the first opening of the Convention or Meeting of the Estates, (as they stiled it) which was the 14th of *March*, 1688.

Of this we have a certain Record, which is, *The Acts and Orders of the Meeting of the Estates of the Kingdom of* Scotland, extracted out of their Register, and printed by Authority in *Edinburgh*, 1690.

There in the Act, Declaring the Meeting of the Estates to be a free and lawful Meeting, the 16th of *March*, 1688, all there present do subscribe the said Act, and all their Names are printed in the said Act. And there were but fifty Burgesses in that Convention.

Neither must we reckon upon all that small Number itself, as appears by their fourth Act, which is intitled, *An Act for putting the Kingdom in a Posture of Defence*, the 19th of *March*, 1688, wherein we are told that several of the Members who had subscribed the former Act, had (in that three Days time) *Deserted the Meeting of the Estates, and presumed openly to correspond with the Duke of* Gordon, *since the Proclamation of Intercommuning against him, and to retire from this Place* (Edinburgh) *in Form of Weirt*; and therefore commands all from sixteen to sixty to arm, *&c.*

The Matter was, many of those Few who came to the Convention did not know the Designs of the Managers; which, as soon as they perceived, and that there was a formed Party to carry it on, they immediately quit the Convention, in *Form of War* (as that Act says) and openly declared for King *James*. Among these was my Lord *Dundee*, who sat the first Day of the Convention, and his Name is among those who subscribed the first Act above-mentioned.

There were likewise seven Bishops, whose Names are printed the first of the Subscribers.

But their Archbishop (of *St. Andrew*'s) as ours, would not come into the Convention at all; and it seems all the rest, but the abovesaid Seven, were of his Mind. And that even these Seven were of those who (as Lord *Dundee*, &c.) immediately quitted the Convention. I say, immediately; for they subscribed

ſcribed on the 16th of *March*, and the Hue and Cry after them was in the aboveſaid Act of the 19th of the ſame Month.

So that if we are to make any Computation of the Inclinations of the People from this Convention, it will operate rather againſt the preſent Eſtabliſhment there, from the ſmall Appearance of the Burgeſſes, and their great and ſudden Deſertion.

But if the Inclinations of the People is beſt known by the Senſe of Parliaments, then it muſt follow, that all along ſince the Reformation the Inclinations of the People of *Scotland* have been for Epiſcopacy; which has been ratified and confirmed by twenty-ſeven Parliaments in that Kingdom (as they are reckoned up in theſe *Scots* Epiſcopal Papers) and where no ſuch Objections, as in the preſent Caſe, can be alledged. Add to this, what I think a plain Confeſſion, that the Preſbyterians dare not truſt a free Parliament in *Scotland*; and that is, that notwithſtanding the great Objection of a Convention (not called together in the legal Form) becoming a Parliament by a Vote of their own, who were not a Parliament before that Vote, or any otherwiſe than by that Vote, by Virtue only of the Words themſelves pronounced, when they ſaid, *Hoc eſt Parliamentum*, (which ſome have compared to Tranſubſtantiation;) I ſay, notwithſtanding that the Convention Parliament in *England* found it neceſſary, for this Reaſon, to have the Convention Parliament diſſolved, and a new Parliament choſen by the King's Writ, in the uſual Form: Becauſe, as was truly alledged, the Convention was but in the Nature of a Volunteer, no Man being obliged to obey the circular Letters of a Foreign Prince before he was declared our King. Nor did his circular Letters import any other than a voluntary Compliance which he expected ſhould be paid to them. And therefore the Subjects would not think their Liberties preſerved, unleſs they had the antient Freedom of Election reſerved to them, to chuſe Members to ſerve in Parliament, knowing before-hand that it was to be a Parliament: For a Convention was new, both Name and Thing; and few underſtood either the Nature of it, or the Ends and Purpoſes for which it was ſummoned; and to metamorphoſe that into a Parliament, and then to continue it as ſuch, would be underſtood as a plain Cheat to trick the People out of their Votes. Yet all theſe obvious Reaſons, and the Example of *England* notwithſtanding, the Preſbyterian Managers in *Scotland* dare not ſummon a new Parliament, but keep on ſtill the old Convention with the new Name of a Parliament: And though they know that many of the Epiſcopal Perſuaſion there, are ſo zealous, upon the Point of the Government, that they would not come in, though there were a new Parliament, yet the Preſbyterians dare not truſt thoſe that might come in, againſt all their own Strength, and all the Trimmers they could bribe or frighten to their Side. For they could never, by their Arts, compaſs ſuch a Parliament as would not ſpue out Preſbytery, as *a Yoke which neither they nor their Fathers were able to bear.* They know it to be utterly impoſſible for them ever again to get ſuch a Company of Conventioners, as by their ſecret Intelligence laid (without Oppoſition or Suſpicion of the Epiſcopal Party) leaped together, and choſe one another, upon the Prince of *Orange*'s circular Letters, which were left wholly to their Management.

If all this be cauſeleſly alledged, let them convince us with the free and impartial Election of another Parliament.

Or give any other Reaſon why they will not, than that they dare not truſt the Inclinations of the People; which they know to be the moſt averſe to them, and moſt deſervedly.

There is another Thing which extremely ſhews the Weakneſs of the Preſbyterian Intereſt there: And that is, That they would never have been able to have planted Preſbyterian Miniſters there, if the Right of Patronages had continued; for there were but very few Gentlemen in that Kingdom, to whom Advowſons did belong, who would ever have preſented any Clerk that was Preſbyterianly inclined. Therefore all Patronages were taken away by Act of this Parliament.

After which one would have expected that the free Election of the People ſhould have been ſet up in its full Extent and Prerogative; becauſe this was it for which the Preſbyterians chiefly contended: they made it to be *Jure Divino*, and call'd it Chriſt's Legacy to the People, and ſaid it was Indefeaſible and Unalienable from them.

But yet they were forced to diſpenſe with it at the firſt, and put the Calling of Miniſters into the Hands of the Preſbytery: For they found the Inclinations of the People run againſt them, at leaſt of much the major Number, as well as of the Nobility and Gentry; and therefore this Method was neceſſary (though Antichriſtian, by their own Principles) for the firſt Planting of the Goſpel (as they ſtile the preaching of the Covenant) in that prelatical Country.

Neither durſt they, for the Time to come, truſt the People with their Divine Right of electing their Miniſters, without clogging this Legacy of Chriſt, as they call'd it, with ſuch Limitations as they could not pretend are to be found in Scripture. That none ſhould vote in the Election of Miniſters till they firſt ſwore the Oath of Allegiance to King *William* and Queen *Mary*, and ſign the Aſſurance, for which an Act of Parliament is paſſed accordingly.

Yet, with all theſe Bars and Defences, they found very great Difficulties in planting thoſe Churches, which they have planted with Preſbyterian Miniſters.

Who were ſo few in that Country, that they were forced to ordain young Lads from Shops, or the Plough, as they could get them gifted, without any Univerſity Learning: For theſe Springs, as themſelves confeſs, were all corrupted; that is, in their Senſe, were wholly Epiſcopal.

And in the North of *Scotland*, as confeſſed in the Preſbyterian Repreſentation above-told, they have got little or no Footing to this Day. In which Parts they are ſo ſtrongly Epiſcopal, that, as I read in a very accurate and ingenious Account of the Proceedings there about the Convention Time: *It were no hard Taſk*, ſays he, *to give a juſt Account how it only happened that there was ſo much as one Northern Member, who was not ſuch by Birth, of the Preſbyterian Perſuaſion in the Meeting of the Eſtates.*

But there can be no ſuch Demonſtration, as their preſerving their Epiſcopal Clergy, and keeping out the Preſbyterian, againſt repeated Acts of Parliament; and that the Privy-Council, which has there almoſt the Power of a Parliament, in the Intervals of Parliament, have interpoſed their Authority to ratify the Decrees of the Preſbytery.

Nay,

Nay, even in their own dear West-Country, the Presbyterians found so much Difficulty, in some Places, particularly near *Edinburgh*, to perfect their Reformation, that they were forced to fill a Church there with Soldiers to fright the People from singing the Doxology, from which they could not otherwise be reduced. Was not this something like Dragooning? But I go on.

It may be thought strange, Things being as here told, what Ground or Pretence could be found for representing Episcopacy to be contrary to the Inclinations of these People.

And herein appears a subtle, but a very wicked Politic of the Managers then at Helm.

They first had Arms put into the Hands of the mad *Cameronian* true Presbyterian Rabble of the West, and then set them on to mob the Episcopal Clergy, in those fanatical Shires, which they executed in a most savage Manner; and from thence they represented the Inclinations of the People to be irreconcileable to Episcopacy; but upon Enquiry, I cannot find that there is any now, who insist longer upon that common Place of the Inclinations of the People of *Scotland*: It, like some other Stories, has served its Turn, except one Sycophant, who had Presbyterian Education, and from his Infancy was taught to hate and despise Episcopacy, who has deserted his Church in *East Lothian*, and was expelled neither by Force, nor by the Rabble, nor any Sentence of any Presbyterian Judicature; but fearing that the Gentry of his Parish, to whom he was always most disagreeable, would lay hold of the present Opportunity to turn him out, when their Inclinations was made the Standard, he thought it convenient to leave the Place with less Disgrace.

And he is now encouraged by a certain Minister of State, to propagate that Notion here in *England*, that the Temper of the People in *Scotland* is against Episcopacy, and most inclined to Presbytery. And the Rabbling of the Episcopal Clergy in some Parts of the West, is all the Argument.

This is all, and every Bit of the Ground the Convention, he or any other had, to represent the Inclinations of the People as averse to Prelacy.

Nor had they had this Pretence itself, if all the People even in these same fanatical Shires, had been left to their own Inclinations: For when the College of Justice in *Edinburgh*, and others (in whom remained what was left of any Right to govern after King *James* quitted *England*, and before any other Establishment was framed) took Arms against this murdering Rabble, in the Defence of the Episcopal Clergy, and themselves (for such an Inundation threatened all) a Proclamation came out from the Prince of *Orange* commanding all to lay down their Arms. This was obeyed by the College of Justice, and the rest of the Episcopal Party; (as thinking it tending towards Peace and Settlement:) But not at all by the others, saying, They knew it was not intended against them, and accordingly made Use of it, their Enemies being thus disarmed, to commit more insolent Barbarities against the Clergy than before.

And in Reward for their Zeal, were not only continued in Arms, but made the Guard of the Convention, which soon after met, under their Gracious Protection, and acted by their Influence. Theirs! who thought it Merit, and the Cause of God, to assassinate the Archbishop of *St. Andrews* on the High-way; and declared it their Principle to murther, by whatever means, every Bishop;

and every King and Man who took their part. Theirs! who for declaring and acting purſuant to ſuch diabolical Principles (though all the genuine Effects of their common Mother the Covenant) were, out of meer Shame, diſown'd by other their Phariſee Brethren of the Preſbyterians, for throwing off the Sheeps Cloathing, and acting the Wolf ſo plainly and above Board; for abdicating not only the Simplicity of the Dove, but the Prudence of the Serpent, of whom they retained nothing but the Sting. And who could have any other Thought than that Epiſcopacy was reſerved only for Execution, when it was placed under ſuch *Cameronian* Guards?

And when the moſt violent and bigotted Fanaticks were made the Principal Miniſters of State?

But who was it choſe thoſe Miniſters? That muſt be the King's Inclination. He choſe them according to his own Inclinations; and then took their Word, for the Inclinations of the People.

And can we think his Inclinations are different in *England*, otherwiſe than as Reaſon of State moves him?

The Experiment muſt begin in *Scotland:* And according to the Succeſs there, the Meaſures are to be taken here.

And do we not ſee the ſame Meaſures taken here, though perhaps in ſomewhat a ſlower March?

Has not a certain great Man, of an Intereſt very contrary to that of the Church, one whoſe Treachery towards it has made him an irreconcilable and inveterate Enemy to it, been brought from behind the Curtain, where he acted ſo much Miſchief unſeen, and now in a manner publickly ſet upon the Stage? Has he not acted indeed as one deſperate, and that knows himſelf unſafe under any thing but a Fanatick Party eſtabliſhed in both Kingdoms? as one that can hope for no Forgiveneſs from another Intereſt which he has ſo perfidiouſly treated, and where all thoſe that are leading and reſpected Men know him ſo well, have felt him, and are ſure neither to be impoſed upon by him more, nor ever to forget what he has done to the Church, and againſt them as the Patrons of it? Have we not ſeen how things have turned ſince this? Was not the whole Miniſtry changed to bring in that Gang? How had ſuch a Fellow as *Jack Trenchard*, or *Somers*, been hoiſted upon a ſudden where they now are, but meerly on this Account, that they only were thought deep enough in a Fanatick Intereſt to carry on this Deſign, and to ſupport this new Foundation of ſome great Man, who muſt make good what they are engaged in, and ſecure themſelves by thorough Work, or ſoon fall, and come to that End which they deſerve?

My Lord *Nottingham*, a Man whom they offer to reproach with nothing but his Fidelity to our Church, and his conſtant Care of its Intereſt; one of ſuch allowed Capacity, Vigilancy, and indefatigable Diligence in his Office, and of ſuch known Fidelity to the Crown and this Government; ſuch a Man as this we ſee of a ſudden removed, and without any Reaſon given (but what is thus plainly left for any one to infer) thruſt out of his Employment, diſgraced, and driven at as one ready to be impeached; which Deſign it was no great Wonder to ſee carried on under ſuch as could not prevent their being themſelves impeached, were the Government as it ought to be, or the Church reſtored to that Place which it ought to have, and which one may very juſtly ſay it muſt have, unleſs Monarchy be deſign'd for Ruin.

The

The Juſtification which the Parliament laſt Year gave to the Admirals, after the moſt malicious and falſe Aſperſions imaginable, did not hinder their being thrown out with all the Diſgrace that could be put upon them. At leaſt thoſe Two that were the Chief, and chiefly noted for their Firmneſs to the Church, were ſo ſerved. What are the reſt of the Changes in the Admiralty, and every where elſe? What are the *Ruſſels*, and the *Whartons*, that are now in ſuch Credit, and have their Friends every where advanced? Who knows not the Cabal at Court, and that Lord *Sh*—— who firſt went out of Court upon this bottom, and is now returned again upon the ſame, is of this Confederacy; and both too early, and too deeply, engaged with this Party to be a Head or a leading Man any where elſe?

Our Friends are ſhifted out apace. And now openly, and above Board, there have been new Regulations of all the Commiſſions of the Peace and Militia through *England*; of the Lieutenancy of *London*, the Cuſtoms, *&c.* on purpoſe to fill all with the fanatical and whiggiſh Tribe; who have out-grown us, and are too many for us, in all Places of Truſt and Profit *.

Little needy Fellows are put into Employments of greateſt Honour and Import, ſo they be but fanatic enough.

As *Johnſton*, Secretary for *Scotland*, who the other Day merely for Bread travelled with Sir *Robert Barnard*, his Condition being then very neceſſitous, tho' he is now one of the chief Managers in both Kingdoms. His only Merit is the new-faſhion'd Theiſm, grafted upon rigid Fanaticiſm; the laſt of which he derived from his Father, that Arch-Rebel *Wariſton*, who was Clerk in ordinary to the Preſbyterian General-Aſſembly in his Time, and as furious againſt the Mitre as the Crown.

* Either profeſſed and open Diſſenters, or the more dangerous Church Fanaticks; who keep in our Communion no otherwiſe than as Spies; who ridicule us, and do us all the ill Offices that are in their Power; and but watch an Opportunity to deſtroy us, and our Conſtitution. Of ſuch Principles (moſt iniquitous to the Church) are the preſent Attorney and Solicitor General, and almoſt all the King's Council, as *Wi. Williams*, Serjeant *Tompſon*, Mr. *Hawles*, *&c.* Baron *Letchmore*, Baron *Turton*, that little Baron Tell-clock Mr. *Bradbury*, and others upon the Bench. And with *Ruſſel* are joined in the Commiſſion of the Admiralty that virulent Whig Col. *Auſten*, and *Rich*, and *Houblon*, two rigid Fanatics. Such are *Montague* and *Smith*, two of the Lords Commiſſioners of the Treaſury, indefatigable Sticklers for the Whig Party. *Papillion* and *Mayne*, in the Victualling-Office; and *Hill* of the Navy Office. Sir *J. Foach*, Sir *Steph. Evans*, *Ed. Clark*, *Tho. Hall*, *J. Danvers*, (the only Son of a Regicide) and *Foot Onſlow*, in the Exciſe. *Parkhurſt*, *Murray*, *Vernon*, and *Paſchal*, in the Prize-Office. Col. *Kirby*, *Shepherd*, and *Welwood*, in that for the Sick and Wounded. *Aſhurſt*, in that of the Hackney Coaches; and *Franklin* in the Poſt-Office. And in the Cuſtom-houſe, Sir *Walter Young*, Mr. *Chedwick*, Sir *Patience Ward*, Sir *Robert Clayton*. And a long *Et cætera* in other Offices and Places of Truſt through the Kingdom, too long to be here inſerted. The Whig, and (I know not which to ſay) natural or unnatural Libertine, the Lord *Sidney*, now Earl of *Rumney*, is made Maſter of the Ordnance, and Governor of the *Cinque Ports*, and *Dover* Caſtle, *&c.* And Whig Sir *Thomas Littleton* is under him in the Ordnance. Lord *Cutts*, an Atheiſtical Whig, is made Governor of the Iſle of *Wight*. Theſe, and many more, are the Men now employed.

Such another is that infamous *James Stuart*, an inveterate Rebel, and pardoned by King *James*, now knighted, forſooth! and fills the Place of Lord Advocate, which anſwers to that of Attorney-General here; but of greater Honour and Intereſt in the State.

Caſtairs, a Super-preſbyterian, that is, a *Cameronian* Preacher, attends King *William*'s Perſon, both at Home and Abroad, like a Jewel in his Ear: We make a Show in the Chapel, but he exerciſes the Office of Confeſſor in the Cloſet.

His Advice is taken in all the ſpiritual Promotions of our Church; and we feel the Effects of it very ſenſibly.

We ſee among the new-made Biſhops thoſe who were formerly fanatical Preachers; and thoſe who, of all our Number, are leaſt zealous for the Church, and moſt Latitudinarian, for a Comprehenſion of Diſſenters, and a Diſpenſation with our Liturgy and Diſcipline. The Archbiſhop himſelf has put on a ſtrange Moderation that way.

The Tide runs ſtrong both in Church and State towards a fanatical Level. And the Pattern of the *Scottiſh* Reformation ſtares us in the Face more glaringly than in 1642.

And let us remember, That the Covenant (now rampant in *Scotland*) obliges them to carry on the Work of that Reformation in *England*, as well as in *Scotland*, as they did before: And they have the Impudence to pray publickly for it now in their Churches, for our Converſion (as they call it) from Prelacy, which they call Popery; and Idolatry, that is, our Liturgy.

And yet their Agents there would make us believe, That they intend no Alteration of our Conſtitution in *England*.

But are we to be ſo deceived now? Have we never been deceived by them, in the ſame Manner, before? How often did they proteſt to Marquiſs *Hamilton*, Commiſſioner for King *Charles* the Firſt, that they did not intend to aboliſh Epiſcopacy? [*Large Declaration*, 114, 115. 69. and 173.]

And they uſed to perſuade the Scrupulous, that they might take the Covenant without Prejudice to Epiſcopacy.

In their Anſwer to the Fourth Reply of the Doctors of *Aberdeen*, they ſay, *You will have all the Covenanters againſt their Intention, and whether they will or not, to diſallow and condemn the Articles of* Perth, *and Epiſcopal Government.—But it is known to many Hundreds, that the Words were purpoſely conceived for Satisfaction of ſuch as were of your Judgment, that we might all join in one Heart and Covenant.*

They had lower and higher Senſes of this Oath. Any thing to get you once within their Circle; and though they preſs the Obligation of it upon all alike, like the Artifice of ſome of the *Romiſh* Emiſſaries, who, to a Perſon tenacious of the Reformed Doctrines, repreſent the Church of *Rome* as little or nothing differing from us in Fundamentals, as they call them; and will let him keep all the Opinions they can't perſuade him from, only to be reconciled to the Church, to avoid Schiſm: But when he is once in, then there is no Stop, they can drive him to the utmoſt. They bring in many Hundreds of their private Doctors for the lower Senſe of their general Councils; as their Spawn of the Covenant do leave their many Hundreds of private Perſons, who they at firſt pretended knew

their

their Minds in wording of the Covenant, to be much lower than the Letter of the Oath seemed to import.

But yet they would never afterwards allow any such private Interpretations, as the true and natural Sense of the Oath. But boldly charged them of Perjury, who in the least Tittle departed from them.

And how many Oaths and Protestations had we from our *English* Parliament in 1642, That they never intended the Abolition either of Episcopacy, or the Liturgy? But, on the contrary, they expressed a great Zeal for both; till they had got a Set of fanatical Ministers in the State, and they then soon introduced Ministers of the same Kidney in the Church.

And did not they then set up the Inclinations of the People on their Side? And did not they carry it?

And yet they had not Half the Pretence as now. For, before that Rebellion, *England* had been long in the quiet Possession of Episcopacy, without almost any Grumbling against it; and that but of so small and inconsiderable a Party, as did not seem worth Notice. These Monsters were bred, and grew up, in the Storm: But since the Overflowing of that schismatical Rebellion, our Land has been fertile of as many heterogeneous Productions, as the Mud of *Nilus* leaves upon *Egypt*. There are almost as many various Sects and Armies of Dissenters now, as there were single Mutineers at that Time.

And oh! the Difference! *England* had a King then who was bred from his Childhood in the Episcopal Communion, and zealous for it, even to Martyrdom.

But the present King had the Misfortune (to himself, and to us) to be educated under the *Geneva* Model, made *Erastian* in *Holland*: And it cannot be imagined, That the Alteration of his present Circumstances have wrought as great a Change in his Principles: That would be, if not a Miracle, to suppose him to be wholly Latitudinarian, and indifferent to all Religions; at least as to Church Government, which is the Point we are concerned for.

But, alas! the Measures he has taken in *Scotland*, and here too (as fast as they can go) have sadly undeceived us; and given Demonstration, That he is as zealous for his Religion as any other King at least.

In short, it is evident, that King *James* never took more Pains to place such Ministers in the State, and Bishops in the Church, as were, if not popishly affected, yet least inclined against it, than King *William* has done, by the same Method, in Favour of Presbytery.

And there is yet a farther Reason for him to put himself intirely into their Hands as soon as he possibly can; and that is, that he can never trust to us. He sees (we cannot keep it concealed) that much the major Number of the swearing Clergy in *England*, and those who are upon the Foundations of the Universities, are Jacobites in their Hearts; and many of them have not the Continence to keep it to themselves, but blab it where-ever they go: Insomuch that the Nation has it by the End, that we are all *Jacobites*; at least, we are all, except a very few, suspected, and that is equal to guilty, in the Argument I am now upon.

Well,

Well, but whatever are the King's Inclinations or Designs as to the Church, we truſt to the Inclinations of the People, that they are all for us; and that therefore his Intereſt will perſuade him to comply with them.

Firſt, We have many and abundant Inſtances, ſince the Beginning of this Revolution, how far he can prevail with the People, at leaſt with their Repreſentatives in the Houſe of Commons, to comply with his Intereſt or Inclinations.

Secondly, We have found the Inclinations of the People turn againſt us, in the late Rebellion againſt King *Charles* I. when they were much more unitedly for us than they are at preſent.

Thirdly, the Inclinations of the People may be pretended, when it is not true, as we have ſeen in *Scotland*: And a Set of fanatical Miniſters of State may ſet up ſuch a Pretence when they pleaſe. Pretences are the eaſieſt found Things in the World; as we ſay, It is no hard matter to find a Stick to beat a Dog.

But towards making the moſt true and impartial Computation that can be, as to the Inclinations of the People in *England* at this Day, in reference to Epiſcopacy, and the preſent Eſtabliſhed Church; let us firſt take a View of the Nation in the General, and particularly of *London*, (and that not only as to the Differences betwixt us and the Diſſenters, but with regard likewiſe to their Inclinations as divided betwixt us and our deprived Fathers and Brethren) then of the two Houſes of Lords and Commons. And theſe are the ſureſt Steps I know, whereby to compute the Inclinations of the People of *England*.

Now to take a general View of *England*; we ſadly find, that the Reverence to Religion in the general is mightily abated, and, amongſt very many, quite loſt. And therefore a Diſpute only about Church Government will be thought of very little Conſequence with theſe.

There is a Spirit of Atheiſm gone out into this Land, eſpecially amongſt the Gentry of the firſt Magnitude; and Books are daily publiſhed, and greedily bought up, to render what they call Prieſtcraft, the Object of all People's Hate and Contempt.

And will thoſe who have no Regard for Religion, have any Reverence for Churchmen? Thoſe, who think them and their Profeſſion uſeleſs, and a Cheat? And conſequently an unneceſſary Burden and Charge to the People, and therefore neceſſary to be removed. That they are kept up only by the Folly and Superſtition of a few Bigots, who dare not think out of the Road of their Forefathers, whom theſe Virtuoſo's have taken all imaginable Pains to undeceive, and convert them to the generous Latitude and Largeneſs of Thought, as they call it. That if they cannot get rid of all Religions, to be indifferent towards all; and to look no farther than the legal Eſtabliſhment; or to conſider of Religion no otherwiſe than as it is part of our Property, made ſo by the Laws, and which therefore may be altered by the Laws; at leaſt, as to Church-Government.

And how can we deny this, who have allowed of Lay-Deprivations?

Nay, Brother, I muſt tell you, That this Latitudinarian Principle has ſtrangely prevailed even among our Clergy; chiefly of the firſt Form, in whoſe Hands all our Concernments lie, and the public Affairs of the Church.

And

And now as to the third Eſtate of Men in the Kingdom, the Commonalty; what can we expect from them, but to be led by their Clergy, their Nobility and Gentry? And do we not find it ſo? Some think our Party great from the Appearance in our Churches here in *London*. But the Churches in *London* will not hold the tenth Part of the People in *London*: And therefore a ſmall Proportion of the People will make a great Shew in our Churches. Beſides, the Generality of the People do give themſelves a Latitude to go to Church or Meetings indifferently; and ſince both are now equally tolerated by the Law, they do not think it a Fault, at leaſt they cannot be cenſured, nor they think ſo much as juſtly blamed for it. I know ſeveral, even of the firſt Rank of the Gentry, who not only go to hear Sermons, but receive the Communion, both at Church, and at the Meetings. This is a ſtrange Proſtitution of our Diſcipline! But we muſt not now pretend to Power, if we can live, we muſt let live. Thoſe Days of the Authority of the Church are over: We now ſeem to be in the Height of the *Laodicean* State.

Again. Many of the Commonwealth Party (who cannot love our Conſtitution) come to Church, ſome to preſerve their Places, and in reverence to the ſacramental Teſt; others, for meer Faſhion-ſake; and not a few, on Purpoſe to watch, and report, and find Objections, or to make them.

By theſe Means our Churches are filled. But when we have ſubtracted all, but who came hither out of a pure Principle of Religion: And again, when we have ſubdivided from theſe, thoſe who think not that Religion conſiſts in Epiſcopacy, or any Form of Church Government, but look only to the devotional Part, which they may think might be preſerved under any other Form of Government in the Church, as well as that of Epiſcopacy; though they may (perchance) like that beſt, as being moſt uſed to it. (All who were ſtrictly principled in the divine Right of Epiſcopacy, and conſequently its Independence upon the State, are gone from us into the ſeparate Communion of the deprived Biſhops: And many, though they keep in our Communion, are with them in their Hearts.)

I ſay, when we have ſubtracted from thoſe who make their Appearance at our Churches upon ſolemn Occaſions, all, except thoſe who would be content to ſtruggle for Epiſcopacy, and for us now in Poſſeſſion, in oppoſition to the depriv'd Biſhops, to ſtruggle for us, as the epiſcopal Laity have done in *Scotland* againſt the Laws in Being, and the reigning Miniſters, to the Hazard of their Perſons and Eſtates; when all but ſuch as theſe are ſubtracted from our Congregations, I am afraid we ſhall have but little Reaſon to boaſt of our Numbers.

And though Men's coming to Church is no ſure Sign of their being true Church-men; yet their forſaking, or neglecting the Church, is a certain Demonſtration that they are otherwiſe.

Add to this, a very fatal Dilemma in which the Diſſenters have caught us, and have improved it amongſt the People, to our no ſmall Prejudice; For if we ſtick to paſſive Obedience in the high Senſe, as it is contained in the Homily againſt Rebellion, we muſt condemn what we have done, and what we ſtill continue to do. But if we call that an Error, then we own that our Church has been all along, before this Revolution, a falſe Guide; and that the Diſſenters have

have taught the Truth, in this Point of Doctrine: And then the People themſelves make the Application, that it is ſafer truſting to them than to us in other Doctrines. For, ſay they, the Diſſenters never went over to you, in any of their Doctrines; but you have gone over to them in this, which you formerly preſſed as poſitively and zealouſly as any other Doctrine of the Goſpel; nay, more than moſt others, and as indiſpenſibly neceſſary to Salvation.

And will a People thus prejudiced againſt us, be zealous for us? Zealous againſt the Diſſenters to whom we have at laſt ſubmitted, in our ſo long boaſted characteriſtical Diſcrimination of paſſive Obedience? How ſhall we retract all the hard Words we have given them for oppoſing that Doctrine which we now profeſs! For uſing thoſe ſame Deſtinctions which we now ſet up! And what Argument can we find to perſuade the People that we may not deceive them in other Doctrines, as well as in this? Why they ſhould adhere to us againſt the Diſſenters, who have kept their Ground, and not contradicted their own Doctrines?

Indeed our Caſe here is very difficult. It is needleſs now to blame the Preaching of paſſive Obedience ſo high in the former Reigns: The Fault is committed, we cannot deny it; and we muſt ſuffer under the Shame of it. And we have loſt exceedingly in the Hearts and Inclinations of the People now towards us, upon that Account. They look upon us inconſtant, and time-ſerving. And that Character to a Clergy-man muſt forfeit all Men's Value and Eſteem for him: And conſequently for all that Clergy, or Church, of whom they have conceived ſuch an Opinion.

And tho' you and I can vindicate ourſelves as to the preaching of paſſive Obedience in former Times; what is this to all that Generality of the Clergy who were never weary, nor would give over upon that Subject? Who found it in every Text they could meet with? And preſſed it oftener, and more pathetically, than any Article of the Creed?

And though we did not preach for it, yet we did not preach againſt it. We let it go: Which the People think we ſhould not have done, if we thought it to be an Error; and ſo fatal a one as it muſt be, if it can be an Error. They call this time-ſerving in us then, as much as in the others now: And then our Subſcriptions to the Homilies, and reading the Declaration of its not being lawful, upon any Pretence, to take Arms, *&c.* are thrown in our Diſh.

And it is needleſs here to inſiſt upon our Defences; for the Enquiry we are now making, is not the Truth or Untruth of the Caſe, but only as to the Inclinations of the People; that is, how they take it, not how it is in itſelf.

Thus far we have obſerved concerning the People in General, and in *London*: But let us now come nearer, and obſerve their Countenance in the great Repreſentative of the People, the Parliament.

And here, like drawing near to an ill daub'd Landſkape, the Strokes appear more groſs and diſproportioned.

What a contemptible Figure do our Biſhops now make in the Houſe of Lords! It was never ſo known before. No! Never! They are obliged either to quit their Seats in that Houſe, or to bear the Railery of the Lay-Lords every Day, who think them a dead Weight amongſt the Peers; of whom the greateſt

Part

Part would be glad to be rid of them, not only out of their Houſe, but out of the Nation.

And it may here be noted, that Epiſcopacy was in greater Perfection, and more primitive Independency, in *Scotland*, than with us here in *England*; and likewiſe as much fortified by the civil Law, and ſet higher in the State, than (ſince the Reformation) in *England*.

The Clergy there, are a diſtinct Eſtate by themſelves, and preferred, in all things, to the temporal Nobility: For not only the two Archbiſhops, (as in *England*) but every one of the Biſhops, do ſign before all the whole temporal Lords; as may be ſeen in the Act above-mentioned, 16th of *March*, 1688, where all the Convention ſubſcribed their Names; and the ſeven Biſhops who were there, did ſubſcribe before Duke *Hamilton* (though then Preſident of the Convention) and all the Lay-Lords. And their Subſcriptions are thus indorſed in the ſaid Act: The Clergy and Nobility ſubſcribed thus. When the Rolls in Parliament are called over, the Biſhops are all firſt called.

The Biſhops chuſe Lords of the Articles out of the temporal Eſtate of the Lay Lords.

In all things, the Biſhops there are diſtinguiſhed more plainly as a ſeparate Eſtate, and the firſt of the three Eſtates, than with us.

But they have a yet much greater Advantage above our Biſhops in the eccleſiaſtical Authority.

They have no Prohibitions from the ſecular Courts to hang up their Excommunications, or intermeddle in their ſpiritual Cenſures.

The Biſhops there are abſolute Judges of the Fitneſs of Clerks, preſented to them for Livings, nor give any Account hereof to the ſecular Courts.

Nay more; they can tranſplant any Prieſt in their Dioceſe from one Pariſh to another, as they ſhall judge their Labous to be more profitable in one Place than another, and there lies no Remedy for the Prieſt ſo tranſplanted from the ſecular Courts; of which I have been told Inſtances.

The civil Law has made no ſuch Inroads upon the epiſcopal Authority in *Scotland* as in *England*; and therefore our Biſhops can plead no Exemption (more than they) from being caſt out of the Church, whenever a Houſe of Commons ſhall pleaſe to have it ſo.

There is, as St. *Cyprian* ſays, but one Epiſcopate in the whole World, of which every Biſhop partakes ſeverally, yet in common. *Epiſcopatus unus eſt, cujus a ſingulis, in ſolidum, pars tenetur*, Cyp. *de unit. Eccleſ.*

Therefore the Caſe of *Scotland*, at preſent, is not only *proximus Utalegon* to us; but 'tis our own very Caſe, upon the common Bottom of Chriſtianity.

For if we give up the *Jus Divinum* of Epiſcopacy in *Scotland*, we muſt yield it alſo as to *England*. And then we are wholly precarious.

And if in the Church, much leſs let us think that Biſhops are ſo eſſential to Parliaments, but that (as in *England*, in 1642, and now in *Scotland*) they may be diſpenſed with.

And the Houſe of Commons, as well as of the Lords, have, upon ſeveral Occaſions, minded them of their Frailty: And that what has been done, may be done, as well in this as in other Things. But more than all this, both Houſes of Commons and Lords have ſhewn their Love to us, and high Re-

gard of our Conſtitution, in that they have diveſted us of all our Authority over the People, by their unlimited Act of Indulgence to all Sorts and Sizes of Diſſenters; and commanding that the eccleſiaſtical Courts ſhall have no Power to proceed againſt any of them; and alſo in giving Power to the Juſtices of Peace, at their Seſſions, to Licence Teachers and Preachers, as it is in the Act of Toleration, 24 *May*, 1689, *prim. Guliel. & Mar.* This has rendered our Church a perfect Cypher: And if any, or all, of our Flocks ſhould deſert us to-morrow, and go over openly to the Diſſenters, we have no Power left us, by this Act, to reſtrain any of them by eccleſiaſtical Cenſures, or any other Way; and the whole Nation have Liberty to believe any of their Communions to be as ſafe a Way to Heaven as our own. And they have made full uſe of that Liberty; For how many do we meet with who do not believe it? And think it a thing indifferent which of our Churches they go to, as they term the Diſſenters and ours. They think them all to be Churches; and the Law giving equal Liberty to all, who dare quarrel with any for taking that Liberty to go to any or all of theſe Churches?

Who can ſay the Parliament has done ill? For if Epiſcopacy be not *Jure Divino*, why are they bound to ſet it up more than Preſbytery, Independency, Quakeriſm, or any other Sort? Why have we made ſuch Conteſts about it, theſe Ages paſt?

But if it be *Jure Divino*, then it is out of the Parliament's Power to aboliſh it; or even to diſpenſe with, or tolerate, any other Form of Government in the Church.

So that we muſt either condemn what they have done in *Scotland*, and in *England* too, by this Toleration; or otherwiſe we muſt give up our *Jure Divino* Right, which we have endeavoured to hold out ſo long againſt the Diſſenters; and profeſs to hold hereafter by no other Tenure than that of an Act of Parliament, which now grants equal Liberty to the Diſſenters as to ourſelves.

But this Law does not only proclaim Liberty and Indemnity, but propoſes Rewards and Advantages to all who ſhall leave us. Any, of any Sort, in Orders or out of Orders, who pleaſe to ſet up for Teachers, are, by this Act, exempted from ſerving upon Juries, or from being Church-wardens, Overſeers of the Poor, or any other parochial or ward Office, or other Office in any Hundred of any Shire, City, Town, Pariſh, Diviſion, or Wapentake. And theſe being Offices of Charge and Trouble, we ſhall be in a little time left to ſerve them our ſelves; or the whole Burthen muſt lie upon thoſe few; whom their Neighbours will call Fools for not eaſing themſelves of it, as they have done. The Effect of this may not appear conſiderably at firſt: But when the Taxes have reduced more to Poverty; their Envy and Spite to ſee their richer Neighbours excuſed, may operate more than we are yet well aware. If you think that no ſuch inconſiderable People will be allowed of for Preachers: The Act excepts none. And the Allowance is granted to the Juſtices of Peace, and there is no ſtint of Number. I can tell you an Inſtance came in my Way at the Eaſter Seſſions 1692, in St. *Albans*; there came three poor Fellows for Licences to be Preachers, two of them ſet their Marks inſtead of their Names, for they could neither read nor write, and they had their Licences: And one of them being after returned upon a Jury, pleaded his Privilege as a Preacher by the Act, and

had

had it allowed him. Nor indeed can the Justices refuse either to give them Licences, or allow them the Privileges granted by the Act. One of these Preacher's Names, I remember, was one *Bocket*; he lives in St. *Stephens* Parish near St. *Albans*, and is a Ditcher and Day-labourer.

There are many such Examples through the Kingdom.

We may now see where our Authority is going, not to mention Christianity, at this Rate. That *Bocket* is now as legal a Teacher as the Archbishop of *Canterbury*. This, Brother, is a fair Indication of the Inclinations of the Parliament towards us, of their Zeal to support the Authority and the Reputation of our Church.

Well: But they have left us in Possession of the Rents and Revenues of the Church.

That is indeed all that we have left! And how long shall we keep that, when the only Ground and Foundation of it is gone? That is, the Authority and Discipline of the Church, and the supposed Necessity there is of our Church. This is all the Ground and Reason there is for supporting and maintaining our Church more than any other Church; or for having any Church more than no Church. If none of them be necessary, or ours no more than another, why should we expect to enjoy such great Riches more than others? The Nation is not, or soon may come not to be, in a Condition to allow such great Pensions, when they are meerly Honorary, and of no Necessity to the Nation.

The Bishops Lands (as now in *Scotland*) may be sold, either for the carrying on the War, or to reward many of those necessitous and Sacrament-taking Fanaticks for Places of Advantage. There is no other visible Fund for them; and they expect it; and refrain not sometimes to express it. Our Titles being *Jure Divino* will not do: The Impropriations have spoiled that. The Church, though over-run with Errors, was in far greater Authority and Reverence than now, when *Henry* the Eighth seized her Revenue, and had more and greater Friends to stand by her: The Pope, and all the then *Christian* Princes, did detest his Act as sacrilegious, and were highly concerned to have it rectified. And it was thought abominable by all *England*, except those amongst whom he divided the Spoil. But is there one Man in the World would be concerned for us, or pity us, if we lost all! Yet the Inclinations of the People is all we pretend to trust to. How have I heard some repeat with Pleasure, that Prophecy which they ascribe to old *Merlin*?

Henry *the Eighth pull'd down Abbeys and Cells*;
But Henry *the Ninth will pull down Churches and Bells.*

By Churches and Bells they understand the episcopal Church and Ceremonies; and there has been enough done in *Scotland* to fulfil the Prophecy, but that it was spoke of *England*. And they think, that *Henry* the Ninth, and the Time is now come. I lay not Stress upon these Sort of Prophesies, but they shew the Inclinations of the People, when they are pleased, and no-body is displeased with trumping up such Stuff upon us.

Add to this whatever Stress you will lay upon the confident Boasting of those Dissenters who are most in K. *William*'s Interest and Councils, that all will be their

own they make no doubt of it; only they would manage, as they think, wisely, and worm us out by Degrees. They told us, from the beginning of this Revolution, that K. *William* would take his time to bring them into the chief Places and Offices of Trust; which we thought, in our honey Month, to be nothing but the vain Humour of that Party, and to create Jealousies betwixt the King and us, when we were endeavouring to exceed one another in our Caresses; which if they were meant no more sincerely on his side than they were by some of us, it was a Force on both sides; and not like longer to last, than the first Opportunity either could get to put themselves into Hands they could better Trust.

They told us too, that he would begin with *Scotland*, and according to the Success he had there, would take his Measures as to *England*.

There is not a Step has been made, which they have not faithfully and truly foretold. It is easy for Managers to be Prophets of what is designed.

I wish what is to come of their Prediction may not prove as true as what is past; that is, that, having divided the Church of *England* among themselves, they would, through Fears or Hopes, gain the major Number to come over to their Doctrine of Resistance; whereby, having proclaimed themselves to have been false Teachers heretofore, they would easily prevail with the People not to trust them for the time to come: And so, by consequence gain the City on their Side, and have their turn in setting up upon the Inclinations of the People; and overturn Episcopacy here, as they have done in *Scotland*.

Indifferency in Lovers is a certain Forerunner of a Breach. And the People of *England*, who were so excessively enamoured of us, when the Bishops were in the Tower, that they hardly forebore to worship us, are now, I wish I could say but cool, and very indifferent towards us.

What the End of all these Things will be, is what, dear Brother, has tortured my Thoughts, and makes me vent them so freely to you, who, I know, partake, in a great Measure, in them with myself.

But, O good God! If we have not been sincere with him, he knows our Hearts! If temporal Advantages have been any Byas to us! Or if, as *Uzziah*, we have put forth our Hand, beyond our own Rank and Order, going but in the least out of the plain Road of our Duty, tho', as we thought, to save the Ark from falling, oh! what will our Judgment be! If those Methods we have taken to preserve the Church, prove, as it sadly now threatens, to her and our own utter Destruction! We see the Enemy already roar in the midst of our Congregations, and they have set up their Banners for a Token: We seem now to hold our Post but at their Discretion, till they are ready to give the Word, as in *Scotland*, no more Episcopacy! No more Church of *England*! But we shall not fall like them: They fell altogether, every Bishop in the Kingdom, and almost the whole Number of the inferiour Clergy. They may rise again, and will rise Glorious, asserting still the same Principles as we did before in the Restoration, 1660. But as for us now, whither shall we cause our Shame to go? Will not the *Scots* upbraid us? Where was our Zeal for Episcopacy, or Foresight of our own Danger, when we stood silent by, and saw their Fall, without putting in one Address, or shewing the least Concern for our Brethren? They will mind us (for we have not thought of it) of the Zeal which

which the *Engliſh* Biſhops ſhewed in the Caſe of the Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow*, unjuſtly deprived by lay Authority in the Reign of *Charles* the Second, though there was an Act of Parliament then to countenance it; they eſpouſed it as their own Cauſe (for ſo indeed it was) till they prevail'd with the King to have him reſtored. But now we could ſee not only all the Biſhops in that Kingdom, but our renowned Metropolitan, and near half of the then Biſhops of our own Kingdom, deprived by meer lay Authority, (not to mention the Diſpute of the Validity of that lay Authority, and the Cauſe, which none of us did think ſufficient for a Deprivation) without interpoſing one Word on their Behalf; or ſo much as for having that Allowance made good for them by the Act of Parliament, either by K. *William*, to whom the Act entruſted the diſpoſing of it; or if not from his Juſtice, yet at leaſt from the Genoroſity of thoſe who came, unwilling and ſorrowful, as they pretended, into their Places. Nor did our Convocation once complain of the Abſence of their Archbiſhop, and ſo many of their other Biſhops, or make any Addreſs on their behalf, or deſire any Conference with them, to know their Reaſons, and endeavour any Accommodation. No; we did none of theſe Things: We were ſeized with, I know not what, panick Conſternation. Though all were well inclined, and every one would gladly have been a Second, yet none durſt begin. We were paſſive here to a ſuperlative Degree: Our Courage and our Souls have left us. We lie under the Load, though we ſee ourſelves ſinking with it. What is this but Infatuation! and the End muſt be Deſtruction. But now, at laſt, if we have any Spirits left; though we have not made any Addreſs, or ſhewn ourſelves concerned for the Caſe of our Brethren in *Scotland*, or for our depriv'd Biſhops and Clergy here; yet let us not ſit ſtill, and by a ſupine Negligence, be ſo wanting to ourſelves, as at leaſt not to petition, to repreſent our Fears and our Danger to the King and Government, to deſire ſome Redreſs to our juſt Grievances: That there may be an Alteration of the Perſons employed in public Offices, and ſuch only ſet at the Head of Affairs as are ſincerely for the Church of *England*; and let us make our Exceptions againſt thoſe whom we know to be of a quite different Intereſt. We ventured upon all this, and more, to King *James*, and had good Succeſs in it. Who knows but upon our appearing zealous and active for the Safety of the *Church*, others of our Flocks may join with us? At leaſt, they will approve and juſtify us in aſſerting ours, and their true Intereſt. But who will ſtir for us, or ſtand by us, if we dare not ſo much as open our Mouths in our own Behalf? It is our Office to lead and inſtruct them: They will love us the better for it. And we may, by this, recover many whom we have loſt; but we ſhall looſe all, if we render ourſelves wholly inſignificant and inſenſible of the Incroachments which are daily made upon us: And our Poſterities may curſe us, in whoſe Power it was to have ſtem'd this Tide, if we had taken it in time. The People will never believe that we can be hearty to them, and ſtand in the Gap for Preſervation of their Rights and Privileges (as we have heretofore done, and were honour'd for it) while they ſee us ſo very diſpirited and negligent in our own.

At leaſt this we ſhall Gain by it, that if a deaf Ear be given to all our Applications, we may then reſt aſſur'd of what is determined againſt us.

17 *July*, 1694.

POSTSCRIPT.

POSTSCRIPT.

SINCE my writing of this, to add to our Misfortunes and Dangers, already so many, we have received a fresh Blow, by that irreparable Loss of our most incomparable Queen, who was our Patroness, from a Zeal she had for our Religion, our true and orthodox Church; in whose Doctrines her Judgment was intirely satisfied, and under whose strictest Discipline she had had her Education; and whose truest and most genuine Sons were always most in her Favour, and had most Interest and Influence with her. By her Death we have also lost all Pretence to a Share in K. *William*, and that because we have no Pretence left of serving the present Government upon our own Principles: For though all the World should agree that King *James* really abdicated his Throne, and that the Prince of *Wales* was supposititious, yet K. *William*'s Title being now become by her Death meerly elective, and all matrimonial Right ceasing with her, we that are of the Church of *England*, and have ever declared our Constitution to be hereditary Monarchy, can no longer have those Salvo's for our Compliance, which heretofore gave some Ease to our Consciences. K. *William* can't but know this too; and therefore whatever Disguises he may think necessary to put on, he must be laying his Foundation upon, and giving secret Assurances to, those of the Whiggish Party. Nor are we the more secure upon the Account of the Princess of *Denmark:* No! there is our greatest and most bewitching Snare. We cannot say she is not of our Church in her own Mind; but what Security can we have of what her Actings will be, since we know how entirely she is in the Hands, and under the Tuition of the Earl of *Marlb*——, who knowing his Interest to stand so diametrically opposite to that of her own Relations, (and by Consequence to that of the Church which supports them, and which would gladly hope that she might one Day return to be under their Influence and Councils;) who knowing this, I say, is so fastly bound to the opposite Interest, and is so deeply engaged with *Sund*———, and so inward with the whole Gang, who are so obstinately and implacably set against the Interest of our Church. Nay, I am not without my Fears, that when the Princess of *Denmark* has suffered our Church to be sacrificed, and made her own Interest precarious, K. *William* may marry, or may be wrought upon so to wound our Monarchy in its Fundamentals, as in Effect will prove to be the establishing (after his own Time) of that Form of Government the very Name of which all true Sons of the Church have in the utmost Detestation. He may, when by *Marlb*——'s Artifices the Princess of *Denmark* has lost herself and us, obtain an Act of Parliament to give the Crown to whatsoever Foreigner he thinks fit, or to bequeath us the hated Legacy I just now hinted at. The King's present Fit of Devotion is yet a less Security to us; for if it is put on to serve a Turn, then it is we Churchmen and Tories that are to be deceived; and nothing so effectually deludes as dissembling a good Life and a strict Conscience. Men can scarce keep themselves upon their Guard against such as betake themselves to that Sort of Disguise. But suppose the King is grown really religious, which Way but to the Synod of *Dort*, and the Institutions of *Calvin*, and the Principles of his Education, should this new-raised Devotion turn him?

Has

Has he unlearned his old Doctrines, as well as turned over a new Leaf? The more religious K. *William* is, the more zealous he will be to eſtabliſh Preſbytery amongſt us; and that by ſuch Steps, and ſuch Degrees, as the Heads of that Party judge proper to do their Work.

A Letter to a Friend, upon the Diſſolution of the late Parliament, and the calling of a new one: Together with a Liſt of thoſe that were againſt making the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange* King and Queen.

SIR,

AS I do fully acquieſce in the Wiſdom and Authority of the King in diſſolving the late Parliament: So I'm perfectly perſuaded, that he did it upon Motives relating to his own Honour, and to the Safety and Happineſs of his People, and not in Subſerviency to any prerogative Deſign, nor to pleaſe himſelf with an Exerciſe of regal Power. And I will venture to ſay, that nothing could have induced him, ſo abruptly, as well as unexpectedly, to have diſmiſſed a Parliament that firſt advanced him unto, and then by ſo many free and vaſt Contributions, endeavoured to ſupport him in the Throne, but the finding them unſerviceable to the uniting of Proteſtants, the vindicating our Laws and Liberties, and the puniſhing of thoſe who had ſubverted our Conſtitution, which as they are the only juſtifiable Grounds, both of his coming hither, and of his accepting the Royal Authority, ſo nothing leſs than purſuing thoſe Ends can vindicate his Deſcent into *England* from being an unrighteous Invaſion; and his aſcending the *Britiſh* Throne from the Reproach of an ambitious Uſurpation. How could a Prince of his Integrity and Wiſdom think, that the obtaining and wearing of a Crown was honourable and juſt, while the Reaſons upon which he received and poſſeſſed it, were not only controuled and reproached, but expoſed and ridiculed? Nor is it poſſible for his Majeſty to believe, that the late King was ſo heinouſly guilty as to forfeit all Right to Sovereignty, while thoſe who adviſed him unto, and were the Miniſters of all his Miſgovernment, whom the Law makes chiefly, if not only accountable, were eſteemed guiltleſs and innocent. He could not but foreſee, that the Abdication of K. *James* is eaſily reverſible, and that he himſelf holds his Crown very precariouſly, if there were nothing to juſtify the enthroning the one, and the dethroning t'other, but the haſty and arbitrarious Vote of the Majority of the two Houſes. And he muſt needs look upon all that was alledged concerning the late King's violating the original Contract, and his ſubverting the Laws of the Conſtitution, as Fiction and Dream, while there were none to be found that counſelled him unto, or aſſiſted him in it.

And

And as this juſtifieth the Wiſdom of his Majeſty in the diſſolving of the late Parliament, ſo we may from hence eaſily conclude both upon what Proſpect and Hope he hath been pleaſed to call a new one, and by what Meaſures thoſe to whom the Right of electing Members doth belong, are to guide themſelves in the enſuing Choice. Nor do we only want a Parliament that may confirm, eſtabliſh and ſupport his Majeſty in the Throne, but which may proceed on thoſe Principles, as does render his Acceſſion to it neceſſary, as well as honourable and juſt. And as the Nation is once more furniſhed with an Opportunity of chuſing ſuch a Repreſentative Body as may vindicate and aſſert its ancient Laws, Rights and Liberties, ſo there is a freſh Advantage offered us of teſtifying our Loyalty to his preſent Majeſty, and of promoting his Greatneſs, as well as of providing for our own future Safety. I need not tell you that the Ends to be propoſed in the Service of thoſe who are to be elected are, that your Throne may be ſettled upon firm and righteous Foundations; and that all his Majeſty's Subjects may live at Eaſe and Unity under his Government. 'Tis therefore firſt incumbent upon all wiſe and honeſt Men, that they elect ſuch to repreſent them, as may both allow and confirm unto the King all the ancient and legal Rights of the Crown, and yet at the ſame time recover and ſecure all thoſe Privileges unto the People, which the invading and wreſting from them, gave Occaſion unto, and can alone juſtify the late Revolution. Whoſoever ſeeks to enrich the King with the Spoils of his Subjects, and to adorn him with what our late Monarch raviſhed from them, can deſign no leſs than that the ſame Fate ſhould befall him which overtook his Predeceſſor; which is the robbing him firſt of his People's Affections, and then of his own Authority. Secondly, 'Tis no leſs the Duty than it is the Intereſt of all that would have the Nation formidable to its Enemies, and the King ſucceſsful in his Undertakings, that they depute and authoriſe thoſe to act for them in Parliament, who without ſubverting or undermining the Church, may not only preſerve unto Diſſenters that Liberty vouchſafed unto them for worſhiping God; but who may reſtore them unto, and veſt them in all the common Rights and Privileges of *Engliſhmen*. Nor will it be eaſy to perſuade ſo great a Company of People, that they find their Account in the late Revolution, unleſs they be admitted by Law to enjoy the ſame Advantages under the preſent King, which by diſpenſing with, and an Uſurpation over the Law, they were poſſeſſed of under the laſt. Thirdly, We are to eſteem them the fitteſt of all others to be returned to ſerve in the enſuing Parliament, who are likelieſt to maintain in our Allies a Confidence of us, and to encourage them both to continue the Confederacy, and to purſue the Ends of it. And therefore, as we would not give Jealouſy unto them, and weaken the Union amongſt themſelves, and with us, and we ought to avoid the chuſing of thoſe that have heretofore promoted the Grandeur of *France*, or that have either ſought the Deſtruction of the *Dutch*, or expreſſed a Malice and Rancour towards them. Fourthly, As we would not betray both the King and ourſelves, we are to chuſe none but ſuch who are entirely in his Majeſty's, and in the Kingdom's Intereſt; which as it is impoſſible to believe of them, who acknowledge him only a King in Fact, but not by Right, ſo it is not eaſy to conceive how they ſhould be forward and zealous to ſupport him in the Throne, who oppoſed his coming to it. The Enemies to King *James*'s *Abdication* are

not

not like to be true and lasting Friends to King *William*'s Sovereignty. In short, it is the Duty of all that love the present Establishment, to be against those whom you find them to be for, that refuse to swear Allegiance to their present Majesties. Nor are they worthy of the Vote of an honest Man, who are not satisfied with the Protection of the royal Power, unless they have both the Mastery of it, and the exerting and applying of it to the Oppression of their Fellow Subjects. 'Tis not a King, but a Tool under that Name which they desire. And instead of allowing him to be the universal and equal Ruler of all his People, they seek to reduct and degrade him to be the Head of a little and peevish Faction. Which that his Majesty may be preserved from all Temptations unto, through the wise Choice of those that are to sit in the following Parliament, is the unfeigned Desire of,

Sir, Your humble Servant.

Berks
Lord *Norris*
Buckinghamshire.
Sir Ralph Verny.
Camb.
Sir *Levinus Bennet*
Sir *Robert Cotton*
Sir *Robert Sawyer.*
Cornwall.
Sir *Bourcher Wrey*
Fran. Roberts
Sir *John St. Aubin*
Charles Godolphin
Nich. Glynn
John Tanner
Alexander Pendarvis
James Praed
John Rashleigh
Fran. Vivian
John Specot
Sir *Jos. Tredenham*
Hen. Seymor
Sir *John Coriton*
John Prideaux
Cumberland.
Sir *Christ. Musgrave*
Derby.
John Coke.
Devonshire
Sir *Edward Seymor*
Christo. Bale
Sir *John Fowell*
Rawlin Mullack
William Cary
Henry Nortleigh
Sir *Arthur Chichester*
Edm. Walrond
Will. Hayn
Will. Coleman.
Dorsetshire.
Tho. Strangways
John Pole
Sir *Robert Nappier*
Edward Nicholas
Rich. Fowns
Will. Okeden
Durham
Will. Lampton
Robert Byerley
George Morland
Glouceſterſhire
Will. Cook
Tho. Master
Sir *Fra. Russel*
Herefordshire
Hen. Cornwall
Huntingdonshire
John Bigg.
Kent
Sir *John Banks*
Sir *John Twisden*
Caleb Banks.
Lancashire.
Fran. Cholmondley
Sir *Edw. Chisnall.*
Leicesterſhire
Sir *Tho. Halford*
Tho. Babington
Lincolnshire.
Charles Bertie
Sir *John Brownlow.*
Middlesex.
Sir *Charles Gerard*
Ralph Hawtrey.
Monmouth.
Marq. of *Worcester*
Norfolk
Sir *Will. Cook*
Sir *Nevyl Catlin*
Sir *John Turner*
Sir *Fran. Guybon*
Northamptonshire
Edw. Montague
Gilbert Dolben
Sir *Justinian Isham*
Lord *Wenman*
Northumberland.
Will. Forster
Philip Brickerstaff
Sir *Ralph Car*
Roger Fenwick.
Nottingham
Lord *Eland*
Oxon
Sir *Robert Jenkinson*
Sir *Thomas Clarges*
Hen. Berty
Sir *John Doyley*

Rutland
Sir *Tho. Mackworth*
Salop
Edward Kynaston
Andrew Newport
Sir *Fran. Edwards*
Sir *Edward Acton*
George Weld.
Somerset
Sir *Richard Hart*
Sir *John Knight*
Edw. Berkely
Sir. *Will. Baſſet*
Sir *Will. Portman*
John Sandford
Sir *Francis Warr*
Francis Luttrel
Nathan. Palmer
Sir *Edw. Windham*
Will. Helyar
John Hunt
Tho. Sanders.
Southampton
Franc. Morley
Sir *Benj. Newland*
Sir *Robert Holms*
Earl of *Ranelagh*
Thomas Done
Franc. Guin
William Etrick
John Pollen.

Staffordſhire.
John Gray
Robert Burdet
John Chetwind
Sir *Henry Gough.*
Suffolk
Sir *John Cordell*
Sir *John Rous*
Sir *John Barker*
Tho. Glembam
Sir *Hen. Johnſon*
William Johnſon
Sir *John Poley*
Thomas Knyvet
Hen. Pooley
Sir *Robert Davers*
Sir *Thomas Harvey.*
Surry
John Weſton
White Tichburn.
Suſſex
Sir *William Morley*
John Alford
Charles Goring jun.
Will Morley
Warwickſhire
Sir *Richard Verney*
Sir *Roger Cave*
Lord *Digby*
William Colemore.

Weſtmoreland
Richard Lowther
William Cheyne
Wiltſhire
Lord *Corubury*
Robert Hyde
Richard Lewis
Peregrine Berty
Henry Chivers
Walter Grubb
Charles Fox
Sir *Edm. Warnford*
John Dean
Sir *John Ernle*
Sir *George Willoughby.*
Worceſterſhire
Henry Parker
Sir *John Matthews.*
Yorkſhire
Earl of *Danby*
Sir *John Jennings*
Chriſtopher Tancred.
Brecon
E. Jones of *Buckland.*
Denby
Sir *Rich. Middleton*
Edward Brehon.
Glamorgan
Thomas Manſell
Pembroke
Sir *William Wigan*

Dr. *Bates*'s congratulatory Speech to the King, *November* 22, 1667. In the Name of the Diſſenting Miniſters in and about *London.*

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

YOUR happy Return with Peace in your Retinue, has rais'd a Spring-Tide of Joy that overflows the Nation. This great Bleſſing we primarily owe with our moſt ſolemn and dutiful Thankfulneſs to the God of Peace, who has calm'd the tempeſtuous World and chang'd the black Scene of Horror and Miſery; wherein the moſt tragical Cruelties were acted; Cities were fired, and the Fires quench'd in the Blood of the Citizens, wherein Death and

Deſpair

Deſpair appear'd in their terrible Shapes; and has introduced a bright Scene of Proſperity, wherein Innocence and Liberty, Commerce and Abundance are ſecured. This we owe, as to the ſecondary Cauſe, with our moſt humble Gratitude to your Majeſty; your open and generous Oppoſition in the Field of Battle, has tamed our potent Enemies, who preſum'd to level all Obſtacles to their lofty Deſigns, as if their Power had been equal to their Pleaſure. They had broke through the Circles of Juſtice and Honour, but your Majeſty has fix'd ſuch Bounds as may prevent their ſwelling Exorbitancies for the future.

Europe has ſeen with Admiration your Courage and heroic Heat, guided by an equal Light, and ſuperior to all Dangers in War: There is a juſt Expectation that an equal Honour will attend your Majeſty for your ruling Wiſdom, your Juſtice temper'd with Equity and Goodneſs in the Counſels and Arts of Peace: You are the Glory of your Subjects abroad, and their Delight at home. Your influxive Preſence is the vital Breath the Kingdom draws, the vital Band that unites its Parts, and prevents their breaking into Confuſion.

Your Majeſty is ordain'd for Victories. There are more noble Conqueſts to be obtain'd over worſe than foreign Enemies: Prophaneneſs in Manners, and pernicious Doctrines in Religion that fight againſt the Soul, and notwithſtanding our Peace on Earth, expoſe us to a fearful War with Heaven. We live in an Age of degenerate Wickedneſs; wherein are numberleſs Numbers of reſolv'd Looſeneſs, who by their bold Impieties, defy the ſupreme Majeſty of Heaven: Theſe we hope by your Authority and Influence may be reſtrain'd, if not truly reform'd; for whereas other Princes aſſume an infamous Prerogative to live as they liſt, to ſatisfy their vicious Appetites without Controul, your Majeſty exhibits ſuch excellent Virtues in your Practice, as may be a perſuaſive Pattern and commandingly exemplary to your Subjects.

And whereas, there are ſuch Doctrines frequently publiſhed as are infinitely injurious to the Perſon and Office of our Bleſſed Saviour, we hope your pious Zeal for his divine Honour will put a Stop to the Licentiouſneſs of the Preſs, that the Contagion of the Dead may not corrupt the Living. This will be a moſt pleaſing Sacrifice of Praiſe to the Bleſſed God, who has preſerved your moſt precious Life in raging War, and from more imminent Dangers, by the dark and cruel Conſpiracy of wicked Enemies.

We humbly renew the Aſſurances of our inviolable Loyalty, and our continual Prayers,

That God would preſerve your ſacred Perſon, and make your Majeſty always happy in your Government, and your Subjects happy in their Obedience.

A Liſt of King *James*'s *Iriſh* and Popiſh Forces in *France*, ready (when called for:) In Anſwer to an Argument againſt a Land-Force, writ by *A*, *B*, *C*, *D*, *E*, *F*, *G*, or to whatever has been, or ever ſhall be, writ upon that Subject.

HORSE.

		Private Men.	Comm. & NonCom. Officers.	Total
Two Troops of Guards	*Firſt*, Lieut. Gen. D. of *Berwick*	80	20	
	Second, Earl of *Clancarty*	80	20	
Two Regim.	K. *James*'s Royal Regiment, Brigadier *Sheldon*	300	72	
	Queen's Regiment, Brigadier Lord *Golmoy*	300	72	
		760	184	944

DRAGOONS.

Two Regiments	King *James*'s Royal Regiment, *Killmallock*	450	108	
	Queen's Regiment, *Carrol*	450	108	
		900	216	1116

FOOT.

FOOT.

		Bat.	Private Men.	Comm. & NonCom. Officers.	Total.
24 Batal. 3 Independ. Companies. Regiments.	Guards, *Dorrington.*	2	1100	242	
	Queen's Regiment, *Luttrel*	2	1100	242	
	Leigh	3	1650	363	
	Marines, *Fitzgerald*	2	1100	242	
	Limerick	2	1100	242	
	Charlemont	2	1100	242	
	Dublin	2	1100	242	
	Athlone	2	1100	242	
	Mac-Elligot	1	550	121	
	Lord *Clare*	3	1650	363	
	Dillon	3	1650	363	
	Three Independent Companies		180	21	
			13380	2925	16305
	Total		15040	3325	18365

Some Queries for the better Underſtanding of a Liſt of King *James*'s *Iriſh* and Popiſh Forces in *France*, ready (when called for): In Anſwer to an Argument againſt a Land-Force, writ by *A*, *B*, *C*, *D*, *E*, *F*, *G*, or to whatever has been, or ever ſhall be, writ upon that Subject.

Query. WHETHER 18,000 *Iriſhmen* cannot conquer *England*, when 100,000 could not defend *Ireland?*

Query, Whether 150,000 *Engliſh* Militia do not want a Land-Force to defend them againſt 18,000 Bogtrotters, headed by that Mirror of Valour, and Epitome of all Courage, K. *Jemmy?*

Query, Whether we have not an honourable Peace, when K. *James*, that had never a Soldier during the War, hath 18,000 ſince the Concluſion of the Peace?

Query, Whether, if the King of *France* keeps up 18,000 Men at K. *James*'s Devotion, he doth not punctually obſerve that Article, not to aſſiſt and abet any Enemy againſt K. *William?*

Query

Query, Whether K. *James* ought not to be cannoniz'd for working of Miracles, in maintaining an Army, when he lives upon Charity himself?

Query, If 500 *Inniskilling* Men could beat 10,000 Dear-Joys, whether 900, when sent for, will not beat these 18,000, when called for?

Query, Whether 1100 Marine Soldiers, commanded by the redoubted Col. *Fitzgerald*, be not a proper Assistance for K. *James*, who is not Master of a Cock-boat?

Query, Whether it is more for our Interest to call for them, or the *French* King's to send them; and whether, all Things considered, they will come when call'd for?

Query, If the true *Brentford* King and his Forces come here with a *Whoop*, they will not be gone with a *Hollow*?

Query, Whether this Peace is to be headed by K. *James* or his Wife, and which of them is the Head?

Query, What Water-Force will be necessary to bring over this Land Force?

Query, Whether this List of K. *James*'s Forces be not the best Answer that hath been published to the Argument? and whether they ever shall, or can, write better upon this Subject, and *all that J. Gad?*

Query, Whether the Author understands A, B, C, D, E, F, G. *&c.?*

Query, Whether the Author of this Libel against the King and the Government will be ready (when called for?)

A Letter from a General Officer to a Colonel, and several Officers and Soldiers under King *James*, now in the present Service.

I Must own (noble Gentlemen and Fellow-Soldiers) that I was one of those who were misled as well as you, by the Apprehensions that our Religion was in Danger, had not the Prince of *Orange* come opportunely to redeem it: But I can upon my Salvation say (and I hope so may many of us) I had no other Design in closing with his Troops, but only to have obtained a free Parliament, and such Laws as would have secured our Religion and Property, which was pretended then to be invaded. It never entered into my Thoughts neither had I the least Suspicion that the Prince aimed to dethrone his Father, or to embroil us in such an expensive War, to the utter Impoverishment of our Country. 'Tis true, we Soldiers are not usually Politicians, and therefore could not so easily pierce into the hidden Intentions of ambitious Men; but we have so much Sense as to remember how kind a Master K. *James* was to us, how duly he paid us, and yet never sought a Penny from the Country for it: Whereas now, though in all our Quarters we hear nothing but Complaints, of Want of Trade, Scarcity of Money, and excessive Taxes, yet you know how

ill

ill we are paid. We, who have undergone as much Fatigue in *Ireland* as ever Army did: We, who with the Expence of ſo much Blood, Poverty, Hunger, Fatigue and Sickneſs, have reduced that Kingdom, find now ſo little Regard had for us, that inſtead of a Recompence we can neither get Cloaths nor Money, nor Horſes, for thoſe that we loſt in Service; and are forced to oppreſs our native Country for meer Subſiſtance. It repents me at my Soul, that we took ſo much Pains there to expel ſo good a King and Maſter, from a Country which was only left him for his Shelter; which ſhews we fought for Fighting-Sake, without reflecting on the Juſtice of the Cauſe, or the Conſequences of ſuch a Victory.

Now, methinks, our Eyes ought to be opened; for my Part I can foreſee nothing but an inevitable Ruin to our Country, if we perſevere to reſiſt our gracious, indulgent Maſter. The Scene of War muſt be tranſlated from *Flanders* hither, and then my Heart will bleed to think what Miſeries our poor Country muſt endure. We have ſeen, felt and contributed to the Fate of poor diſtreſſed, deſolate *Ireland*; but alaſs! your pampered Iſland, as it is leſs uſed to Sufferings, will find ſmaller Sufferings more intolerable, and yet muſt ſuffer much more than they have done, if we repent not in time, and welcome back our Sovereign. It ſeems he has taken a Reſolution to come with a conſiderable Force of his own Subjects, intermix'd with Strangers, to recover his Right; It behoves us then to conſider ſeriouſly why we ſhould oppoſe him? Can we expect any Pay from our preſent Riders (I call them ſo, who make us like ſo many tame Aſſes bear every Burden) when moſt of the Nations Money is ſent to ſupport the Confederates? Have we not found by woeful Experience, that none are looked upon, preferred, or paid, but *Danes*, *Brandenburghers*, and our *Hogan Mogan Dutch*, and that we *Engliſhmen* can get no Advancement, unleſs by the Intereſt of theſe Foreigners? You ſee how far we are from being truſted in our native Country where we might be merciful in our Defence of it, and ſpare the Stores, the Wealth and Blood of our Friends and Relations; when we muſt all be driven on Ship-board (though 'tis contrary to the Laws of *England*, there being now no martial Law in Force) which occaſioned many of our Fellow Soldiers to ſhoot to Death their own Comrades for only deſiring their Pay, and ſent to fight the Confederates Quarrel in *Flanders*, to make room for Twenty-thouſand Foreigners, who are now about to be purchaſed with our very Pay, at no leſs a Rate than three hundred and fifty thouſand Pounds, to come and harraſs our Country, and deſtroy and burn what they cannot defend, that if they cannot, their Enemies alſo may not be better for it, but the Country deſolate. Whereas we know K. *James* has a true *Engliſh* Soul, and a true compaſſionate Tenderneſs for his Country. All he deſires is Liberty to all, that all may live in Peace and Plenty; whilſt K. *William* ſets his whole Mind to ſupport the *Dutch*, to make them our Maſters, and give away our Bread and Traffick from us.

Let us then at laſt be *Engliſhmen*, Lovers of our Country, and of our lawful, kind, and bountiful King, and nothing will be wanting to us. We ſhall have Honour, Peace, and Plenty, but above all a quiet Conſcience, if we return to our Duty, and ſave our native Country from Ruin and Deſolation. You cannot but ſee the Country deſires, and juſtly deſerves it at our Hands. They

expect

expect, that as we were the first that gave the Prince of *O.* this Advantage to rule us with a Rod of Iron, and lavish away our Gold and Silver amongst his Foreigners; so we should be the first to assist K. *James* to return without any Bloodshed. He has many Friends, and every Day gains him more; and however we may fool ourselves with the vain Hopes of K. *W.* carrying us into the Heart of *France*, and keeping up the Confederacy, neither the one, nor the other, can succeed. *France* is too strong for us to attack it; and the Confederacy too weak to subsist much longer. It must break, and if now we should be so barbarous to oppose our old Master, then he will be able to come in with much more Force than we can resist; and we shall neither have the Credit, nor the Comfort of being instrumental to such a Blessing.

Let us therefore at his first Appearance shew ourselves true *Englishmen*, own our King, own our Laws, own our Country and Kindred; and not fight *Dutch* Quarrels to make ourselves the Laughing-Stock of all Nations; or as so many Fools, who in the midst of so clear a Light, could not see our own, and our Nation's Interest.

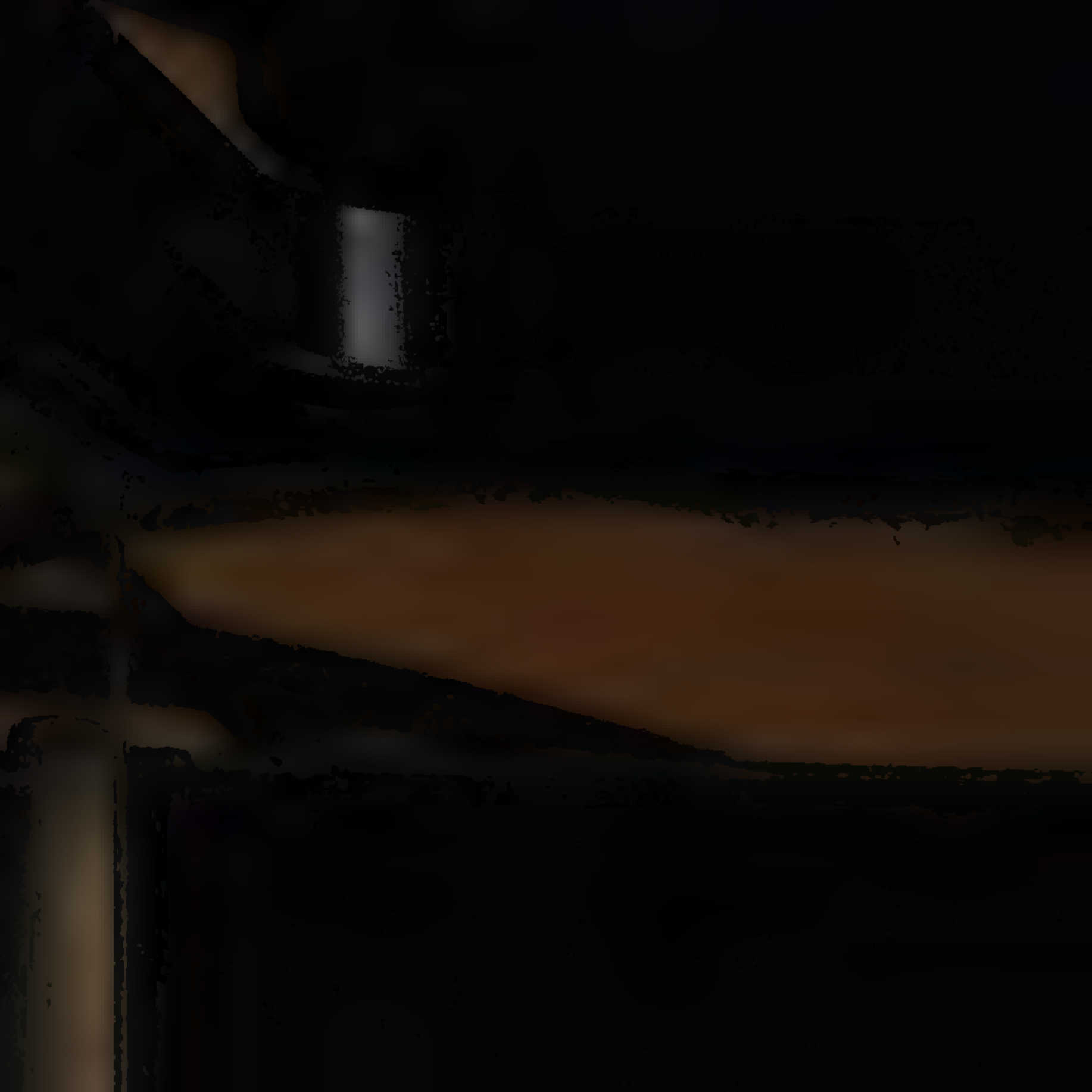
I write not this out of any Discontent. I have had as much Favour from K. *W.* as any other Officer. I have not been dealt with as my Lord *Marlborough*, or my Lord *Torrington*, or any of those other *English* Officers who were lately seized and imprisoned (we are certain) for no other Reasons, but to prefer Strangers to their Commands, and it may shortly be our Fate: But I have a true Sense and Feeling of the Miseries our Country must suffer, if we oppose our lawful King, which must cause more and more Supplies to be sent on both Sides, and so make our Country an Aceldema, or Field of Blood; whereas we now of the Soldiery, if we have honest *English* Hearts, may turn the Scale, make ourselves and all our Posterity happy, and restore Peace and Plenty to *Old England*, and have all our Arrears paid us. For K. *James* truly loves his Country, and its Peace and Welfare, and ever was the best Master to his Soldiers of any Prince in *Europe*: and we may be assured that whatever Foreigners our true and lawful King brings in (if we shew ourselves just and loyal) will soon be honourably dismissed, and we employed to regain our Trade, and repair the Losses this *Dutch* Stratagem hath brought upon us. K. *W.* is wholly theirs, and they for themselves: Why should not we be for ourselves, as our King is for us. If we join as Brethren, and honest *Englishmen*, we need not fear ambitious or self-ended Courtiers, nor *Dutch* Councils. We have the Countries Hearts and Wishes, and they will fully requite us for freeing them from endless Taxes, and still growing Miseries.

Noble Friends, and Fellow Soldiers in Arms; I write not this but upon most serious Deliberation, not only with myself, but with the best of our Companions, and the most Eminent amongst the Nobility and Gentry of *England*, who heartily concur with me in their Wishes, and will also concur with us with their Lives and Fortunes, if we acquit ourselves like honest true *Englishmen*, and Lovers of our Country. Which with them, and (I hope) with you, I resolve to do, to the utmost of my Power, who am,

Noble Gentlemen, and Fellow-Soldiers,

Yours in all Sincerity.

A



declining Age,) he ought to uſe no means to repel it, or be rid of it, but patiently to endure the Fit, as a lucky, tho' ſharp Compoſition for more fatal Maladies: as I have heard or read of a Cuſtom uſed in the *Low-Cuntries*, that when a Man after Fifty falls into the Gout, his Friends come about him, they make a Feaſt, and rejoice at this hopeful Prolongation of his Life, and a probable Addition of twenty or thirty years to it. And by the Way, I cannot but obſerve to you, that when *Aſa* King of *Judah* was diſeaſed in his Feet (which is by all interpreted to be the Gout) it is noted of him, that he did not ſeek to the Lord, but to his Phyſicians; he did not patiently endure the Fit, but tampered with Plaiſters and Poultices.

In ſome Perſons the Gout is Hereditary, and in ſome it is Original; and tho' it be ordinary to impute the Aſſaults of it to Exceſs in Diet, and other inordinate Pleaſures; yet having in my Obſervations remarked how many Men and Women of the ſtricteſt Temperance, and ſingularly abſtemious, have been in the moſt miſerable Manner afflicted with it, while others, ſetting no Limits to their Appetite, have for many Years indulged themſelves in Exceſs, yet never ſuffered in any Symptoms of it; I cannot be perſuaded that it proceeds naturally, or neceſſarily from ſuch Cauſes.

It may juſtiy and reaſonably be called, *Malæ Cauſæ bonus Effectus*; and tho' poſſibly it were good for a Man not to have that Diſorder in the Humours, which doth occaſion that Diſtemper; yet it is better to have that Irregularity diſpelled by a Fit of the Gout, than to be fixed by a Diſeaſe in any of the noble Parts, or transformed into an acute Fever; it may be well for a Man to be of ſo athletic a Conſtitution, as to have no Diſpoſition to the Gout; but it is certainly better for him that once hath had it, not to miſs the *annual* Return of it; nay I am almoſt induced to ſay, that the Gout is ſo far from being a Diſeaſe, that it is rather a Cure, a Cure adminiſtered by Nature, without the Aid of a Phyſician, and infallibly effectual, if not interrupted by croſs and churliſh Applications.

I am of Opinion, that this may be a proper Definition of the Gout, *Arthritis eſt Purgatio Nervorum.* And I am inclined to ſuppoſe ſo, by Reaſons drawn from my own Obſervation and Experience. Firſt, becauſe a Dulneſs of the Brain, and Heavineſs in the Head (which is the Root of the Nerves) is a certain, if not a conſtant, precedaneous Symptom of an approaching Fit; and then when the Gout is fixed in the Hand, or Foot, or other Joint immediately that Cloud which darkened the Brain, is diſpelled; and the Underſtanding, Memory, and Fancy, is ſenſibly cleared and quickened. Secondly, another Symptom is *Motio formicans*, a little ſtirring in the Back, like the Crawling of Emmets or Piſmires; which ſeem to be a goutiſh Humour paſſing along the ſpinal Marrow, from whence the Nerves are diſſeminated. Thirdly, becauſe the Operation, or Affliction of the Gout, is not exerciſed on the fleſhy and muſculous Parts of the Body, but is ſuddenly darted and conveyed through the Channels of the Nerves into ſome Joint, and yet doth not remain in the Nerves; which I conceive to be performed thus; a Nerve being compoſed of many filaments covered with a Membrane, is the proper Vehicle, and Inſtrument both of Motion, and Senſation, the latter whereof is performed by the Object being carried by a tremulous Motion up to the common Senſe (as a ſtretched Lute-String trembles at the Top, when touched at the Bottom;) the

other

other by conveying the animal Spirits between the Cavities of thoſe Threads or Filaments, which compoſe the Nerve, (as a Bundle of Quills clapt together muſt leave Spaces and Vacuities, becauſe they are round, and can touch one another but in *Lineâ*, by Reaſon of their Convexity;) now through theſe Cavities, I ſuppoſe, the malignant Ferment which Nature throws off, (and is the very Elixir of contagious Humours) channels along, and paſſes to the Joints, where if undiſturbed by violent and unneceſſary Applications, it gently evaporates by inſenſible Perſpiration, after its due Criſis and Periods.

Fourthly, Becauſe the Gout, like other acute Diſtempers, hath its gradual and regular Proceſſion, its Increment, State, and Declenſion; and having gone through the Extremities of the Body, paſſes off (if not checked and controuled by Plaiſters, Salves, and Poultices) leaving the Joint or Member free from all Pain, but weak, and diſabled from Motion, which is the proper Employment of the Nerves and Muſcles.

Fifthly, Becauſe the Cramp (which is a convulſive Motion and Diſtortion of the Nerves and Muſcles) is conſtantly an Uſher, or an Attendant of the Gout.

In the Tenets of Religion, I deſire to be always orthodox; in the Diſquiſitions of Natural Philoſophy, I take a Pleaſure to be heretical: I ſubſcribe to the Dictates of the Church; but I am not aſhamed to be a Non-conformiſt to the Theorems of *Ariſtotle* and *Galen*. So being once got out of the common Road, give me leave to ramble a little, and to preſent you with ſome other Notions, which without Arrogance I may call my own, ſince as no other Man (to the beſt of my Knowledge) ever publiſhed the ſame; ſo peradventure no Man elſe will applaud, or abet: but for that I am no way concerned; what I write, is for my own Pleaſure, and your Diverſion, and I am not at all ambitious to be the Leader of a Sect or Party.

I am of Opinion, that the Gout and Stone are one and the ſame, conceived and begot by the ſame Cauſes, foſtered and cheriſhed by the ſame Accidents, and only differing in their Seat and Poſition; the one ravaging among the Joints, and external Parts of the Body; the other making its Reſidence in the inward Receſſes of the Veins, and urinary Paſſages. I take the Stomach to be the *primum mobile*, and principal Agent in theſe Occurrences, to whoſe Indiſpoſition and Male-Adminiſtration the dolorous Conſequences both of the one and the other, are primarily to be attributed; ſo that the Errors in the firſt Concoction (whether ariſing from the natural Debility of that Veſſel, or fomented by the inordinate Uſe, and the Irregularities of Diet) are the Embrio, or Seed-plot, from whence the Maladies and Diſorders which infeſt the Body, are derived. Hence Agues and Fevers receive the firſt Rudiments of their Formation, from the crude Relics of Indigeſtion. Here, by precipitated Concoction, the pure and genuine Chyle is perverted into acrimonious Humours, and Choler aduſt, which become the Original of Catarrhs, Conſumptions and Hydropic Diſtempers. But if by the Strength of Nature, and the Pancreatic Conſtitution of the Party, the Malignity be removed from the Vitals, and the Venom precluded from channelling in the Arteries; then the Ferment, or morbific Salt, is forced away, and either ejaculated into the Nerves, which cauſeth the Paroxyſms of the Gout; or tranſmitted into the Kidneys, and cauſeth the condenſing of Gra-

vel, which carrieth the Contagion off with it, if ſeaſonably expelled; but if fixed, engendereth the Stone, and the fatal Torments that attend it. Nay, the very End and utmoſt Effort, both of Stone and Gout, conclude in a ſandy and calculous Accretion; the one viſible in the Bladder, the other apparent in chalky, topaceous Stones in the Joints of the Hand and Feet: To which, let me add the Obſervation of Dr. *Willis*, (which I have read in his Works) that having by powerful Phyſic driven away the Gravel from a Patient, he became preſently afflicted with the Gout; and having forced that to depart, the Stone immediately returned, and became his Bane.

But what if I ſhould ſtrain a Point higher, and entertain you with a Fancy juſt now come into my Head? Becauſe every Man (who is not taken away by a violent Death) is ſaid to die of a Fever; why may it not be rationally conjectur'd, that the moſt notorious, ordinary, and epidemical Diſtempers and Diſeaſes, are but ſo many diverſified Kinds, or Species of Fevers? And if ſo, then I may be allowed to coin a new Diſtinction, and divide that univerſal Miniſter of Death into theſe ſeveral Claſſes, *Febris Venalis*, *Febris Arterialis*, *Febris Stomachica*, *Febris Nephritica*, and *Febris Nervea*. Under the firſt, I place Pleuriſies, and other Diſtempers ariſing from Redundancy, or an ill Habit of the Blood. In the ſecond, are comprehended Agues, violent and malignant Fevers, proceeding from Inflammations, and Corruption of the Fountain of Blood and Animal Spirits, the Heart. The third ſhews itſelf in Cholics, Iliac Paſſions, Griping of the Guts, and other Torments cauſed by Wind, and fetching their Original from the Stomach. The ſharp Twinges of the Gravel, and excruciating Miſeries of the Stone, are exerciſed on the Kidneys, Ureters and Bladder, and may fairly paſs under the Denomination of *Febris Nephritica*. And doubtleſs the Pains and Afflictions of the Gout, may properly be termed *Febris Nervea*, ſince its Swing and Operation is wholly in the Nerves, and is indicated and determined by periodical and feveriſh Fits; a true Fit of the Gout being always attended by a *Febricula*, or ſhort Fever. Thus the Body of Man is aſſaulted by Enemies of its own Generation; one Sort of Fever ſtorms it, another blows it up, another undermines it; this batters it, and that pulls it to the Ground; every Man deſires to live long, but no Man would be old; and even the Gout, which generally is the Concomitant of old Age, helps to increaſe the Miſeries of it. I will conclude with a Fable of the *Gout* and the *Spider*, which was told me by a Country Gardener. The Gout and the Spider, having been old Acquaintance, met in a Summer's Evening; and after ordinary Salutations, began to congratulate each other's Felicity. The Gout extolled his good Fortune, that was ſo luckily placed in a ſtately Houſe near adjoining, where the Owner of it careſſed him with all Manner of Kindneſs, comforting him with Plaiſters, refreſhing him with Oil and Frictions, covering him with Scarlet and Flannel, and treating him with ſo much Civility, that he was not put to the Toil of Walking, but reſted Day and Night in a warm Room. The Spider ſaid, I have taken up my Quarters in a poor Man's Cottage, where though my Entertainment be but mean, yet I enjoy Safety and Tranquillity; I ſpread my Nets through the Houſe, I have as many Webs in the Loom, as would ſerve all my Generation, and no body diſturbs me. Thus having mutually deſcanted on their Happineſs, a Curioſity

pricked

pricked them to change Quarters for one Night, that each might be a Witneſs of the other's good Condition; ſo they parted, appointing to meet in the ſame Place, and recount their Adventures. Accordingly the Gout marcheth to the Cottage, attacks the Owner, and fixeth his Reſidence in his Great Toe. The Spider aſcends the Gentleman's Parlour, falls preſently to work, and before Day he had extended his Manufacture through all the Spaces of the Room. The next Night they met again, but in a moſt deplorable Condition; the Gout looked as if he were half-drowned and half-dead. The Spider, as if he were frightened out of his Wits. But wondering awhile at one another's Fate, and recollecting themſelves, the Gout told his Friend, that when he came to the Cottage, he, according to his Cuſtom, ſeized on the good Man's Toe, expecting to reſt quietly there; but to his Aſtoniſhment, the Man ſtarted up, run about with his naked Feet, and plunged himſelf into a Pond, and had almoſt drowned or choaked him, ſo that he had hardly eſcaped with Life. My Fortune has been little better (replies the Spider) for having finiſhed my Work, and ſpread my Nets up and down the Room, I betook me to reſt; but early in the Morning the Chamber-maid comes, and with her Broom and Whiſk unmercifully deſtroys and tears down what I had wrought; I, upon the Alarm retreated into a Hole, and with much Difficulty made my Eſcape hither. So, after a little pauſing, they took leave: *The Gout returning to the rich Man, and the Spider to the Poor.*

But leſt the flat Repetition of ſuch frivolous and incoherent Stuff may prove as troubleſome as the Diſeaſe it treats of; or the wanton Excurſions of my Pen prove equally vexatious to the very Twinges of the Gout; in pure Pity, and good Manners, I deſiſt, after I have with all poſſible Reſpect and Sincerity avowed myſelf, *Sir*,

Your moſt faithful humble Servant,

Nov. 3, 1690. G. PHILIPS.

The REPLY.

SIR,

THOUGH by your Letter you do me the Honour to repreſent me as moulded in that of the moſt extenſive Friendſhip; and ſubmit to my Reflections your very ingenious and well-contrived Thoughts of the Cauſe, previous and ſubſequent Phœnomena of your old and intimate Friend, the Gout: yet I will not be guilty of ſo much Vanity, as to endeavour any Alteration in that Scheme which you have ſo neatly and ingeniouſly framed: eſpecially, your Sentiments on that Head being eſpouſed and very well defended, not only by *Juncken*, and thoſe learned Phyſicians, who will have the nutricious Juices to be conveyed to all the Parts of the Body by the Nerves, but alſo by that Ornament of Learning Dr. *Charleton*, preſent Preſident of the Royal College of Phyſicians; for whoſe Learning and acute Reaſonings, I have

that

that Veneration, that I judge it almoſt a Crime to entertain different Sentiments from his, in ſuch Speculations. But I muſt add, without the leaſt Flattery, That if any Inducements could oblige me to become a Proſelite to the ſpeculative Part of your Opinions on this Subject, you yourſelf furniſh me with ſtronger Inducements than all my Books or Converſe in the World could do. For when I conſider the Height of your Fancy, the Clearneſs of your Reaſonings, the Solidneſs of your Judgment, the great Connexion I find betwixt all the Links of the Chain of your various and pleaſing Thoughts on all Subjects; the Charmingneſs and peculiar Neatneſs of your Pen, I am almoſt perſuaded to believe, that the Gout muſt be a critical Evacuation of the Brain and animal Spirits, by which heterogeneous, acid, acrious, auſtere and other troubleſome Particles are thrown off from the Brain and Nerves, on the Articulations of the Limbs, which clouds the Fancy, and lames the Reaſonings of moſt Men who are Strangers to that troubleſome, though advantageous Criſis; and I muſt tell you, that, were I confident your old Friend would procure me thoſe Advantages I admire in you, I would almoſt court his intimate Familiarity; but, *Ex quovis Ligno non fit Mercurius.*

Thoſe who will have the Cauſe of the Gout to be lodged immediately in the Blood and circulating Liquors, and not in the Brain, and *Genus Nervoſum*, and will have the Criſis performed by the Mediation of the mucilaginous and oleaginous Glands of the Joints, ſeem to plead fairer; and are expoſed to fewer Intricacies, and leſs Difficulties than the Patrons of the other Hypotheſis are; and give a clear and very intelligible Account of the Genealogies of all the antecedent, concomicant, and conſequent Phœnomena of that troubleſome Companion; and leſt a Man of your univerſal Knowledge ſhould be a Stranger to ſo uſeful a Part of Anatomy, I preſume to recommend to your Peruſal a little Tract, called *Oſteologia Nova*, lately wrote by Dr. *Havers*, from whoſe ingenious Pen the Commonwealth of Learning may expect what may be uſeful to that Republic.

But not to trouble you further with Speculations of this Kind (for in framing, extending, and improving of fine Thoughts, I willingly and juſtly reſign in your Favour the Right Hand of Fellowſhip) I find, not only by thoroughly conſidering the Animal Œconomy, but by many Years Practice and Experience, that thoſe different Hypotheſes force very little Alteration on the rational Method of Cure. And you muſt pardon me, if I take you to Taſk as to what concerns the practical Part of your Letter, if in good *Scotch* (I pretend not to write *Engliſh*) I may ſo term it; that being a Province to which I am not altogether a Stranger.

In the firſt place, I muſt tell you, it is my Opinion, had a Man of your Head made it his Buſineſs to be ſo much converſant in the practical Part of Medicine, as you are in the theoric, you might have eaſily, not only promoted yourſelf to the Dignity and Title of a ſecond *Æſculapius*, but alſo, I am confident, you had altogether altered your Sentiments as to the Cure or Removal of your old Friend. I could, were it neceſſary, adduce many Inſtances, and poſſibly of your Countrymen, of whom ſome are in this Place, others returned to *Ireland*, whom in a little Time, by the Uſe of Internals and Topics, I freed from that troubleſome Diſtemper, which is not returned as yet.

But

But in the next place, you may conſider (not to diſcourſe now of the various Particles and Alterations the circulating Liquors receive from the Air, by Inſpiration and otherwiſe; (for the Nature of a Letter will not allow of ſuch Excurſions) that whether the Cauſe, or *Minera Morbi*, lodge in the Blood, *&c.* or *Genus Nervoſum*; moſtly, the Stomach and Guts, and the various Alterations the Materials of our Diet undergo in theſe digeſtory Cavities, cannot vindicate themſelves to us, for performing their Duty ſo faintly; nor can we, to ourſelves, for oppreſſing and burthening them ſo much. So that if the Chyle be acrious, acid, auſtere, or of other Qualities, the Blood muſt participate of the Nature of the Materials of which it is made. Beſides, if a great Deal of Crudities, Humours, or call them as you will, neſtle and ſtagnate in the Guts, Stomach, or other Parts of the Abdomen, which vitiate the Chylification and Chyle, and rivulets it ill to the circulating Humours, by the lactic Veins (and if not carried off by Vomiters and Purgers according to the preſent Circumſtances of the Patient) *in Limine*, muſt give new Matter to new recurring Paroxyſms, till a long Abſtinence, and oft recurring Fits, emaciate the Patient, and conſume the *fomies Morbi* in the firſt Region; which a rational Phyſician can remove very ſoon, without the leaſt, or very little Trouble to the Patient; if Impoſement or Byaſs (the Brats of Authority) oblige the Phyſician to be a Spectator, the Patient is like to have a pleaſant Time of it.

In my Practice, wherever I find the *Minera Morbi*, I tamper not with it, but turn it off how ſoon I can; and if I occaſion thereby any troubleſome Diſorder in the Fluids, I force them to their proper Stations by ſuitable Paragorics; by which Methods I never had any Diſreputation, but my Patients great Advantage. When Indications oblige, I open a Vein, I give Sweaters and Diuretics, by which I divert the deſigned Courſe of thoſe troubleſome fluid Salts; and ſeeing the Animal Spirits are but the Product of the Blood, and cannot be expected to be of a more mild Temper than their Progenitor; I alter the circulating Fluids as ſoon, and much as I can, by removing out of them what is hoſtile and troubleſome, and lodging in them ſuch Principles and Particles I judge them to want. And I judge, by ſuch a Method, (ſuppoſing ſtill the Patient to be rational and tractable) the Gout is not altogether ſo ſtubborn and rebellious as he is diſcourſed to be; at leaſt, I found him, in ſuch Circumſtances, obſequious enough to my Commands; ſo that I will not be ſo unjuſt to the poor Criminal as many are. For ſhould I not procure a tractable and rational Patient what he expects, I would rather complain of my Timorouſneſs, my being impoſed on by the Bugbears of great Authority, and Negligence of ſuitable Adminiſtrations, than on the Stubbornneſs of a few vicid, ſaline Humours, which may be cut off as to their *Minera*, and thrown off by ſuitable Medicines in a very ſhort time.

Sir, I find you are irreconcileable to topical Applications, whether Poultices, Plaiſters, or all others of that Kind; but when I have diſcourſed you a little as to the Nature of thoſe kind Applications, I hope I may moderate your Paſſion againſt them; and do ſome of them the Honour as to procure them your moſt ſerene and obliging Countenance.

I muſt confeſs to you, and acknowledge, that ſuch of them as are emplaſtic, aſtringent, and ſo contract the Pores, and ſtop the inſenſible Tranſpiration, deſervedly

ſervedly merit very much your Diſpleaſure, on the Grounds and Reaſons you intimate in your Letter. But ſuch internal Applications as open the Pores, diſſolve Coagulations, (by blunting the acid coagulating Salts) in the cutaneous Glands, and poſſibly alter very much the Texture of the circulating Liquors, without any previous Trouble to the Stomach) I hope I may preſume, to uſher thoſe to your Acquaintance; and I have that very great Eſteem for your Merit, that I would not make you uneaſy, by giving your Eſteem and Friendſhip to any, but thoſe I can venture my Reputation for what I promiſe in their Name. And if you command me to diſcloſe to you the very Secrets of my Cabinet, your Commands will be obſequiouſly obeyed.

I do not much admire the Cuſtom of *Holland*; nor do I believe a rational and ſedulous Phyſician (if the Patient be tractable) will ſuffer the Gout to run all theſe Stages; for I know by many Experiences, it may be ſtrangled when in Embrio, or may be deſtroyed in the Bud, before it can bloſſom; or if it do, may be made fall before it ripen, *ſublata cauſa tollitur effectus*; but if we ſuffer our Digeſtions to be weakened, vitiated and oppreſſed, the circulating Liquors to be loaded with troubleſome Salts, or other Particles; if we lodge and continue in the Center, and digeſting Cavities of our Body, ſuch a Maſs of incommoding Humours, which muſt of Neceſſity produce many Diſtempers, according to the Texture of the Fluids and particular Mechaniſms of the Solids of thoſe concerned; then the *Holland* Cuſtom takes place, and not only the Gout, but other Diſtempers, both Acute and Chronic, run their particular Stages in great Triumph, which we owe to our own Inadvertency, or our Phyſicians Neglect; for our Health and Sickneſſes are Mechanical, depend on Mechanical Principles; and he who underſtands this Mechaniſm well, and adverts attentively to all its Motions, Meaſures and Stops, can order the bodily Machine ſo, that Opinions handed down to us from Antiquity, as to the Nature of Diſeaſes, and Methods of Cure, will very ſoon and eaſily be antiquated with the ſerious Obſervers of what concerns Health and Sickneſs.

I do not queſtion, Perſons of both Sexes, who lived very temperately, as to the Solids and Liquids of their Diet, are originally (if I may ſo term it) obnoxious and pre-diſpoſed for ſeveral particular Diſtempers, from which many (who are abſolute Slaves to their Palates, and venture on all Irregularities of that Nature, and are intimate to all Sort of Debauches) are exempted; but this depends moſtly on the primitive Configurations, and Mechaniſms of the *Glans*, *Tubulæ*, and other ſecretory Organs of the Body, which are not framed at the ſame rate in all Individuals; whether this Difference of particular Mechaniſms, or Organizations, proceed from hereditary (if the Word may paſs) Principles, or from other ſuperior or concurrent Cauſes, I will not give you or myſelf the Trouble to determine.

This Letter will not allow me to give you my Reflections on your ingenious Speculations about the Nature of Fevers, and your placing them in their ſeveral Ranks and Claſſes, leſt I ſhould give you the Trouble to read a Pamphlet inſtead of a Letter, which by its Length is become too bulcous already, and may rob you of too much of your Time, which you always employ to better Purpoſe; but if this pleaſe, that may be the Subject of a ſecond Entertainment. You did me the Kindneſs to read me ſome Eſſays you have yet kept in their

Re-

Retirement; but in my Opinion they very much deserve a better Fate; and I am confident, you will very much oblige the learned Part of Mankind, if you give them that Dress in which they may be in their Hands. Sir, believe me, that none esteems yourself, or the Products of your Pen, more than

Your very humble Servant,

J. GORDON.

Verdicts of the Learned, concerning *Virgil* and *Homer*'s Heroic Poems.

Nihil potest placere quod non decet. Quintil.

PREFACE.

AS I profess to say nothing of my own Stock, so I have no Cause to fear, that I am accountable for the Truth of these Censures. I think myself accountable only for the Faithfulness of the Quotations, which I join to each Saying. My Authors then may speak for themselves, without my being engaged to take the Part of any, or to maintain their Sentiments. So that it is free for each Reader in particular, either to become the free Censurer of these Critics, with as much Authority as they have taken to censure Homer *and* Virgil, *or to join with them in their Verdicts.*

As these Judgments of my Authors are not uniform, no not in one and the same Author, (as it is evident in Rapin *himself) it is plain, that in such a Variety of Opinions some must needs stray both from Truth and Justice. But this Discernment being above my Reach, I leave the Delight to the Reader himself to judge thereof: not but that now and then I give a Hint of what I think more or less of their Authority.*

SECTION I.

The Excellency and Nature of an Heroic Poem, and how to judge well thereof.

IF we consider well the main End of an Heroic Poem, which is to direct Persons of Quality, it is the noblest and most important Work of the Mind. If we consider the Labour and Art about it, it is the most sublime, the most ingenious, and the hardest; nay, beyond it there is nothing richer, or more magnificent to be found. A Man cannot have too much Wit to undertake it, nor too long a Life to compleat it. All Sorts of Learning must be brought thither in refined Abstracts; and the Art to make such Quintescences is a Sort of Chymistry known to few. Sublime Notions, and magnificent Representations, which are not to be found in every Stall, are the Patterns to be employed there. The Wit which an Heroic Poem requires, ought to be of the first Rate of Wits, who are among us, what the Seraphims are among the Angels.

It were then to require too much, to have the Undertakers of such a long and laborious Fabrick, to be infallible. Hitherto none have set their Hands to it, who stood not in need of Pardon, for many Things. *Homer* indeed had the Honour to work therein without a Director and Pattern: But it is not granted, that he did without Fault, what he did without Model; since he slumbers sometimes according to *Horace*. *Bonus aliquando dormitat Homerus.* Though *Virgil* has copied out the best Passages, and that the Copy is more exact than the Original; nevertheless we must acknowledge, that had he been yet more exact, he had stood in need of no Apologies; nor had the Grammarians put him so often to the Rack, to be revenged of the Trouble he gives them. So that, notwithstanding all the transcendent Eulogiums of *Homer* and *Virgil* in the Schools; yet is *the perfect Heroic Poet still to be born*, as well as the compleat Prince, or the perfect Captain.

To clear this Paradox, we must not consider *Homer* and *Virgil*'s Poems by their Superficies, Outside, or by Pieces, like meer Grammarians, as *Macrobius*, *Jul. Scaliger*, and *Ful. Ursinus* have done; but to survey well these great Works, we must fathom what they have that's most essential; we must, says *Rapin* *, survey all the Proportions thereof, consider whether all the Beauties are well placed, whether the Probable and Wonderful are judiciously observed; whether the Poetic Licences are not either too strong, or stretched too far; whether all the Decorums of good Manners and Morals are exactly kept; whether the Expressions are delicate and passionate; whether all is in its Place, and keeps up its due Character; whether good Sense runs through the whole; and whether all Things are as they ought to be. For nothing can please unless so, according to the great Principle of *Quintilian*: *Nihil potest placere quod non decet.* This is what the Skilful consider, and not external Ornaments, which detain the Ignorant.

If the Works of *Homer* and *Virgil* were lost, I should be very curious to know what others had said of them, who had seen them. But since their Works are in our Hands, to what Purpose trouble we ourselves much, about what *Plato*, *Aristotle*, *Paterculus*, *Plutarch*, *Ælian*, *Bossu*, and *Thomassin* have said of them, they being no Poets? Let us then consider them by the true Rules of Heroic Poesy, and judge of their essential Parts ourselves.

According to the Doctrine of *Aristotle*, *Mambrunus*, *Rapin*, and *Ruæus*; an Heroic Poem is an Imitation of an illustrious and compleat Action, written in long Verse, to stir up Gentlemen to gallant Actions with Wonder and Delight. This Sort of Poem comprehends five main and essential Things. 1. The Action. 2. The Fable. 3. The Characters. 4. The Sentiments. 5. The Expression.

The Action is the Matter and Subject of the Poem. The Fable is the Form and Contrivance of that Action. The Characters are the main End and Drift of the Poem. The Sentiments and the Expression are necessary Ornaments. The Poet takes the Action from the Hero, the Fable from the Rules of Art, the Characters from moral Philosophy, the Sentiments from Logic and good Sense, the Expression from Grammar and Rhetoric.

* *Compar. Hom. Virg.* ch. 16

SECT.

SECT. II.

The Matter or Action of Homer *and* Virgil's *Poems.*

RULE I.

THE Matter of an Heroic Poem is the Subject which the Poet undertakes, and propoſes to himſelf to work upon. Now according to *Ariſtotle*, *Rapin*, and *Boſſu*, this Action ought to have theſe four Conditions. To be One, compleat, illuſtrious, and not exceeding the Length of a Year 1. One, that is, chiefly performed, and in one continued Space of Time, without a perfect Intermiſſion; and moreover, ſuch as cannot be divided into other whole and compleat Actions. 2. Illuſtrious, and conſequently of eminent Men, and in ſome famous and important Matter too, *res geſtæ*, *regumque*, *ducumque*. 3. Compleat, to which nothing is wanting of all things that may bring it to the End. 4. Of certain Length, not exceeding the Space of a Year, from the Time where the Poet begins.

Homer's *Action compared with the Rule.*

Whether the main Action of the Iliads conſiſts in the War of *Troy*, as ſome pretend with *Horace*, or whether in the Anger of *Achilles*, as others with *Boſſu* will have it, becauſe the Death of *Hector* ends not the War, ſince the Siege of *Troy* laſted a Year after, it is plainly defective, in that it is liable to be thus controverted. According to *Boſſu* it is no Action at all, but a Paſſion, and a very unjuſt one too, far from being illuſtrious; or, if it is an Action, *Homer* himſelf owns, that it was prejudicial both to his own Country and Party. The Action ought to have a Beginning, a Middle, and an End, ſays *Ariſtotle*. But though this Anger of *Achilles* has a Beginning, yet it has neither End nor Middle, ſays *Rapin*; for it is diſcarded (adds the ſame Author) by another Anger of *Achilles* againſt *Hector*, for the Death of *Patroclus*: So that there are two Angers, the one for the Loſs of his Friend, the other for the Loſs of his Miſtreſs; and what is worſt of all, the reſt of the Poem has no Connexion with this Anger. *Homer* not minding it in the Space of eighteen Books, as if he had forgot his own Deſign.

The Action of the *Odyſſea*, (continues *Rapin*, *Comp. Hom. & Virg. chap. 6.*) is not more perfect, than that of the *Ilias*. It begins by the Voyages of *Telemachus*, and ends by thoſe of *Ulyſſes*. This makes *Paul Beno* to ſay, that the Fable of the *Odyſſea* is double. In reality, concludes *Rapin*, one knows not what to make of the firſt four Books. *A la bien prendre, on ne ſçait ce que c'eſt.* So that neither of the Actions are One, Compleat, or Illuſtrious.

Virgil's *Action compared with the Rule.*

Though it is granted by all, that the Action of the *Æneis* was equal to the Greatneſs and Magnificence of the *Roman* Empire, yet is it vicious, and

mangled, in the Condition we have it, says *Mambrunus*, who has writ both an Heroic Poem on *Constantine* in twelve Books, and a large Treatise of Heroic Poesy. And indeed, as to the Unity of *Virgil*'s Action, good Father *Bosse* confesses ingenuously, that it is easier to tell wherein the Unity of the Epic Action consists not, than to say in what it consists. *Du Poem Epic. Book 2. chap. 7.* For some place the Action in the Voyage of *Æneas*, in Imitation of the *Odyssea*, others in the War of *Italy*, in Imitation of the *Ilias*.

As to the Compleatness of the Action, both the *Scaligers*, and after them *Perrault*, *Paral. des Anciens & Modern*, 2 *vol.* hold, that *Virgil*'s Action is not compleat nor finished; and all the Ancients held, adds *Joseph Scaliger*, that *Virgil* intended Twenty-four Books, in Imitation of *Homer*. But being prevented by Death, he therefore ordered his *Æneis* to be burnt, (*ibit ad ignes*) knowing it to be but a Piece of a great Work, unfinished, as the unfinished Verses also demonstrate. This made *Mapheus Vegio* add a thirteenth Book to the *Æneis*.

I cannot endure, says *Perrault* (in the fore-mentioned Place) that *Virgil*'s *Æneis* should end at the Death of *Turnus*. It is true, that by his Death, and that of *Amata*, great Obstacles are removed, yet is not *Æneas* settled King of the *Latins*. The Reader cannot be fully satisfied, to behold the Affairs of *Æneas* at a stand in so fair a Progress. He wants to see him marry *Lavinia*, and by that Means take Possession of the Kingdom of the *Latins*, without which one may justly question whether it ever came to pass. This Marriage would only have compleated what is but yet begun; it had settled the Foundation of the *Roman* Empire, which is the main Action of the Poem. Thus then, tho' *Virgil*'s *Æneis* has a Beginning, and a Middle, yet wants it still an End, to compleat the Action.

Sect. III.

The Form and Contrivance of Virgil *and* Homer's *Fable.*

RULE II.

THE Fable, according to *Aristotle*, is the chief thing in an Heroic Poem, is the Soul, and Foundation thereof, is the Principle which gives, as it were, Life, and moves all the Springs of that Engine. This Fable and Contrivance consists chiefly in three Points. 1. In the orderly Narration of the chief Action, and of all the Materials that make it up: And this Order is two-fold, Natural or Artificial, beginning by the Middle. 2. In the exact Proportion of the Probable and Wonderful, whereof the first makes it worthy of Belief, and the next of Admiration. 3. In the Marshalling and Coherence of the Episodes, or By-Histories, with the chief Action.

Homer's *Fable compared with the Rule.*

1. Though *Halicarnasseus*, *Opusc. Critic.* commends *Homer* chiefly for his Fable, yet (says *Rapin*, *Comparis. ch. 6.*) *Homer* manages so little the Proba-

ble,

ble, and ſtretches ſo far the Wonderful, out of too great a Deſire to raiſe always Admiration, that he leaves nothing to be done, neither by Reaſon, nor Paſſion, no nor by Nature, but all is done by Machines. The Gods are employed upon all Occaſions, without the leaſt Regard either to their Rank, or to the Peace and Tranquillity of their Condition, *per ambages Deorumque miniſteria.* *Stat.*

If *Priamus* has loſt *Hector*, *Jove* muſt needs ſend the Goddeſs *Iris* his Meſſenger, to admoniſh him to take Care of the Corpſe of his Son, and to redeem it from *Achilles*. This Father ſo tender of his Son, could not he think of it himſelf? But muſt have a Machine to put him in Mind that he is a Father. *Mercury* becomes *Priamus*'s Coachman, to bring him to *Achilles*, to deſire the Body of his Son. And to prevent the Danger of Stragglers coming to the Camp of the *Greeks*, *Mercury* caſts them all aſleep, and prepares the Heart of *Achilles* by ſome Feelings of Compaſſion; nay *Thetis*, *Achilles*'s Mother, works upon him alſo, by the Order of *Jove*. Thus *Homer* diſpoſes of the Gods, as of ſo many Perſonages of the Stage.

2. As to the Mixture of Epiſodes with the chief Action, they are forced and unnatural. *Homer* begins his *Odyſſea*, which is his beſt Poem, ſays *Rapin* again, by an Epiſode of four Books. He ſtrays from his Matter, almoſt before he is entered into it; and to make a regular Building, he begins by a Piece out of the Work. *On ne ſçait ce que c'eſt*, ſays *Rapin*.

3. What Relation has the Wound which *Diomedes* gave to *Mars*, to the Anger of *Achilles*? *Homer* enlarges much on this Adventure in the fifth Book of his *Ilias*. *Mars* who weeps like a Child, comes and makes his Complaint to *Jove*, who ſmartly jeers him. Yet *Pæon* the Doctor of the Gods is called to cure him, and the Poet who likes this Paſſage, ſtretches it too far. He trifles thereupon, and one would pity him, but that we are prepoſſeſſed with the Greatneſs of his Genius.

4. *Homer*'s Compariſons are cold and forced, but never excellent, ſays *Perrault*. Was there ever any Thing ſo ridiculous, as to compare *Ajax* in the midſt of a bloody Battle, to an Aſs grazing in Corn? And his Deſcriptions are both too frequent and too long.

Virgil's *Fable compared with the Rule.*

Though Monſieur *Segrais* in his Preface to the *Æneis*, maintains that the prime Beauty of that Poem conſiſts in the wonderful Narration, nevertheleſs *Perrault* boldly ſpeaks thus: [*Parallel of Ancient and Modern.*] I believe that all Men of Senſe, and that are impartial, will think with me, That the Adventure of the Wooden Horſe in the ſecond Book *inſtar montis equum*, is the moſt childiſh Part of all the *Æneis*. What! a City which had withſtood all the Arts of *Greece* for the Space of ten Years, lets herſelf be taken in one Night by a Stalking-Horſe! *Virgil* underſtood ill it ſeems the Temper of *Ulyſſes*, to think he would ſhut himſelf up in that Engine; he was too crafty to do it: And this old Rook, whoſe Wiles are ſo cried up by Antiquity, had better Devices how to take Cities. Yet, if we believe *Virgil*, Queen *Dido* was charmed with the Story of the Wooden Horſe, and ſo might any Cook-Maid with the Boys and

Pedants in the Schools: But never can prove either probable or wonderful to any Man of Senſe.

2. *Peletier*, in his *Poetic Art*, ſays, That there are in *Virgil*'s *Eneis* a great Number of Faults againſt Probability, and moſt of them needleſs too, where he has placed them. What more improbable, than the Golden Bough in the ſixth of the *Æneis*.

——————— Latet arbore opaca
Aureus, & foliis & lento vimine Ramus.

What again more incredible, than the Twigs that ſprang out of *Polydorus*, in the third Book?

Forte fuit juxta Tumulus, quo cornea ſumma
Virgulta, &c.

Are Don *Quixot*'s Windmills (turned into Giants in his Brain) more ridiculous and childiſh, than the metamorphoſing of *Æneas*'s Ship and whole Fleet into Sea-Nymphs? in the ninth Book.

——Hinc Virgineæ——————
Redduntur totidem facies pontoque feruntur,
Quæ prius æratæ ſteterant ad littora proræ.

3. But ſays again *Perrault* in his *Parallel*, how comes *Neptune* to threaten ſo ſeverely the poor harmleſs Wind *Zephyrus*, for the Storm in the firſt Book?

Eurum ad ſe Zephyrumque vocat, &c.
Quos Ego, &c.

What Share had he in that Tempeſt? He that has not the Force to beat down a Tulip, how could he ſwell up the Sea? He is the Ladies Favourite, and ſcarce can ruffle a towering Commode.

4. As to *Virgil*'s Epiſodes, Father *Rapin* in his *Reflections on Poeſy*, finds Fault with the exceſſive Length of the Epiſode about the taking of *Troy*, which contains two whole Books, the ſecond and third of the Poem, ſcarce pardonable, ſays he, becauſe they hold out a whole Night. I queſtion not but good Queen *Dido* yawn'd often all the Time, at the Story of *Æneas*'s Adventures; and that's an Obſervation, adds *Perrault*, which *Virgil*'s Commentators have paſſed by in Silence.

But all Authors have obſerved two conſiderable Faults of Achroniſm and Slander in that Epiſode of *Dido* in the fourth Book. By the firſt of falſe Chronology, he makes that Princeſs elder by three hundred Years than in Reality ſhe was. By the other of Scandal, he has diſgraced the moſt diſcreet and virtuous Princeſs of her Age, as all Hiſtorians, Poets and Fathers agree, witneſs this Epigram of *Auſonius* in *Scaliger*.

Invida

Invida cur in me ſtimulaſti Muſa Maronem,
Fingeret ut in me damna pudicitiæ, &c.

And thus has entirely ruined her Reputation in the Mind of all Poſterity. This is both a baſe and unpardonable Fault in *Virgil*, to raiſe the Glory of the *Romans*, by ruining the good Name of a Woman, the Ornament of her Sex; becauſe forſooth ſhe was the Foundreſs of an hoſtile City.

SECT. IV.

Homer *and* Virgil's *Characters of their Heroes, which is the End of Epic Poeſy.*

RULE III.

THE End of Heroic Poeſy being to give Inſtructions by Examples to Perſons of Quality, the Characters of Virtues and Vices muſt be carefully drawn; the Characters of Virtues, Wiſdom, Courage, Piety, Temperance, Patience, *&c.* to embrace them; and the Characters of Vices, Atheiſm, Anger, Drunkenneſs, Gaming, Luſt, *&c.* to avoid them. As then Heroic Virtue (according to *Ariſtotle* in his *Ethics*) is made up of all Virtues ſo the Character of an Hero muſt be made up of three Virtues at leaſt, ſays *Boſſu.* The firſt makes up his characteriſtical and conſtant Virtue; as Piety in *Æneas*, and Prudence in *Ulyſſes*, to diſtinguiſh them plainly and at firſt Sight from the other Heroes. The ſecondary Virtues are only ornamental, as Friendſhip in *Achilles.* The third is Valour, which is neceſſary and common to all Heroes.

Homer's *Characters compared with the Rule.*

Though *Horace* thinks *Homer* fitter to teach Morals to Mankind than the Philoſophers of old;

Quicquid ſit pulchrum, quid turpe, quid utile, quid non,
Plenius & melius Chryſippo & Crantore dicit.

And though *Ger. Jo. Voſſius de nat. Poetic. cap.* 9. is of the ſame Mind; yet *Rapin*, who ſeems to have examined better *Homer*'s good and bad Qualities, both in his Reflections on Poeſy, and his Compariſon of *Homer* and *Virgil*, pretends that *Homer* has not kept the Characters of his Heroes, nor their Manners, in a due Decorum. And indeed, *Homer*, adds he, repreſents to us hard and cruel Fathers, weak and paſſionate Heroes, he might have added clowniſh and butcherly ones; wretched, reſtleſs, quarrelſome Gods who cannot endure each other.

Ariſtotle in his *Poetic Art*, wills that the Images and Characters which the Poet makes, repreſent Perſons not ſuch as they really are, but ſuch as they ought to be, yet the Character of *Achilles* the chief Hero ſeems ill drawn. For as *Horace* obſerves, though *Achilles* is valiant, yet is he choleric, fierce, violent, unjuſt,

unjuſt, he ſlights the Laws, and puts all his Reaſon in the Sword he bears by his Side.

Impiger, iracundus, inexorabilis, acer,
Jura negat ſibi nata, nihil non arrogat armis.

Moreover he is cruel to the Corpſe of *Hector*, even to delight in Revenge over it, and by an Avarice without Example, ſells to an afflicted Father the Body of his Son. Finally, this Hero of *Homer*, of ſo great a Name, and ſo cry'd up in all Ages, is an Abſtract of Imperfections and Defaults, *ce Heros eſt un abrege d' imperfections & de defauts*, ſays *Rapin*, *Parallel of* Hom. & Virg. *c.* 4. *Tully* himſelf ſpeaks againſt *Achilles*'s inhuman Dealing with the Corpſe of *Hector*, *Trahit Hectorem ad currum religatum Achilles, lacerari eum & ſentire, credo, putat, & ulciſcitur, ut ſibi videtur.* Orat. Tuſc. lib. i. What again can be more unworthy of a Hero, than *Achilles*'s Zeal againſt the Flies about the Wounds of *Patroclus* his Friend? *Lib.* xix. *Iliad.*

I ſpeak not of the other Heroes of the Iliad, where Kings and Princes do one another all Sort of baſe Injuries like Porters, where *Achilles* calls King *Agamemnon* drunken Sot, and impudent Dog's-face. 'Tis not poſſible that chief Officers were ſo brutiſh as to do ſo; or if that happened, they are Manners too indecent to be put into an Heroic Poem, where Things ought to be placed, for the Inſtruction of young Gentlemen. Yet, to hear with what Reſpect good Father *Boſſu* ſpeaks of the *Iliads*, one would think he made a Commentary on holy Scripture.

I paſs to the *Odyſſea*, ſays *Perrault* in his *Parallel*, where *Ulyſſes* is ſuch a Medley of Prudence and Knavery, of Heroic and Meanneſs that 'tis almoſt impoſſible to define it well. This Prince, whom *Homer* ſets forth as a Pattern of Wiſdom, lets himſelf be made drunk by the *Pheacians*, for which the Poet is blamed both by *Ariſtotle* and *Philoſtratus*. But what Extravagance in this perfectly wiſe Man, to forget ſo ſoon his Wife, ſo virtuous a Princeſs, and his Son who was ſo dear to him, to ſtay ſo long with *Calypſo* a Jilt, and run after *Circe* the famous Sorcereſs. Had then *Homer* drawn well *Ulyſſes*'s Character, we need not be at a Stand to know whether he was an honeſt Man, or a Knave.

2. As to the Characters of *Homer*'s Gods, this Poet attributes to them criminal Actions, whereof none are capable but the moſt wicked amongſt Men, ſays *Plato* in *Lib.* ii. & iii. *de Legibus*. *Tully* alſo blames *Homer* for giving to Gods the Imperfections of Men, wiſhing rather that he had given to Men ſome of the excellent Qualifications of the Gods, *Humana ad Deos transferebat, Divina mallem ad nos.*

Virgil's *Characters compared with the Rule.*

The main and conſtant Character of *Æneas* being Piety, ſays *Boſſu*: What had that Piety of Father *Æneas* to do in the Cave with *Dido* Queen of *Carthage?* ſays *Perrault*, [*Parallel of Ancient and Modern*]. A very homely Room to court a Lady in. Nay his pretended Piety at every Turn, may be ſtiled Superſtition, and he rather paſs for the Founder of a religious Order, than

than of the *Roman* Empire. 2. *Æneas*'s ſecondary Sort of ornamental Qualifications are Tears and Pity; but who is able to endure his briny Tears at every Moment, nay twice or thrice in the ſame Page, and again four Times in a dozen Lines, eſpecially in the firſt, ſixth, and eleventh Books: He weeps at the Sight of Pictures, which repreſent the Adventures of the Siege of *Troy*.

1. Book.
Conſtitit & lacrymans ——
Sunt lacrymæ rerum ——
Agnoſcit lacrymans ——

And not only his Eyes water, and ſhed ſome Drops of Tears, as the Love of his Country may draw from a Native; but he is all in a Bath of Tears, attended with heavy Sighs and Groans:

Multa gemens, largoque humectat flumine vultum.

This continual Blubbering on the ſame Account, is not proper to the Sorrow of that Nature. He weeps at the parting, *lacrymans commendat Aceſtes*; and at the drowning of *Palinurus* his Pilot; nay *Virgil* begins his ſixth Book with his Hero's Weeping: *Sic fatur lacrymans*, when he ſees *Dido* in Hell, as alſo for his Wife *Creuſa*, and likewiſe for Prince *Pallas*.

2. Book.
Lacrymis ita fatur abortis.
Hæc ubi deflevit.
Spargitur & tellus lacrymis, ſparguntur & arma.

And upon ſundry other Occaſions, where ſuch exceſſive Tenderneſs becomes not either a Hero or his Army. There never was, as I think, ſuch a weeping, blubbering, ſighing, groaning, nay bawling Hero, in all Hiſtory. *Implevi clamore vias*, ſays he of himſelf.

But what is yet more intolerable in a Hero, are *Æneas*'s frequent Frights and Fears, Tremblings and cold Sweats, upon all ſudden and unexpected Accidents. At the very firſt Beginning we find him ſeized with a great Fright in a Storm at Sea, wherein he ſhakes for Fear.

Extemplo Æneæ ſolvuntur frigore membra.
Ingemuit. ——

In the ſecond and third Books he is frighted with Spirits, at the Viſion of which he ſays of himſelf:

Obſtupui ſteteruntque Comæ, & vox faucibus hæſit.
Tum vero ancipiti mentem formidine preſſus
Obſtupui, ſteteruntque Comæ, & vox faucibus hæſit.
—— *Mihi frigidus horror*
Membra quatit gelidusque coit formidine ſanguis.
Tum gelidus toto manabat corpore ſudor.

Another but *Virgil* would have given Courage to his Hero, would have made him bold, and undaunted at the Fury of the Winds: and whilſt vulgar Souls are dejected, he ſhould have ſhewed Courage above all Dangers; nevertheleſs the Poet expoſes to the Sight of the *Trojans* an Hero half dead for Fear. Theſe Tears and Frights might be excuſable in his Son *Aſcanius*, becauſe a Child, but *Æneas* muſt not be ſo childiſh. No, this Aptneſs to ſtart and tremble upon all Occaſions, ſeems not Heroic, nor to become the Founder of the *Roman* Empire, and the Father of all the *Cæſars*.

And as for the Courage of *Æneas*, it may be alſo juſtly queſtioned, from his way of cloſing the main Action of the Poem: I mean, his fighting with, and killing *Turnus*. Nor is the Valour of *Turnus* more evident: For, when *Turnus* ſaw all the Eyes of the *Latins* bent upon him, to decide the War by a Duel with *Æneas*, he bravely anſwers their Expectation at firſt, ſaying:

——Hac Dardanium dextrâ ſub Tartara mittam.
——Noſtro dirimatur ſanguine bellum.

But when, the next Day, they came to agree upon the Conditions of the Fight, how altered is *Turnus* already! He is dejected both in Mind and Body, his Eyes are ſunk into his Head, and his Countenance is pale.

Inceſſu tacito progreſſus——demiſſo lumine Turnus,
Tabenteſque genæ, & juvenili in corpore pallor.

So that he cauſed the *Latins* to pity him.

—— Turni ſortem miſerantur iniquam.

Though it is not *Virgil*'s Buſineſs to commend much *Turnus*, yet ought he to look to the Credit of his Hero, who can reap no Honour, by fighting with ſuch a cowardly Adverſary. But let us ſee further.

In the Fight the Sword of *Turnus* breaks:

——————perfidus enſis
Frangitur.——————

Then *Turnus* runs away, and *Æneas* follows him. *Turnus* calls for a better Sword, but *Æneas* threatens Death to any that ſhall bring one.

Æneas mortem minatur.

Neither of them act like Heroes, but both cowardly; and *Æneas* the more baſely of the two, becauſe armed Cap-a-pee; nevertheleſs *Turnus* gets an heavenly Sword at laſt. Now who will not expect ſome gallant Action done with it by this King of the *Rutilians*? and what can that Atchievement poſſibly be? Why truly, as if void of all Senſe and Underſtanding, ſays *Ruæus: Bonæ, rectæque mentis expertem*, he fairly puts up this miraculous Sword, and takes up a huge,

huge

huge Land-mark Stone, which twelve other ſtrong Men were not able to lift up:

——— Saxum circumſpicit ingens,
Saxum antiquum ingens, ——
Limes agro poſitas, ———
Vix illud lecti bis ſex cervice ſubirent.

Turnus dares not fight *Æneas* hand to hand, but aſſaults him at a Diſtance.

But *Æneas* eaſily declining the unweildy Stone, run *Turnus* into the Thigh, who falling down diſarmed, begged Quarter; yet *Æneas* kills him, though he conjures *Æneas* to grant him Life, by the very Ghoſt of his Father *Anchiſes*.

——— Miſeri te ſi qua parentis
Tangere cura poteſt, oro, Dauni miſerere ſenectæ.

Though he owns him to be victorious, and reſigns up to him *Lavinia* for Wife, *Victiſti, tua eſt Lavinia conjux*, but all Intreaties are vain to a cowardly Adverſary. I know that the Death of *Turnus* is neceſſary to complete the Action, in caſe *Virgil* intended to cloſe at the Death of *Turnus*, which many deny. But then he ſhould have brought it ſo about, as not to deſtroy the Character which he had given to *Æneas*.

Here, *Virgil* ſhews great Want of Judgment both in the Characters of his two chief Heroes, as well as in the Cloſe of the main Action. A judicious Heroic Poet would rather have made *Æneas* lightly armed, and yet have triumphed over his Adverſary, armed Cap-a-pee. What a pretty Thing it is to ſee *Æneas* purſue *Turnus*, who runs away as a Child, at the Apprehenſion of a Spirit; nay, threatens to kill any that ſhall help *Turnus* to a Sword; thus waving to fight with an armed Man, when he himſelf is clad with an Armour wrought by *Vulcan*; thus, he declares for a Victory obtained not by Valour, but by Chance and Advantage. I thought one could not oppoſe to Heroes, Enemies too dreadful; and I have ever heard, that nought but an obſtinate Fight could gain a glorious Victory. On the other Side, why does *Virgil* make *Turnus* throw ſuch a huge vaſt Stone? was he to fell Giants? had he the Terror of the World to fight againſt? For, *Turnus* it ſeems is but a Pigmy before *Hercules*.

II. As to the Characters of *Virgil*'s Gods call'd Heavenly Machines; what a prepoſterous Perſonage *Virgil* makes *Juno* act all along the Poem; but eſpecially in the firſt Book. She has heard, *audierat*, pretends *Virgil*, (as if ſhe knew not but by Hearſay:) That *Æneas* was to ſettle in *Italy*, and there found an Empire, which ſhould deſtroy her dearly-beloved *Carthage*, *Tyrias olim quæ everteret Arces:* To prevent this, ſhe with godlike Charity, reſolves to deſtroy the *Trojans*, ſaying to *Eolus*:

——— ſubmerſas obrue puppes,
——— Et diſjice corpora ponto.

Is it poſſible the Gods can be ſo angry? And indeed, do not you think that *Juno* grows a little too hot?

I ever thought nothing impoſſible to the Gods; but it pleaſed not the Poet to give her either Power or Credit, but only much Paſſion and Malice to deſtroy diſtreſſed Perſons, if ſhe can. What a prepoſterous Sight to behold the Wife of *Jove* in a petitioning Condition to *Eolus*, and ſo apprehenſive of a Denial, that ſhe proffers him one of her faireſt Nymphs *Deiopeia* for a Reward. What would not a God do for ſuch a dainty Piece of Beauty! Whereupon the *Trojan* Fleet had unavoidably periſhed, had not the God *Neptune* peeped out of the Pool, and left *Juno* vexed with Shame; ſo little Correſpondence is there between *Virgil*'s Gods.

Again, continues *Perrault*, is it a Thing proper for *Venus*, to intreat her Huſband *Vulcan* to make an Armour for *Æneas* her Baſtard by *Anchiſes?* to my Thinking 'tis a very impudent Petition. Her Infidelity to her Huſband ſeems ſomething leſs offenſive, than the Impudence of this Suit.

The Cloſe of the main Action of the *Æneis*, ends alſo by a Machine, which utterly eclipſes all the Glory thereof, and therefore forbid by *Ariſtotle*. For, whilſt *Turnus* and *Æneas* are fighting, *Jove* ſends down ſuch an horrid Fury, that ſhe was able to fright not only a Man, but even whole Cities, *totas territat urbes*. Now this curſed Fury flew to and fro before the Eyes of *Turnus*, and flapped ſo hard his Shield with her Wings, that ſudden Fear ſeized on the young Prince.

Arrectæque horrore comæ, & vox faucibus hæſit.

Which made *Turnus* reply thus to *Æneas*, who baſely inſulted over him:

——— *Non me tua fervida terrent*
Dicta, ferox: Dii me terrent, & Jupiter hoſtis.

So that King *Turnus* is rather frighted out of his Wits, and overcome by *Jove* himſelf, than conquered by *Æneas*.

Could not *Æneas* the main Hero of the Poem, fight with *Turnus* alone? Man to Man, King to King, Hero to Hero! *Ne Hercules quidem contra duos*; much leſs than young *Turnus*, againſt the thundering God, an horrid ghaſtly Fury, and a conquering Hero. Thus is the pretended main Action ſpoiled in ſundry Reſpects.

Sect. V.

Homer *and* Virgil's *Sentiments in their Poems.*

RULE IV.

HEroic Sentiments conſiſt in giving to each Perſon ſuch Speeches, Actions, Manners and Affections, as are proper to their Age, Condition and other Circumſtances. They muſt be, 1. True and Exact; for, Truth is the very Soul of the Thought or Sentiment. 2. Noble, Sublime and Strong, to raiſe Ad-

Admiration. 3. Pleasing, which springs from agreeable Objects. 4. Plain from all Obscurity.

Homer's *Sentiments compared to the Rule.*

Though, both *Longinus* in his *Treatise of Sublime*, and *Rapin* in his *Compar. of Hom. and Virg. c.* 12. agree, That *Homer* is always noble in his Sentiment, as well as in his Expression; yet, as if the latter had forgot himself, he said before, Chap. 8, That *Homer*'s Sentiments are never so beautiful as his Discourses; because he minded not so much to think well, as to speak well. One cannot deny but that his Personages speak well; yet, for the most part their Sentiments are unworthy of their Characters. Thus,

In the ninth Book of the *Iliads*, *Agamemnon* complaining to *Nestor* about the Absence of *Achilles*, *Nestor* tells him, that he will give him incomparable good Counsel, and that never any Man since the World stood, gave so wise and excellent. But a Man so wise ought to be more modest: Yet the Counsel he gives, adds *Rapin*, is no great Matter; since it amounts only to pacify *Achilles*, to make him Satisfaction, and so get him to return to the Camp; which any ordinary Capacity might have said.

Again, continues the same Critic, *Antilochus*, *Nestor*'s Son, in the twenty-third Book of the *Iliads*, speaks seriously to his Horses, has a formal Discourse with them, and conjures them to do their utmost to overcome *Menelaus* and *Diomedes* in the Course, and Races run, for the Death of *Patroclus*.

Because, says this trifling Orator, his Father will either sell them, or cut their Throats, if they do otherwise.

Perrault, *Parallelle Compar. of* Hom. *and* Virg. *tom.* ii. relates Abundance of ridiculous and comical Sentiments, wherewith old *Homer* has stuffed his two Poems. Thus our celebrated Poet says in the first of his *Iliads*, that when it thunders, *Jove* beats his Dam; as when it rains and the Sun shines at once, Children say, The Devil beats his. This seems little worthy either of the God or the Poet.

In the fourth Book, a Shepherd comparing the Beauty of his Mistress, says, She is like to the Flowers of a Meadow, which feed Cows very fat, which give Milk very white, whereof they make excellent Cheeses.

Homer compares *Ulysses* turning in his Bed, and not being able to sleep, to a Gut-pudding, or Sausage, broiling on a Gridiron. Is this worthy of the florid, copious, majestic, nay, divine *Homer*.

In the fourth Book, our great Poet telling how *Menelaus* was wounded in his white Thigh, says, 'The black Blood came out of his Wound, as when a *Meonian* or *Carian* Woman dyes Ivory into Purple; to make Bosses or Studs to Bridles of Horses. This Ivory is in her Chamber, and several Knights would gladly have it; but they keep for the King this Ornament, which is honourable both for the Horse and the Rider.' The Beginning of this Comparison is true and excellent; for, nothing resembles better to Blood on a fair Skin, than Purple on Ivory: But all the rest is mere Stuff and Nonsense. Methinks this Comparison is made up of three or four Colours; and when ended, I know

not

not where I am, nor how I find myſelf with theſe Boſſes, Kings and Knights in a *Meonian* Woman's Cloſet, by the Occaſion of a wounded Man's Thigh.

Odyſſea, Lib. iii. Prince *Telemachus*, having put on his fine Shoes, he calls his Council, wherein he repreſents to them, that the Suitors of his Mother eat up his fat Oxen, Sheep and Goats; that he valued it not, if ſuch as they of his Council eat them; becauſe he knew they would pay him well, which is not to be expected from ſuch Gallants; and all this he ſays weeping. What Meanneſs, what Poverty! both in the Poet and the Prince he ſpeaks of.

But the whole Sixth Book of the *Odyſſea* is a dainty Diſh of Mirth, from one End to the other; where the Princeſs *Nauſica*, Daughter to King *Alcinous*, goes to the River to waſh and buck the Cloaths, both of her Father and three Brothers, alledging that the King ſhould have clean Linen at leaſt when he went to Council. *Ulyſſes* awakened at the Noiſe of theſe Laundreſſes, came naked to *Nauſica*, holding alſo a leafy Bough before him to hide his Nakedneſs. And thus they both went on talking together to the King's Palace, where they found the Queen ſitting on the Ground in the Chimney Corner, and ſpinning by the Light of the Fire. There was alſo King *Alcinous* ſitting in his Chair, like a God that ſets himſelf to drink, ſays *Homer*. Then the King aſked *Ulyſſes* what his Name was, for every one has a Name, adds gravely that Prince; and during that Supper, he made a long Diſcourſe to *Ulyſſes*, wherein I will ſuppoſe there is Senſe, yet I ſee none. But *Ulyſſes* deſired the King to let him eat his Victuals quietly, for he was indeed hungry, not being a God, ſaid he. Yet was *Ulyſſes* better bred than to eat up all, but nobly carved a Raſher of Bacon, and gave it to the Piper behind him. When we are paſt twelve Years of Age, can one delight in ſuch Tales of ridiculous Heroes, like, or more clowniſh than our common Farmers? 'Twere an endleſs Buſineſs to reckon up all.

Virgil's *Sentiments compared with the Rule.*

Though *Virgil* is not liable to ſo many Weakneſſes in this Point as *Homer*, yet he forgets himſelf ſometimes, and falls now and then from his uſual heroic Gravity. What think you of this Obſervation which *Aſcanius* makes in eating his Luncheon of Bread, on which was his Meat: Ah! we have eat up our Tables. *Book* vii. *v.* 116.

Heus! etiam menſas conſumimus, inquit Iülus.

By which Oracle *Æneas* knew they were at the End of their Trouble. Is this Diſcovery grave enough for a Poem as lofty as is the *Æneis?* Neither can the Father forbear from ſhewing his Approbation of this his Son's unriddling ſo well the Harpy *Celeno*'s Prophecy in the third Book, of eating their Tables,

Ibitis Italiam ——
Sed non ante datam cingetis mœnibus urbem,
Quam vos dira fames ——
Ambeſas ſubigat malis abſumere menſas. 257.

I know the ancient Auguries were held as very ſerious Things by the Heathens: But methinks the reſolving thus the Difficulty, is little ſo.

2. But nothing betrays more either the Meanneſs of *Virgil*'s Sentiments, or the Barrenneſs of his Invention, than the ſneaking Arrival of the *Trojans* at *Carthage*, in the firſt Book, whether of *Æneas* himſelf, or of his other chief Officers, *Antheus*, *Sergeſtus*, *Cleanthus*, or the great *Ilioneus*, who all came in begging Addreſſes to Queen *Dido*;

Troes te miſeri oramus———propius res aſpice noſtras.

Proteſting that they landed not to prey in her Country, in an hoſtile manner as Pirates; becauſe, ſay they, our Pride and Courage are quite dejected.

Non ea vis animo, nec tanta ſuperbia victis.

A Poet of more generous Sentiments, would rather have brought them (with flying Colours) to *Carthage*, by making them accidentally neceſſary to that Queen, at their landing; either by reſcuing her from the raviſhing Hands of King *Iarbas*, a neighbouring Prince, whom ſhe had often baffled in his Pretenſions, or from the Danger of ſome furious Lion (frequent in thoſe Parts) as ſhe is taking the Air; or any other nobler way, to engage Queen *Dido*'s Kindneſs to them.

But if theſe ſhipwreck'd *Banditti* came ſneakingly to *Carthage*, they go from it as unthankfully. Queen *Dido* out of a royal Generoſity opens to them her Ports, admits *Æneas* into her Palace, repairs his Ships, and heaps upon him all Sorts of Benefits. But, when the perfidious *Trojan* is recruited, his Fleet fitted up, and had got from this generous Princeſs what he could, then he baſely forſakes her; and under Pretence of a Viſion, he tells her, 'tis by the Will of the Gods that he departs.

—Interpres Divum —
——— celeres mandata per auras.
Detulit.———

A gallant Man would not have believed ſo lightly on the Truth of an Apparition.

Scarce had *Mercury* ended his Meſſage, but he takes Leave of the Queen. I know, ſays he, great Princeſs, how much I am beholden to you, and it ſhall never eſcape my Memory; and were not I forced to obey the Gods who call me to *Italy*: If I could diſpoſe of my ownſelf---What think you he would do? admire how well he plays the Gallant; doubtleſs ſtay at *Carthage*, and live with *Dido*; but no ſuch thing: I would go, adds he, to repair the Ruins of *Troy*, and reſtore the Throne of *Priamus*:

Urbem Trojanam primum, dulceſque meorum
Reliquias colerem, Priami, &c.—

Was

Was there ever ſeen ſuch a cold Parting from a Miſtreſs ſince the Days of *Virgil?* Did ever any Man of Wit expreſs ſuch flat Sentiments on ſuch a tender Occaſion?

3. May we not alſo reckon among *Virgil*'s Sentiments, the moral Reflection of *Mezentius* to his Horſe *Rhæbe?* O *Rhæbe!* we have lived long, if any thing can be ſaid to be long-liv'd to mortal Men.

Rhæbe diu, res ſi qua diu mortalibus ulla eſt,
Viximus. ——

The Sentence is both good and Moral, but I know not why King *Mezentius* makes it to his Horſe, as to a rational Creature. 'Tis good Doctrine loſt, unleſs this Horſe was deſcended in a direct Line from *Pegaſus*, and had more Reaſon than others.

4. What a ſwelling Vanity does *Virgil* put into the Mouth of *Æneas*, when being near *Carthage*, and aſked who he was? He moſt ridiculouſly anſwers,

Sum pius Æneas famâ ſuper æthera notus.

This is not becoming in his own Mouth, no more than what he ſaid to *Lauſus:* Comfort yourſelf in your Misfortune; you die by the Hand of great *Æneas. Æneæ magni dextrâ cadis.* Such proud Sentiments of himſelf, mixt with his Bigotry, are beyond any we can make.

5. I inſiſt not on his comparing the Beauty of *Aſcanius* to a Piece of Ivory ſet in Box; nor a Queen angry, to a Top which Children whip in a Porch; with ſome few pedantic Notes and Conceits of Wit.

Num capti potuere capi? num incenſa cremavit?

Sect. VI.

Homer *and* Virgil's *Style and Expreſſion.*

RULE V.

HEroic Expreſſion, which is the Manner of ſetting forth noble Sentiments, ought to have theſe Conditions; 1. To be Proper and Pure. 2. Plain and Clear. 3. Splendid and Lofty. 4. Numerous and Sounding. To which may be added a Fifth, To diſcern exactly what ought to be ſaid Figuratively, and what Plainly.

Homer's *Expreſſion compared with the Rule.*

In this Part it is, where all agree, that *Homer* triumphs. *Rapin* obſerves well, *Compar. of* Hom. *&* Virg. *Chap.* 9. That moſt of the Ancients who have given ſuch Praiſes to *Homer*, minded only the Elegancy of his Expreſſion; and that it is by the wonderful Talent in the *Greek* Tongue, that *Homer* charmed all Antiquity

Antiquity and the Learned in all Ages; eſpecially in the Occaſions where he goes about to Exhort, Perſuade, or to Comfort. Yet is not this Poet altogether free neither, adds *Rapin*, *Ch.* 10. from ſome ſmall Faults in this Point, ariſing from human Frailty, or a pardonable Negligence in his Tranſitions and Epithets.

> ——— *non ego paucis*
> *Offendor maculis, quas aut incuria fudit,*
> *Aut humana parum cavit natura.*

His Tranſitions, which by their Character ought to be much varied, to prevent loathing, are all alike in the moſt Part of his Work; one cannot reckon up above twenty or thirty Sorts at moſt, in the Space of near thirty thouſand Verſes. His Epithets and Adverbs make up one of his greateſt Beauties; yet are many of them uſeleſs and general; as well as his ſundry Dialects, to lengthen and ſhorten the Syllables of his Verſes, which would prove a Thing very impertinent in *Engliſh*.

Virgil's *Expreſſion compared with the Rule.*

Though Monſieur *Segrais*, in his *Preface to* Virgil *tranſlated*, *Numb.* xiv. pretends that *Virgil*'s Expreſſion is magnificent, even and pure, to ſuch a Degree, that no other ever attained to; though *Rapin* alſo pretends that *Virgil*'s Words are Things, *Compar.* Hom. & Virg. *Chap.* 13, & 11. Yet *Victorius*, the chief Critic of *Italy*, in his *Comment on Ariſtotle*, and *Balzac* in his *Oeuvres Diverſes*, both accuſe *Virgil* of miſtaking Words the one for the other, and to be leſs Pure and *Latin* than *Lucretius*.

If it be true that Obſcurity is the greateſt of all Faults in Matter of Style, I know not how *Virgil* can be excuſed, or paſs for a Writer in Hundreds of Paſſages in his *Æneis*. For Inſtance, Did any one yet ever underſtand what *Virgil* means, at the latter End of the ſixth Book, by theſe following Verſes?

> *Sunt gemini Somni portæ: quarum altera fertur*
> *Cornea, quâ veris facilis datur exitus umbris:*
> *Altera, Candenti perfecta nitens Elephanto;*
> *Sed falſa ad cœlum mittunt inſomnia manes.*
> *His ubi tum natum Anchiſes unaque Sibyllam*
> *Proſequitur dictis, portaque emittit eburna.*

Either this is Nonſence, or it ſignifies that all what *Æneas* ſaw in Hell, is but a mere falſe lying Dream. One would think that, having taken Pains to ſhew what ſhould be the glorious Poſterity of *Æneas*, he intended now to deſtroy the Belief thereof.

Clarty being the firſt Virtue of Eloquence: *Prima eſt Eloquentiæ Virtus, perſpicuitas. Quint. Lib.* ii. *Cap.* 3. good Senſe requires that we think always clearly, and expreſs ourſelves the ſame: Elſe the Sublime, Wonderful, and Pleaſingneſs ſignifies but little, or rather nothing pleaſes that is not underſtood, and where we are in a continual Fog, Miſt and Darkneſs. I queſtion much whether

thoſe we underſtand not, underſtand themſelves, if they were compelled to explain their Meaning, as the famous *Lopé de Vega* ingenuouſly owned to *Camus* Biſhop of *Bellay*, that he underſtood not himſelf one of his own Sonnets.

Brevity, ſays *Horace*, is a great Occaſion of Obſcurity. *Dum brevis ſum, obſcurus fio.* It often happens, that with binding up Things too cloſe, we choke or ſtifle them, as we may ſay. So that a Thought is obſcure, when not enlarged out ſo far as it ought; as in a Geographical Map, where the Towns, Rivers and Hills are crowded together. This I judge to be the frequent Occaſion of *Virgil*'s frequent Obſcurity. For moſt Critics look on *Virgil* with our excellent Mr. *Dryden*, 'as a ſuccinct, and grave, majeſtic Writer; one who—was ſtill 'aiming to crowd his Senſe into as narrow a Compaſs as poſſibly he could. For 'which Reaſon he is ſo Figurative, that he requires (I may almoſt ſay) a Gram-'mar apart to conſtrue him. *Virgil* therefore (*adds he*) being ſo very ſparing of 'his Words,——and leaving ſo much to be imagin'd by the Reader,—is much 'the cloſeſt of any *Roman* Poet.' Again, '*Virgil* ſtudying Brevity, ——— 'ſome have called him the Torture of Grammarians.' Dryden's *Preface to the ſecond Part of the Miſcellanies.* Add to this plain, though indirect Confeſſion of *Virgil*'s Obſcurity, *Ruæus*'s Tranſlation of all his Works into *Latin* plain Proſe, for a more general Aſſiſtance againſt the ſaid Obſcurity.

Methinks the Words of Spits, Kettles, Pans, Garbage and Greaſe, are very mean, yet are they as frequent in the *Æneis*, as in our Kitchens.

Tergora diripiunt coſtis, & viſcera nudant,
Pars in fruſta ſecant, verubuſque trementia figunt.
Littore ahena locant alii. Lib. i.
Subjiciunt verubus prunas, & viſcera torrent. Lib. v.
——pingues ſpatiatur ad Aras. Lib. iv.
Pingue ſuperque oleum fundens ardentibus Extis,
Pars calidos latices, & ahena undantia flammis.

Here is enough to turn a ſqueamiſh Reader's Stomach. But good Father *Boſſu* tells us, that ſuch Kitchen-ſtuff Expreſſions are ſavoury to the Holy Ghoſt. *Tout cela etoit au gouſt da S. Eſprit même, qui n'a pu l'avoir mauvais. Tra. du Poem Epic. l. 6. ch. 8.*

Though it is allowable to ſtretch the Hyperbole beyond the Bounds of Truth, yet ought it not to paſs thoſe of Probability, as *Virgil* does in deſcribing the Nimbleneſs of *Camilla.*

Illa, vel intactæ ſegetis per ſumma volaret
Gramina: nec teneras curſu læſiſſet ariſtas:
Vel mare per medium, fluctu ſuſpenſa tumenti,
Ferret iter; celeres nec tingeret æquore plantas.

I queſtion much whether in an Heroic Poem, one may make a Princeſs run over Ears of Corn, without bending them; over the Waves of the Sea without wetting the Sole of her Foot.

Again,

Again, our Laureat Poet tells us, that *Marcellus* was ſo valiant, that none could withſtand him, whether he fought on Foot, or whether he prick'd the Shoulders of his Horſe with his Spurs.

——— *foderet calcaribus armos.*

'Tis unſufferable, that to make an harmonious Verſe, a Poet ſhall ſay, That a Gentleman ſpurr'd the Shoulders of his Horſe, inſtead of his Sides.

Some accuſe *Virgil*, and with Truth, of repeating over not only the ſame Things, but the very ſame Verſes alſo, as theſe before quoted.

Obſtupui, ſteteruntque comæ, & vox faucibus hæſit. Lib. ii. 774.
Obſtupui, ſteteruntque comæ, & vox faucibus hæſit. Lib. iii. 48.

He has alſo his Tautologies of Letters, and Rhymes, as,

——— *Talia dicta dabat,*
Neſquam ommittebat, oculoſque ſub aſtra tenebat.

Conſider well theſe Expreſſions, and tell me wherein conſiſts their Elegancy? Is it in their ſnarling Syllables? or in their hiſſing Harſhneſs?

——— *Invecta rotis Aurora rubebat.*
——— *Nec quæ pepegere recuſant.*
Non Teucros agat in Rutulos, Teucrum arma quieſcant.
Et Rutulum———
Diſſiluit, fulva reſplendent fragmina arena.

The CLOSE.

FRom all that has been ſaid, I think I may ſafely infer, That the Complete Heroic Poem is yet unborn; That the Ancients have made but coarſe Draughts of this Sort of Poeſy, and that it is reſerved to the Moderns to ſet the laſt Hand thereunto, for Invention, Form and Contrivance, Characters and Sentiments; though, for Expreſſion, they will ever come ſhort, becauſe the modern Languages are far inferior, to the *Greek* eſpecially. Beſides, that the Rules of the Epic Poeſy are better underſtood now a Days than ever before; ſince the famous Conteſt of *Torquato Taſſo*, with the Academy of *Florence*, about his Poem of *Jeruſalem Delivered*, of which the eloquent *Balzac* ſaid well, That in this Kind of excellent Writing, *Virgil* is the Cauſe that *Taſſo* is not the firſt; and *Taſſo*, that *Virgil* is not the only. *Diſcours ſur la Tragedie d'Herode par Heinſius.*

Though the Party againſt *Homer* and *Virgil* is the leaſt, 'tis neither the leſs ſtrong nor the leſs rational. And I am apt to believe, that notwithſtanding *Caſaubon*'s Curſe: *Qui Homerum contemnunt, vix illis optari quidquam pejus poteſt, quam ut fatuitate ſua fruantur. Caſaub. Diſſertat. de Homero*, it would become victorious over the other, if the Neceſſity we are in, to put *Homer* and *Virgil*

into the Hands of Youth, for their rare Expreſſion in *Greek* and *Latin*, did not make them deal favourably with abundance of Things, which otherwiſe they would condemn. *Alcibiades* therefore was in the right to box that Maſter in whoſe School he found not *Homer*'s Works *Apothegm. Principim in Plutarch.*

Let therefore *Homer* and *Virgil*'s Poems be confined to the Schools, where *Evangelus* in *Macrobio* thinks them only proper *inſtituendis tantùm Pueris idonea. Saturnal. Lib.* 1. C. 24. for their excellent Language, for their proper, clear, natural, ſublime, and numerous Expreſſions: But not appear at Court, nor be put into the Hands of ſuch Scholars as wear Swords by their Sides, and hold a Commander's Staff in their Hand. Finally, let Authors commend as much as they pleaſe all *Homer*'s Books and Cantos ſingle and by themſelves, becauſe moſt of them contain abundance of Wit and much Delight: But as for a curious Contrivance of an Heroic Poem, and a regular Œconomy of an epic Fable, as I ſee none, I cannot much commend them to the Peruſal of Gentlemen, ſays *Perrault. Compar. of the Ancient with the Modern.*

A ſhort Hiſtory of the laſt Parliament. By ----- *Drake* M. D. 1699.

The INTRODUCTION.

THE honourable Concluſion of the late War with *France*, to the great Mortification of his Majeſty's Enemies, the Satisfaction of his Friends, and the Admiration of all Men, muſt thankfully be acknowledg'd as chiefly owing to his Majeſty's great Wiſdom, invincible Courage, and inflexible Reſolution. By his Courage he rekindled the decaying Fire of this warlike People, taught them by his Condnct, and provoked them by his Example to equal the Atchievements of their valiant Forefathers, and thereby reſtored to *England* the ancient Reputation of her Arms. But by his Wiſdom he procured us an Honour we never could before pretend to; he made *England* a Match for *France*, as well in the Cabinet, as in the Camp; and gain'd by a wiſe Treaty more than by Arms had been won in the Field. For any Potentate to unite many States and Princes diſagreeing in Intereſts, Inclinations or Religion, in a ſtrict Confederacy againſt a common Enemy, and to preſerve that Alliance unbroken for many Years together, notwithſtanding the great Loſſes thoſe Allies ſuſtained, and in Deſpight of all the Attempts of foreign and domeſtic Enemies to diſſolve their Union, muſt be acknowledged by all the World, as the Effect of a refined and maſterly Judgment: Yet this Honour, which perhaps has no Example, is by the Confeſſion of all, due to his Majeſty, who was the only Center in which ſo many various Lines could meet, the only Head which ſuch differing Intereſts could confide in, as capable to direct them in a Juncture of Time, when the Liberties of all *Europe* lay at Stake.

We

We are likewiſe greatly indebted to the Bravery and Fidelity of his Majeſty's Fleet and Army for our preſent Peace, and the Bleſſings that attend it. It muſt be owned to their great Honour, that our Officers and common Men, as well by Land as by Sea, notwithſtanding any Diſappointments they at any time met with, did on all Occaſions ſhow a Courage and Reſolution equal to that of their warlike Anceſtors a Courage that became the Subjects of ſuch a Prince and ſuch a General; a Courage worthy of the noble Cauſe in which they were engaged; the Preſervation of their Religion, Laws and Liberties. And therefore no Praiſes can be too high, nor can any Rewards conſiſtent with the Publick Good for which they fought, be looked on as too great for Men who have merited ſo much of their Country.

And yet it muſt be confeſſed that ſo great a Prince and ſo great a General at the Head of ſuch brave and loyal Men, could never have been able to have brought a War with ſuch a potent Adverſary to a happy Iſſue, had not the Parliament of *England* concurred with him, and ſtood by him with ſo much Conſtancy and unanimous Affection. 'Tis therefore to theſe worthy Patriots that we owe, in a great Meaſure, our preſent Security, and the Eſtabliſhment of our Laws and Religion. The People of *England* ought to have a due Reverence and Affection for their Repreſentatives in Parliament, and to maintain their Honour even when in diſtempered Times it ſhould happen, that they acted ſome Things againſt the public Good, not only becauſe they are a Part of our Conſtitution, but likewiſe that particular Part which the People have entruſted to look after and manage their Intereſts; for ſhould the People deſert their Repreſentatives, they would be *Felo de ſe*, and one Day run a Hazard of loſing that Part of their Conſtitution.

And if it be the Duty and Intereſt of the People not to deſpiſe, or run down indifferent, or bad Parliaments for the Reaſons mentioned, what Applauſes, what Expreſſions of Affection and Gratitude are due to good ones? and indeed if any of our Parliaments ever rightly underſtood, and zealouſly purſued the true Intereſt of their Country, thoſe that have been called and ſat ſince the happy Revolution, muſt be allowed with the greateſt Juſtice to have merited that Character. If to have ſtedfaſtly adhered to the Intereſt of *Europe* againſt a common Enemy; if to have chearfully ſupplied his Majeſty with the Sinews of War, to enable him to carry it on with Vigour; and by ſuch Ways and Means as were leaſt burdenſome and uneaſy to the People; if to have diſcerned and prevented the greateſt Dangers that could threaten a Nation; to have conquered Difficulties of State of the higheſt Nature, and to have perſevered ſo many Years, thro' an obſtinate Zeal for the Good of their Country; to ſupport his Majeſty 'till his Arms had procured an honourable Peace, and thereby eſtabliſhed our Government, our Religion and our Property: If this be to have deſerved well of the *Engliſh* Nation, the Parliaments I have been ſpeaking of have at leaſt equalled the Glory of their greateſt Anceſtors.

Their Love to their Country, and Capacity for publick Buſineſs have appeared in a very eminent Manner: 'Tis eaſy and pleaſant to ſail in good Weather before the Wind; but to ſteer true and ſteady in a Storm, to beat it againſt the Wind amidſt Rocks and Shelves on either hand, and to make the Port at laſt in Safety, this muſt be allowed to be a Maſter's Work. Theſe Parliaments

therefore

therefore, and particularly thoſe among them who had the chief Direction of Affairs, having like wiſe and careful Patriots, done ſo much in their hard Station toward bringing Matters to this ſucceſsful Iſſue, muſt deſerve all the grateful Returns that can be from their Country.

Their Honour is the more particular, inaſmuch as Men of great Capacity for Buſineſs of State, are ſo very rare: For it may be truly ſaid, that a thouſand Men are born in this Kingdom fit for Arms, to one that has Solidity of Judgment, Quickneſs of Apprehenſion, Compaſs of Thought, and Clearneſs of Sight proper for the Management of publick Affairs.

What has been ſaid of the ſeveral Parliaments aſſembled ſince his Majeſty's Acceſſion to the Throne is more eminently true of the laſt; which purſued the Deſigns of the former with the greateſt Skill, as well as the warmeſt Zeal. This auguſt Aſſembly had the hardeſt Task imaginable upon their Hands, and to give an impartial and ſuccinct Relation of their principal Proceedings, of the wiſe Meaſures they took to remove the Evils we felt, and to prevent greater which we fear'd; and to find ſufficient Supplies for the carrying on the War, 'till at laſt they had the Satisfaction to ſee it iſſue in an honourable Peace, is the Deſign of the following Papers.

——DRAKE, M. D.

A Short Hiſtory of the laſt Parliament.

WHEN this Parliament firſt came together, they found themſelves engaged in Variety of Buſineſs of great Nicety, and moſt important Conſequence.

To maintain our new Settlement after the late happy Revolution, we had a War upon our Hands with a mighty Prince; who, by his naval Strength, as well as by the Number and Diſcipline of his Land Forces, by the Wiſdom of his Counſels, and his conſtant Succeſſes, was grown the Terror of all *Europe*. This potent Monarch protected the Perſon, and eſpouſed the Quarrel of the late abdicated King; and looking on his Honour and Intereſt alike concerned, uſed his utmoſt Efforts by Arms to re-enthrone him. And notwithſtanding *England* had hitherto, with great Reſolution and Alacrity, borne the Weight of this heavy War to preſerve all thoſe Advantages: that is, whatever is dear to an *Engliſh* Freeman and a Proteſtant, which were procured by their late Deliverance, yet ſome of the wiſeſt and cleareſt-ſighted among thoſe who were hearty Friends of the Government, grew diffident of the Event. They queſtioned our Ability to ſupport ourſelves under ſo burdenſome and expenſive a War, while the Enemies of our Settlement were inſolently ſure of overturning it. 'Tis true indeed, we had, at the Head of the Government, one from whom we might expect all Things that with Reaſon could be hoped for, from the Courage and Conduct of a wiſe Prince, and an accompliſhed General; one who to protect a Nation which with ſo much Glory he had before delivered, freely and frequently expos'd his Life, as if it had been the Life of a common Man, to all the Dangers of the Sea, and all the Hazards of Battle by Land; and who the Year before, by his Reduction of the important Fortreſs of *Namur*,

in

in the Sight of almoſt all the Power of *France*, had ſtruck a Damp upon our Enemies abroad, and rebuk'd the Confidence of the Malecontents at home. But notwithſtanding the Nation might with the fulleſt Aſſurance rely upon his Majeſty for every thing that could be ask'd, or expected from the greateſt Prince, and moſt watchful Father of his Country, yet the People could not be without their Fears leſt he ſhould one Day fall by the Hands of *Saul*, and the Kingdom be cruſh'd by the diſproportioned Power of our Enemies. They doubted whether the Nation, tho' ever ſo willing, would be able to grant to his Majeſty the neceſſary Supplies for carrying on ſo neceſſary a War.

But beſides what we had to apprehend from a formidable Foe abroad, we had a great deal to fear from our treacherous Enemies at home. For tho' the Body of the Nation was infinitely pleaſed with the late Revolution, and thankfully acknowledg'd the invaluable Benefits that attended it, yet a conſiderable Number were impatient of their Deliverance, and raved at the Reſtitution of our Liberties and Religion. Our warlike *David* found his moſt dangerous Enemies were at home, if not of his own Houſhold. The whole Body of the Papiſts were his Enemies, and the Reaſons of their Enmity are too obvious to mention. Beſides theſe, a great Number of moderate Proteſtants, and ſuch as were the Creatures and Dependants of the late Government, and had embarked in, or wiſhed well to the glorious Deſign of enſlaving and ruining their native Country, Men of arbitrary and tyrannical Principles, fix'd and ſettled in their Hatred to the Conſtitution of our Government, and the Liberties of the *Engliſh* Nation, theſe, and many others that did not find their Account and particular Intereſt in the preſent Settlement, became its Enemies, and by open or clandeſtine Ways, endeavoured to ſtreighten or ſubvert it. Theſe Men were very zealous to deliver us from our Laws and Liberties, and to reſtore us to the Privileges of our *Egyptian* Burdens. The ungrateful Murmurs ſpoke of ſtoning the *Moſes* that reſcued them; and unable to bear their happy Deliverance, with Threats and Violence demanded their heavy Tasks and their old Oppreſſors. Theſe Men, according to their different Poſts and Tempers, in different Ways, aſſiſted the foreign Enemy.

All Arts and Methods tho' ever ſo baſe and unworthy, which Wit quicken'd with Malice could invent, were employed to weaken the Reputation of the Government. Sometimes they flew openly upon it with bitter Invectives, ſometimes they ſecretly ſtabbed it with malicious Suggeſtions and ſly Inſinuations. They traduced all that were in publick Employ, and expoſed them to Contempt; they worried their Names with baſe and groundleſs Calumnies, attributing many of our Misfortunes not to be foreſeen, and therefore not to be prevented, to the Treachery or Negligence of our moſt faithful and vigilant Miniſters. And 'tis no wonder theſe fierce Creatures faſtened ſo greedily on the Characters of our greateſt Miniſters, when his Majeſty himſelf, who had merited as much as any Prince ever did of his People, could not eſcape their diſloyal Reflections.

They were very fond of propagating any ill Tidings, or falſe Reports, that might any way leſſen the Credit of our Adminiſtration, increaſe the Fears of the People, and cool their Affection to the Government; what unnatural and ſavage Joy did they expreſs when they heard of any Loſſes that befel the Nation; which they cruelly aggravated, and with no leſs Zeal they diminiſhed and

ſlighted

ſlighted the Advantages we at any time obtained: They could by no Means diſſemble the ſecret Pleaſures they felt, when they had any freſh Hopes of ſeeing their Country ſpeedily undone. *England*, as before mentioned, being engaged in a War with *France* for the Preſervation of the late happy Settlement, great Supplies were abſolutely neceſſary to enable his Majeſty to ſuſtain the Force of a Kingdom, which by their own wiſe Adminiſtration, and the Supineneſs of *England* in the late inglorious Reigns, was grown ſo potent, that now it required a longer Sword to reſiſt than heretofore to conquer it. And for this Reaſon, without the leaſt Flattery, his Majeſty has acquired more Honour by controlling the Power of *France*, than any of his great Predeceſſors did by ſubduing it. The Parliaments therefore reſolving to carry on the War with Vigour, were obliged to lay great Taxes on the People, tho' not greater than the Neceſſity of Affairs required; and the War continuing ſo long, they could not be inſenſible of the Burden. Of this the Malecontents took the Advantage, and repreſented in all Companies, that the Government muſt of Neceſſity ſink under its own Weight, and that our heavy Taxes, by reducing us to extreme Poverty, would inevitably prove our Deſtruction. They never ceas'd declaiming on this popular Subject, and galling the People in this tender Part; hoping to make them weary of a Government which was repreſented ſo burdenſome; and at laſt, perſuade them rather to let in the Deluge, than to be at the Expence of maintaining their Banks.

Beſides theſe Adherents to the late King's Intereſt, there were others, who, tho' great Aſſertors of the late Revolution, and averſe enough to a ſecond, yet, from I know not what private Diſguſts, perſonal Quarrels and Diſappointments grew ſour and uneaſy; and to expreſs their Reſentments in all Converſation, endeavoured to bring our Adminiſtration into Contempt; they were for breaking the Confederacy, and againſt raiſing ſuch large Sums of Money for carrying on the War; they were for diſtreſſing and ſtreightning the Government, but not for overturning it. They were willing it ſhould continue, but they were for clogging its Wheels, that it might move heavily; in ſhort, they were againſt all things that the known Enemies of the Government were againſt; and for all things which they were for, unleſs the overthrowing of the preſent Settlement, and the Reſtoration of the late King; that is, they were for all the Means that would certainly bring about the End, but not for the End itſelf. However, under this plauſible Pretence of declaring againſt great Taxes, and by other popular Oppoſitions, they thought to recommend themſelves to their Country, as great Patriots; tho' at the ſame time, the greateſt Enemies the Government had, in this Reſpect, as good a Title to the Favour of the People, whom they would gladly have delivered from their Taxes, and thereby have eaſed them of the Means of their Preſervation.

The Proceedings of theſe Men were of all others the moſt abſurd and unaccountable, and the Oppoſition they made ſeemed to be the Effect of ſome ſtrange Infatuation. The beſt Apology that can be made for them is, that they were guided by a falſe Notion of Popularity; and ſuppos'd that the Character of a Patriot was, without Diſtinction of Times or Perſons, to be ever againſt the Court, and in all Caſes whatſoever. Notwithſtanning theſe Men could not but be ſenſible, that the Preſervation of their Religion, Laws and Liberties, was

in-

inſeparably interwoven with that of the Government; that the Face of Affairs was ſo far alter'd by the late happy Revolution, that the Intereſt of their Country was plainly the ſame with that of the Court; which appeared as well by the Oppoſition that was made to it by all thoſe whom theſe Men themſelves ever looked upon as the greateſt Promoters of Popery and arbitrary Power; as by the Principles of Liberty by which the Government was brought about, and on which it muſt always ſtand; notwithſtanding this was a Government of their own ſeeking, and than which they could never expect any other more favourable to them, either in their civil or religious Intereſts; notwithſtanding all this, ſuch a Satisfaction it was to thwart a Court, ſuch a Pleaſure to expreſs a private Reſentment, and by the ſame Act to be thought popular, that theſe Men to the Admiration of all, and with the ſecret Deriſion of their new Friends, endeavoured what they could to make the Government uneaſy.

Moreover, at this time another Difficulty lay heavy upon the Nation: Our current Coin had many Years before began to be clipp'd, a Miſchief which of late had been ſecretly carried on and promoted by the Enemies of the Government, and the dangerous Conſequences of it not being heeded or willfully neglected, and therefore no Remedy being applied, our Money was now become ſo far diminiſhed and debaſed, that the Nation ſuffer'd unſpeakably by it, both in carrying on the War, as well as our Commerce. The Cure of this Evil could no longer be delayed, without apparent and inevitable Ruin. The Adherents to the late King, and the diſaffected to this obſerv'd it with inconceivable Joy. They were very confident the Government muſt unavoidably ſplit on this Rock, and that this ſingle Miſchief was enough to ſink it; and tho' the Friends of the Government and their Conntry (I call them ſo, becauſe the Intereſt of both are now ſo inſeparably united, that 'tis impoſſible to be one without being the other) were fully convinc'd that this Grievance ought to be redreſſed, yet how to effect it in ſuch a Conjuncture, without bringing the Nation into the utmoſt Confuſion, was enough to puzzle Men of the deepeſt Reach, and greateſt Capacity.

Our Enemies abroad, after the glorious Succeſs of his Majeſty's Arms the laſt Campaign in *Flanders*, grew very diffident of the Iſſue of the War. After this Blow which wounded them in ſo ſenſible and tender a Part, they expreſſed by their Behaviour and Language, how much their Hopes of ſubduing us by Force were abated; they could not but foreſee, that if his Majeſty could appear in the Field the next Summer in the ſame Circumſtances as he did the laſt, it would be very hard, if not impoſſible, for them to oppoſe his Arms. To prevent this, they had two Things to wiſh and promote; one was to embroil our Affairs by creating Mutinies at home, the other to ruin our Credit, and thereby diſable us from carrying on the War abroad. The firſt they hoped would be effected by the ill State of our Coin; for to neglect that Diſeaſe, or to attempt its Cure, they judg'd would alike produce ſuch inteſtine Diſorders as would prove our Deſtruction: And as to our Credit, they judg'd, that if by any Means that of the Bank of *England* could be deſtroy'd, which was then the great Support of the Nation, and was by Experience found to be ſo the following Summer, when it contributed ſo much to the Support of our Army, at a Time when the Bank itſelf labour'd under the greateſt Streights, it would be

impoſſible for us to maintain our Army abroad; and for this Reaſon they engaged their Friends in *England* to employ themſelves with the utmoſt Diligence, to aggravate the Inconveniencies of not recoining our Money if that ſhould be neglected, or to embarraſs and entangle as much as they were able, the Methods of recoining it, in caſe that ſhould be agreed on, and thereby make it grievous and inſupportable; and in caſe any Miracle ſhould happen, that this great Buſineſs ſhould be accompliſhed without the Confuſion that was expected to follow, they were inſtructed to leave no Stone unturned, whereby they might hope to deſtroy the public Credit, and particularly that Branch of it that remained moſt entire, the Bank of *England*. If either of theſe Deſigns, and much more if both ſucceeded, they were well ſatisfied it would be impoſſible for the King to appear in *Flanders* the next Spring in that formidable Manner he did the Year before. In this Poſture our Affairs ſtood, and indeed this Buſineſs of the Coin was ſuch a complicated, and almoſt inextricable a Miſchief, that notwithſtanding this Parliament, as will appear in the Sequel of this Hiſtory, appeared a moſt wiſe Aſſembly, and did Wonders for the Preſervation of the Government, and their Country; yet it may be perhaps allowed, that ſome unfitting and unwary Steps were made, when they firſt entered upon ſo delicate and intricate an Affair; and indeed the Novelty, as well as the Nicety of it, was ſuch, that it was their Honour they made no more, if indeed they made any. It is not certain, that if according to ſome Reſolutions, the Silver Money had been all called in at once, and then paid out as faſt as recoined, according to the reſpective Appropriation, we ſhould not have run into the greateſt Confuſions; for it is not eaſy to tell how the ſmaller Neceſſities of Life and Commerce among the People could have been maintained, had the Money been called in all at once, or how the new Money ſhould have freely circulated, had it been all paid out as appropriated; for it ſeems that the monied Uſurers, and the Goldſmiths, muſt of Neceſſity have received the far greateſt Part, who were not likely to part with it without great Advantage: And if theſe had been the Conſequences, it is plain the Nation could by no means have ſubſiſted; and as ſome Men apprehended, that had the Parliament proceeded in theſe Steps, this Confuſion would have followed; ſo they were afraid, that if the ſecond Bank, that was intended to be ſet up, had been eſtabliſhed, it would have proved ſo great a Diminution of the Credit of the former, that it had been impoſſible to have ſupported our Army in *Flanders*; and if that had been the Conſequence, we muſt have been contented with what Terms of Peace our Enemies would have been pleaſed to give us.

Whether theſe Reſolutions would have produced theſe Effects which many apprehended, is not certain, they being never put into Execution; but this is certain, that if theſe Meaſures were wrong, the Parliament ſoon after recovered themſelves, to their great Honour; for even then when they found themſelves perplexed, and almoſt oppreſt with their hard Affairs, yet ſuch was their Zeal for the Service of their Country, ſuch their Courage and Reſolution, that they broke through all their amazing Difficulties, and made the Way to a proſperous Concluſion.

Beſides, at this Time though it is plain by the Event, that the Nation had Treaſure enough to ſupport the War, yet the Ways of coming at it were grown very

very difficult. The former Parliaments choſe rather to eſtabliſh Funds for public Supplies, than to uſe any Methods of raiſing them within the Year; divers Branches of the King's Revenue were by his Majeſty's own Conſent, ſubjected to great Anticipations, and the moſt eaſy and obvious Funds were already ſettled, and ſufficiently loaded; ſo that by the Continuance of the War, it became much harder for this, than for the preceding Parliaments, to find out Ways to defray the Charge of it.

This was the Poſture of Affairs when this memorable Parliament firſt ſat down. Theſe were the complicated Diſeaſes under which the Nation laboured, when theſe Phyſicians of State met together to conſult about proper Remedies. Now to judge right in ſuch nice and perplexed Caſes, and to extricate a Kingdom from ſuch various and preſſing Difficulties, is a Taſk worthy of wiſe and great Men; and when it is duly conſidered what Condition this Parliament found the Nation in, what hard Work lay before them, and how they ſurmounted the frightful Difficulties they had to contend with, whereby they defeated the Hopes and Expectations of their Enemies, and ſettled the Nation in Peace and Tranquillity, it can't but raiſe in us a mighty Eſteem of their Love to their Country, as well as their Courage and great Capacity.

His Majeſty having finiſhed the Campaign in *Flanders* 1695, no leſs to his own Honour than the general Satisfaction of his People, arrived in *England* the 14th of *November*, where he was received with as loud Applauſes, and as great Demonſtrations of public Joy and Affection, as have been expreſſed on any Occaſion. He met the Parliament on the 22d Day of *November* following; and at the Opening of the Seſſions, both Houſes with great Zeal and Unanimity, in a very loyal Addreſs to his Majeſty, congratulated the Succeſs of his Arms in *Flanders*, and his ſafe Return to his People; in which they likewiſe aſſured him of their ſtedfaſt Reſolution to ſupport his Majeſty and his Government, againſt all his Enemies at Home and Abroad; and effectually to aſſiſt him in the Proſecution of the preſent War.

The great Thing this Parliament had to do, and which they undertook with great Alacrity, was to find out Ways to diſcharge the Expence of the War, and to carry it on with Vigour, till they could bring it to a ſafe and honourable Concluſion; this they were reſolved to do with the utmoſt Care and Application. But at the ſame time, to ſhew their Zeal for the Eaſe of the People who choſe them, and the Security of their Lives and Eſtates, before they ſo much as entered upon any public Buſineſs, a Bill was brought into the Houſe, and read the firſt Time, for regulating Trials in Caſe of Treaſon and Miſpriſion of Treaſon; where many Things which the People complained of as grievous, were removed or mitigated. This Bill in a ſhort time paſt both Houſes, and was one of the firſt that received the Royal Aſſent this Seſſion: By which gracious Condeſcenſion his Majeſty was pleaſed to let his People ſee, that he was as ready to contribute every thing in his Power, for the Eaſe and Safety of his Subjects, as they were every thing in theirs, for the Support of his Majeſty and his Government. About the 2d of *December*, the Houſe of Commons voted a Supply for carrying on the War, and proceeded to proportion it according to the Eſtimates relating to the Navy, Army and our Allies. They endeavoured all that was poſſible to raiſe the Supplies they had voted, by ſuch Ways and Means as

might keep the People from being querulous and uneasy. And notwithstanding the Lands of *England* had all along borne so great a Share of the public Charge, and that now there might be a greater Pretence than in former Parliaments, to ease the Landlord; yet the House resolved not to spare themselves, but taxed Land four Shillings in the Pound. They were contented to share the Expence of the War, and chose rather to burden themselves than their Tenants, acting in this like wise Generals, who to encourage their Troops, and engage their Affection, put them upon no other Hardships than what themselves are most forward to undergo.

About this Time the Parliament entered upon the great Affair of the Coin; and whether it was necessary or expedient to recoin the Silver Money, was the first Question. The Arguments were indeed weighty on either Side. The Reasons against calling in and recoining our Money were, that this was no fit Conjuncture for it. That the Nation was engaged in a burthensome and doubtful War, by which the Kingdom had already greatly suffered, and of which it grew every Day more sensible. That therefore the People, on whose good Affection the Government so much depended, should not be provoked by fresh superadded Grievances, greater than any they had yet felt, as those would certainly be, that must arise from calling in our Coin. That if this was done, however Things might be managed and accommodated at home, it was impossible to maintain either our Foreign Commerce, or our Foreign War; for neither the Merchant could be paid his Bills of Exchange, nor the Soldier receive his Subsistence. That this therefore was to lay the Axe to the Root, and to dig up the Foundations of the Government. That if this Design was prosecuted, Trade must stand still for want of mutual Payments, whence such great Disorders and Confusion would certainly follow, as would discourage and dishearten the People in the highest Measure, if not drive them to a perfect Despair. That therefore the recoining our Money at this Time, was by no means to be attempted without hazarding all.

It was alledged by those of the contrary Opinion, that the Mischief would be fatal, if a present Remedy was not found out and applied. That by reason of the ill State of our Coin, the Change abroad was infinitely to our Prejudice. That the Supplies that were raised to maintain our Army would never attain their End, being so much diminished and devoured by the unequal Change and exorbitant Premiums before they reached the Camp. That this was the unhappy Cause that our Guineas were mounted to thirty Shillings; that therefore, to our great Loss, all *Europe* sent that Commodity to this profitable Market; and would continue to do so, till we should be impoverished and undone by our Plenty of Gold. That we must exchange for their Gold, our Goods or our Silver, till at last we should have only Guineas to trade withal; which nobody could think our Neighbours would be so kind to receive back at the Value they were at here. That therefore this Disease would every Day take deeper Root, infect the very Vitals of the Nation; and if not remedied, would soon become deplorable. That our Enemies would sooner be induced to agree to honourable Terms of Peace, in case they saw us able to surmount this Difficulty, by the retrieving the ill State of our Coin, on which their Hopes of our speedy Ruin so much depended. That it would justly create a mighty Esteem abroad of the Great-

ness

neſs and Wiſdom of the Parliament of *England*, which was able to conquer ſuch an obſtinate and almoſt inſuperable Evil, in ſuch a Juncture of Affairs. That our Enemies muſt be mightily intimidated by ſo great an Action; and that it would be natural for them to conclude, that nothing would be impoſſible for a People, who were able to diſengage themſelves from ſuch an intricate Miſchief, and get above Difficulties that were looked on as invincible.

This Matter being fully debated, after all their Deliberations, the Parliament reſolved to call in and recoin our Money, looking on it as an eſſential and capital Point, that required, as certainly it did, their immediate Application, and utmoſt Care. They reſolved to do it at any Rate; and to uſe all imaginable Endeavours to make it as eaſy to the People as it was poſſible for ſuch a Remedy to be. They choſe rather to run the Hazard of ſome great Inconveniencies, by attempting the Cure, than by their longer Neglect of it, to expoſe the Kingdom to apparent Ruin.

This Step being made, the next was to conſider, whether the ſeveral Denominations of our New Money ſhould have the ſame Weight and Fineneſs as the Old, or whether the eſtabliſhed Standard ſhould be raiſed? And this Queſtion produced many Debates.

Thoſe who were for raiſing the Standard, argued thus: That the Standard of our coined Silver ought to bear Proportion to Silver in Bullion. That the Price of an Ounce of Silver Bullion was advanced to Six Shillings and Threepence; and therefore the Standard ought to be raiſed to an Equality. That the raiſing our Standard would prevent the Exportation of our Coin, which had been much practiſed, to the great Prejudice of this Kingdom; that it would prevent its being melted down; and Men would be encouraged to bring in their Plate and Bullion to the Mint.

Thoſe who were for preſerving the old Standard in our Coin, urged that the Worth of Money was relative, and to be rated by the Meaſure of ſuch Goods, Labour, Advice, Skill, or other Aſſiſtances, as could be purchaſed from another by our parting with it. That the Value of Money among People that lived under different municipal Laws was intrinſic, and conſiſted in its Weight and Fineneſs. That common Conſent had given it this Value, for the common Conveniency of ſupplying one another's Wants. That the Weight and Fineneſs was the only Worth that other Nations regarded in our Coin, or we in theirs. All Money being between Subjects of different Governments, of no greater Value, excepting the Workmanſhip, than ſo many Pieces of uncoined Bullion. That therefore ſhould our Standard be altered, we ſhould ſtill be upon the ſame Foot with our Neighbours; for if we were to pay them for their Goods, or exchange our Money with theirs, whatever Denomination we gave our Money, they would in their Change, ever reduce it to an Equality with theirs, and proportion the Quantity and Goodneſs of their Commodities to the Weight and Fineneſs of the Money they were to receive for them. That therefore in reſpect of our Foreign Commerce, there was no Reaſon to alter our Standard. And at home, they ſaid, that if the Standard was raiſed, great Confuſions would attend it, the Landlord would be defrauded of a great Part of his Rents, and the Creditor of his Debts. That the Seamen and the Soldiers would be wronged in their Pay, *&c.* and many the like Injuries and Inconveniencies would happen: That it was no Anſwer to ſay, they might buy as much

much Goods and Conveniencies of Life with this Coin raiſed above its Standard, as they could before; becauſe, by Degrees, the Seller would infallibly raiſe the Price of his Goods in Proportion to the new raiſed Standard; and that of this there was an Inſtance before them, all Commodities being greatly raiſed in their Price, while Guineas were paid for Thirty Shillings. That whereas it was alledged that the Price of Bullion was riſen to Six Shillings and Three-pence, and therefore the Standard of our Silver Coin ought to be raiſed likewiſe; it was replied, that it was a Thing impoſſible that the Price of Silver could ever riſe and fall in reſpect of itſelf; that it was an unchangeable Truth, than which no Mathematical Demonſtration could be clearer, that one Ounce of Silver would be ever worth another Ounce of the ſame Fineneſs, and no more, allowing ſome inconſiderable Diſparity upon Account of the Coin, if one Ounce be in Money, and the other Ounce in Bullion. That it was true indeed, that the People commonly gave Six Shillings and Three-pence for an Ounce of Bullion; but they gave only clipt Pieces, that had no more than the Name or Sound of Shillings and Pence, but were by no Means the Things themſelves. That is, they were not the Standard Shillings of due Weight and Fineneſs, and ſo were no more Shillings in the juſt Senſe of the Word, than an Ell is an Ell when the third Part of it is cut off, or two Halves of a broken Yard are each of them a whole one. That the Caſe was ſo plain, that when they demanded of thoſe that affirmed an Ounce of Bullion was worth Six Shillings and Three-pence, Whether they meant Six milled Shillings and Three-pence? they knew not what to reply: For this Alteration of the Value of Bullion was merely in relation to the diminiſhed Money. And to make it yet more evident, they urged that it was then Matter of Fact, that with Five Shillings and Two-pence of new mill'd Money, they could buy as much Bullion as they pleaſed, while thoſe who bought it with clipt Pieces paid Six Shillings and Three-pence. That whereas it was urged, that the raiſing the Standard would prevent the Exportation of our Money, it was replied, That there was no other Way poſſible to keep our Money at Home than by out-trading our Neighbours; that is, by ſending them more Commodities, or of greater Value, than thoſe we received from them; for if ſo be, upon the Ballance of Trade, we were found in their Debt, there was no Way left but to pay it in Coin or Bullion; and that therefore whatever Denomination we gave our Coin, we muſt be neceſſitated to ſend it Abroad, if the Commodities we exported could not pay our Debts. That all the other Arguments for raiſing the Standard would ſink to the Ground, in caſe theſe Two, on which the reſt were built, had no reaſonable Foundation. After the Debates on this Subject, the Houſe came to a Reſolution to recoin the Money according to the old Standard, both as to Weight and Fineneſs. And to make it more eaſy to the People, they voted a Recompence for the Deficiency of the clipt Money.

When the Parliament undertook this ſower and knotty Piece of Work, they were not inſenſible of the Inconveniencies that would ariſe from it; the principal of which, and the Spring of moſt of the reſt, would be a Ceſſation of Payments, and thereupon an Interruption of Commerce for Want of the Circulation of our Money during its Recoining. This trading Nation could not live, unleſs this vital Current was conſtantly maintained; and our Gold alone was not

ſufficient

ſufficient for that Purpoſe. To obviate this Evil, which muſt have been fatal had it not been prevented, was enough to try the Skill, and ſtretch the Imagination of the ableſt Stateſmen. 'Twas plain, *England* could not ſubſiſt unleſs ſome Expedient was found out to ſupport its Trade, till the new Money returned from the Mint; and to hit of ſuch an Expedient was, indeed, a very difficult Taſk. They therefore agreed to call in the Money by Degrees; that while ſome Denominations of Coin were ſuppreſſed, others might be current, hoping that before the laſt old Money ſhould come in to be recoin'd, ſo much of the New might circulate from the Mint, as might ſufficiently anſwer the Neceſſities of the Nation. But this Expectation was partly defeated by the Backwardneſs of the People to receive any old Money, though allowed at preſent to paſs, apprehending at laſt it would be left upon their Hands at a great Loſs, partly from the Slowneſs of Recoining in reſpect of the People's Wants, though otherwiſe diſpatched with all the Expedition imaginable in ſo great an Affair, and partly by reaſon of the unequal intrinſic Value between the new mill'd Money, and thoſe Pieces or Denominations of the Old which were allowed to be current, and in which Payments were uſually made; for while the hammer'd Money, and Pieces not clipt within the Ring, were permitted to paſs for the preſent Neceſſity of Trade, nobody was willing to make Payments in new Money, which ſo much exceeded the Old in its intrinſic Worth. And therefore the new Silver Money as faſt as it iſſued from the Mints and the Exchequer, was in a great Meaſure ſtopt in the Hands of the firſt Receivers; for none were diſpoſed to make Payments in the new Silver Coin at the old Standard, when they could do it in clipt Pieces ſo much below it. And thoſe who had no Payments to make, kept their new Money as Medals and Rarities in their Cheſts; and there is too much Reaſon to believe, that at firſt a great Deal of the new Money, by Help of the Melting-pot, went Abroad in Ingots to purchaſe Gold, which at that Juncture was a very profitable Commodity in *England*.

And though the Parliament lowered the Value of Guineas, as ſhall be afterwards mentioned, hoping by that Means to bring out the new Money into Circulation, yet by the Artifice and Managery of ſome Men, the People were made to believe that the Value of Guineas would be raiſed at the next Seſſion, upon which Abundance of Men that had great Sums of Guineas in their Cheſts, kept them cloſe there, in Expectation of their being raiſed in Value, when the Parliament ſhould come next together. By this Means, though the Circulation of the new Money was a little promoted, yet that of Guineas, by which we then chiefly ſubſiſted, was quite obſtructed; this golden Coin, which was before incredibly frequent, vaniſhed on a ſudden; and the new Silver Money too, the Value of which the People were perſuaded to believe, would be advanced the next Seſſion, was for that Reaſon in a great Meaſure hoarded up, to the great Damage of our Commerce; for by this Means the Nation was reduced to very great Straits, eſpecially in their Payments of foreign Bills.

The Parliament about this Time took into Conſideration the lowering the Value of Guineas, to which the People had raiſed them. The Reaſons againſt ſinking their Value were, That the People were eaſy and pleaſed with it, and it would raiſe a great Diſturbance and Clamour in the Nation, to fix them at a lower Price. That Abundance of People would be Loſers in whoſe Hands the

Guineas

Guineas ſhould be at laſt found. That the Farmer and common Tradeſman, who now all abounded with Guineas which they received at Thirty Shillings, would not bear ſuch a Loſs. That therefore it ought to be conſidered, how far it was fit to incenſe the common People in this Juncture of Affairs, who had already ſuffered ſo much by the War.

Thoſe who were for reducing the Price of Guineas argu'd, That there was as great Reaſon to bring down Guineas, as there was to recoin the Silver Money at the old Standard; and here they reckoned up the Miſchiefs mentioned before on that Head: That however, the Parliament were obliged to manage by the Neceſſity of Affairs, and to ſuffer for a Time the Guineas to paſs at that exceſſive Rate, that in ſome Meaſure there might be a Currency of Money, while the Mints were employed in new coining the Silver; yet now they were obliged to ſink the Price nearer the old Standard, that the Silver Money might not be ſtopt and hoarded up as faſt as iſſued out from the Mints. And whatever Loſſes and Inconveniences the People might ſuffer by the reducing of Guineas, yet the Miſchiefs that aroſe, and would daily increaſe from not doing it, did infinitely over-ballance thoſe on the other Side. Upon this the Houſe reſolved to lower the Price of Guineas; and that they might do it with leſs Grievance and Diſquiet to the People, they choſe to ſink them by Degrees, till at laſt they reduced them to the State they are now in, that is, That they ſhould not paſs in Payments for above Twenty-two Shillings; that by this Means Guineas being brought near to an Equality with our new Silver Money, the Circulation of the laſt might not be obſtructed; and the Event anſwered the Expectation.

But notwithſtanding all the Care which the Parliament uſed to provide againſt the Miſchiefs they foreſaw were likely to follow, yet many great Inconveniences were unavoidable: And, one Evil aroſe during recoining the Money; that is, a general Loſs of Credit, which indeed ſhook the State; but this likewiſe was cured by a moſt ſeaſonable and wiſe Remedy, which the Parliament applied in their ſecond Seſſion. So that at laſt this great Undertaking of the higheſt Difficulty, yet of abſolute Neceſſity, was happily accompliſhed. In this Affair the Parliament ſhewed ſuch Wiſdom, ſuch Care of the Public, ſuch unbroken Courage and Reſolution in undertaking and carrying on a Buſineſs of this Importance, and incumbered with ſo many and ſuch great Obſtructions, that no Patriots ever merited more of their Country, none having ever reſcued it from greater and more apparent Danger. By reſtoring our Coin, they reſtored Health and Strength to a Nation under the worſt Symptoms in the World. They reſtored the Honour of the *Engliſh*, confirmed the ſhaking Government, and laid the Foundation of that honourable Peace which after enſued, and which we now enjoy.

And thoſe worthy Gentlemen who made the greateſt Figure in this Parliament, and had the chief Direction of this particular Affair, muſt be allowed to have ſhewn a great Capacity, and a maſterly Judgment, as well as a juſt Regard to the Good of the People, and therefore no Votes in their Favour, no Praiſes and Thanks from their Country, can be thought too much for thoſe who have ſo well deſerved them.

No

No Part of the *Roman* Hiſtory gives a Man a greater Image of that noble People, than that which relates the Preſence of Mind, the unſhaken Conſtancy, and the wiſe Conduct, which the Senate ſhewed after the Loſs of the Battle of *Cannæ*: To be uncapable of deſponding, even in Extremity of Affairs; to wind themſelves out of ſuch intricate and pinching Straits, and at laſt to weather Difficulties which ſeemed inſuperable; this cannot but create a great Opinion of their Wiſdom and Reſolution.

Some of his Majeſty's implacable Enemies finding themſelves diſappointed the laſt Year in *Flanders*, and being impatient to wait the Event of another Campaign, betook themſelves to the moſt wicked and moſt diſhonourable Means of accompliſhing their Deſigns.

Upon the 24th of *February*, the King came to the Houſe of Lords, ſent for the Commons, and having paſſed what Acts lay ready for the Royal Aſſent, in a gracious Speech he acquainted both Houſes, that he had received ſeveral concurring Informations of a Deſign to aſſaſſinate him; and that at the ſame Time the Enemy was very forward in his Preparations for an Invaſion of this Kingdom. That he had given Orders about the Fleet, and ſent for ſuch a Number of Troops as might ſecure the Kingdom from any Attempt; that ſome of the Conſpirators againſt his Perſon were in Cuſtody, and that Care was taken for apprehending the reſt. It is not neceſſary to give a long Relation of this Conſpiracy, a ſhort Account is thus.

Several of the late King's Adherents, not without the Conſent, Encouragement, and Direction of the late King and his Miniſters, had formed a helliſh Conſpiracy againſt the Life of his Majeſty. The Conduct and Execution of this horrid Villany was committed to Sir *George Barclay*, who had formerly been a a General Officer, and was then in *France*, an Officer in the late King's Guards. This Gentleman-Ruffian undertakes the barbarous Buſineſs; and for the accompliſhing of it, departs from *St. Germains* about the tenth Day of *December* for *England*, where he arrived about the Beginning of *January*. Before him, with him, or after him, about twenty more of the late King's Guards, who were embarked in the ſame bloody Deſign, and who had all Inſtructions to obey the Orders of Sir *George*, came into *England*, where in a ſhort Time they engaged about as many more in the Conſpiracy. Several Conſultations were held, and ſeveral Ways were propoſed where, and how to aſſaſſinate the King's Perſon, and at laſt it was agreed that they ſhould execute their Deſign on a *Saturday* as his Majeſty returned from *Richmond*, whither he uſed to go on that Day, to take the Diverſion of Hunting.

The Place agreed on was the Lane betwen *Turnham-Green* and *Brentford*, through which the King was to paſs after his Landing at *Kew-Ferry*, and to avoid Suſpicion, they were to go out of Town in ſmall Numbers to the Inns in *Turnham-Green*, there to ſtay till they had Notice that his Majeſty's Guards appeared, and then they were to mount, and in a Body to march to the Lane, where ſome were to attack the King's Perſon, and the reſt in the mean time were to engage the Guards. The Day for executing this horrid Deed was at hand, when Mr. *Pendergraſs*, who had been newly made acquainted with the Deſign, and ſeemed to conſent to it, though indeed he only complied with it, till he could gain the fitteſt Opportunity to diſcover it, went to my Lord *Portland*, and diſcloſed to

him this important Secret. By whoſe Means his Majeſty's Life was preſerved from the Violence of the Conſpirators, and that fatal Stroke moſt happily prevented; which muſt have been attended with all the terrible Calamities that Fear itſelf is able to repreſent.

Both Houſes of Parliament were greatly alarmed at the News of this barbarous Conſpiracy, and being ſatisfied that the Welfare of the Kingdom entirely depended on the Safety of the King's Perſon, they joined in an Addreſs to his Majeſty full of Loyalty and the warmeſt Affection; wherein they congratulated the happy Deliverance of his Royal Perſon, gave him Thanks for imparting to them the horrid Deſign of aſſaſſinating his Majeſty by Papiſts, and other diſaffected Perſons, and of the intended Invaſion from *France*. Humbly deſired his Majeſty to take more than ordinary Care of his Perſon at this time, aſſured him that they would ſtand by, aſſiſt and defend his Majeſty with their Lives and Fortunes againſt all his Enemies, and that in caſe he ſhould come to any violent Death (which they begged God to prevent) they would revenge the ſame upon all his Majeſty's Enemies and their Adherents; told his Majeſty they would give all poſſible Diſpatch to publick Buſineſs, and deſired him to ſeize and ſecure all Perſons, Horſes and Arms, that he might think fit to apprehend.

On this Occaſion the Houſe of Commons, for the Security of his Majeſty's Perſon, entered into an Aſſociation in theſe Words. *Whereas there has been a horrid and deteſtable Conſpiracy formed and carried on by the Papiſts, and other wicked and traitorous Perſons, for aſſaſſinating his Majeſty's Royal Perſon, in order to encourage an Invaſion from* France, *to ſubvert our Religion, Laws and Liberties, We whoſe Names are hereunto ſubſcribed, do heartily, ſincerely and ſolemnly profeſs, teſtify and declare, that his preſent Majeſty King* William *is rightful and lawful King of theſe Realms, and we do mutually promiſe, and engage to ſtand by and aſſiſt each other to the utmoſt of our Power, to the Support and Defence of his Majeſty's moſt ſacred Perſon and Government, againſt the late King* James *and all his Adherents; and in caſe his Majeſty come to a violent or untimely Death (which God forbid) we do hereby farther, freely and unanimouſly oblige ourſelves to unite, aſſociate and ſtand by each other, in revenging the ſame upon his Enemies and their Adherents, and in ſupporting and defending the Succeſſion of the Crown, according to an Act made in the Firſt Year of King* William *and Queen* Mary, *intitled, An Act declaring the Rights and Liberties of the Subject, and ſettling the Succeſſion of the Crown.*

They ordered at the ſame time a Bill to be brought in, That when it ſhould pleaſe God to afflict theſe Realms by the Death of his preſent Majeſty, the Parliament then in being ſhould not be diſſolved thereby, till the next Heir of the Crown, according to the late Act of Settlement, ſhould diſſolve it. And if there is no Parliament then in being, the laſt preceding Parliament ſhall immediately convene and ſit; and it was done accordingly. By this wiſe Act, as the Parliament provided againſt that Confuſion and Diſorder that might happen by the Ceſſation of Parliaments, and all Commiſſions on his Majeſty's Deceaſe, ſo nothing could have been imagined more effectual for the Security of the King's invaluable Life, againſt the implacable Malice and Violence of his Enemies, ſeeing by this Means all Hopes of Eſcape and Impunity were cut off, in caſe they ſhould ſucceed in their helliſh Attempt. They likewiſe addreſſed his Majeſty to

iſſue

iſſue out his Royal Proclamation, to baniſh all Papiſts from the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, and ten Miles from the ſame, according to the Laws made for that Purpoſe; and likewiſe, that he would pleaſe to give Inſtructions to the Judges going the Circuits, to put the Laws in Execution againſt Papiſts and Nonjurors.

By theſe Proceedings and prudent Proviſions for the King's Safety, the Parliament equally expreſſed their unalterable Loyalty to his Majeſty, and their tender Care and Vigilance for the Happineſs of the People; it being as clear as Noon Day, that had not his Majeſty by the gracious Providence of Heaven, been delivered from this helliſh Deſign, the greateſt Calamities and Deſolation muſt have overwhelmed the Kingdom, that ever befel a miſerable People: And it is very obſervable, and muſt be taken Notice of, for the Honour of this Parliament, that amidſt all their Zeal for ſecuring his Majeſty's Life, on which all our Happineſs depended, they expreſſed that Lenity and memorable Regard to the Liberties of the People, that they paſſed no new and extraordinary Law for the Conviction of the Conſpirators, as Men in ſuch amazing Dangers might have been provoked to do for the Preſervation of the Government; but they mercifully left them to ſtand or fall by the known Laws which were then in being. And it is very remarkable, that one of the Perſons tried for this Conſpiracy, was the firſt that had the Benefit of the Law that was beforementioned to be made this very Seſſion to regulate Trials in Caſes of Treaſon.

There is but one ſingle Inſtance that ſeems to contradict the univerſal Extent of this Obſervation; and that is the Caſe of Sir *John Fenwick*, which happened in the ſecond Seſſion of this Parliament; yet neither in that Caſe was any new Law made for the Trial of the Criminal by the Judges in inferior Courts: But the Parliament thought fit to make uſe of the Legiſlative Authority, and to proceed againſt him by Bill of Attainder, which nobody queſtioned their Power to do. That Government would be defective in its Conſtitution, and uncapable of defending itſelf, that had not a Power lodged in it to reach a Criminal in an extraordinary Caſe, by an extraordinary Manner. Neither could the Legiſlative Power be looked on as under the ſame Reſtraints, Limitations, and Forms of Proceeding, which the Judges, who are entruſted only with the executive Part of the Law, are obliged to obſerve in the ordinary Courts of Juſtice. The Queſtions therefore in this Caſe, ſeemed to be only theſe two, Whether the Parliament had ſufficient convincing Grounds to believe the Priſoner guilty of the Treaſon of which he ſtood accuſed; and in the ſecond Place, Whether this was a Caſe of that extraordinary Nature, and that Importance, as required this uncommon Way of Proceeding by Bill of Attainder. As to the firſt Queſtion, all the World, as well as the Parliament, thought there was ſufficient Reaſon to believe the Priſoner guilty; But whether the Evidence was in all Forms and Limitations, ſuch as the Law required for convicting the Priſoner before the Judges in inferior Courts, was out of the Queſtion; The Parliament, as was ſaid before, being not tied up in their legiſlative Capacity to the Rules and Reſtraints by which the inferiour Courts were obliged to act. And as to the ſecond Queſtion, Seeing the Priſoner had ſo notoriouſly prevaricated with the Government, ſeeing there was ſuch a vehement Preſumption, that one of the Evidences was drawn off, and abſented himſelf

by the Management of the Priſoner's Friends, to elude the Law in the common Courſe of it; and ſeeing the Crime wherewith he was charged, was of no lower Nature than the Dethroning of his Majeſty, and the Subverſion of the Government, the Parliament believed it a Caſe ſo extraordinary and of ſuch Conſequence, as ſufficiently warranted this uncommon, though not unexampled Way of Proceeding.

Theſe were the chief Tranſactions of this Parliament in their Firſt Seſſion, thoſe of the Second come now to be related.

The great Deficiencies of the Funds ſettled by Parliament for the Service of the Year 1696, and particularly the unhappy Project of the Land-Bank proving wholly abortive, and not producing one Penny, of above two Millions and a Half, with which it was charged, were likely to have proved fatal to our Affairs the following Summer. This Diſappointment involved the King in ſo many great Difficulties Abroad, as well as Home, that no clearer Demonſtration could be given of his Majeſty's wiſe Conduct, or of the Fidelity and Affection of his Army, than his finiſhing this Campaign with ſo little Diſadvantage. His Majeſty's more diſcerning Friends could not but tremble, to think on the hard Circumſtances our Army was in; and how dangerous the Iſſue was like to prove; while the Enemies of the Government were all overjoy'd at the hopeful Proſpect of our ſudden Ruin. But to their great Mortification his Majeſty, whoſe Spirit was never broken by the greateſt Difficulty; who never wanted Preſence of Mind in the moſt ſurprizing and pinching Exigencies, by the Aſſiſtance of divine Providence weathered this Storm; and having put his Army into Quarters, returned in Safety to meet his Parliament.

The Parliament came together the twentieth Day of *October*, and after they had, in a loyal and moſt affectionate Addreſs, aſſured his Majeſty, that though they had borne ſo many Years the great Burden of the preſent War, yet they were moſt ſtedfaſtly reſolved never to deſert his Intereſts, or be wanting to their Country, till by his Majeſty's Arms they ſhould obtain a ſafe and honourable Peace. They entered with great Chearfulneſs upon the Buſineſs that lay before them, which indeed was very great.

The principal Evil which this Parliament had to remove, was the Loſs of public Credit. For the Tallies ſtruck on Funds ſettled by Parliament, eſpecially ſuch as were remote, were exchanged for ready Money at a mighty Loſs; and the Government was obliged to make exceſſive Diſcounts and Allowances, to bring Treaſure into the Exchequer. This great and almoſt fatal Loſs of Credit aroſe chiefly from two Springs, the Deficiencies of parliamentary Funds, and the Recoining our Silver. The Firſt made Truſt and Confidence, as the Laſt made Money to be very ſcarce.

This Loſs of Credit was ſo great, that unleſs it were reſtored, it was not poſſible for the Government to continue much longer: The Notes of the Bank of *England*, which had been a mighty Help to the Public, were diſcounted at Twenty, Tallies at Forty, Fifty, or Sixty *per Cent.* The Government had contracted a mighty Debt, and ſome Funds were wholly taken away, and the reſt proved deficient; great Numbers of Tallies had no Funds at all, and the reſt were on Funds very remote. Hereby the Truſt and good Opinion of the People was ſo far loſt, that thoſe few who had any Money to lend, ſhewed the greateſt

greateſt Backwardneſs imaginable to advance it for the public Service; and therefore all Loans to the Government, as was ſaid before, were procured on moſt immoderate Premiums, and exorbitant Diſcounts.

This Decay of public Credit created the greateſt Confuſion and Diſorder in the World; our Affairs ſeemed reduced to Extremity, and the Government was looked on to be at a Stand. All Men were at a Gaze, and ſtood wondering what the Parliament would do; what Meaſures they would take in ſuch perplexing Difficulties, ſcarce believing that the Wit of Man was able to find out any Remedy, or propoſe any Expedient that could be effectual in removing ſo great a Miſchief. Thoſe who were for galling and ſtreightening the Government, had now the wicked Satisfaction of ſeeing it ſufficiently diſtreſſed; it not being poſſible that our Affairs could be more embarraſſed than they were in this Conjuncture.

To revive public Credit was therefore a Thing of the laſt Neceſſity for the Preſervation of the Government; but as the wiſeſt Men without Door were at their Wit's End how to accompliſh it, ſo the Malecontents were certain, that this Evil was never to be cured; and therefore looked upon the Government as near its End, gave it up as deſperate, and triumphed in the Expectation of a ſudden Revolution.

But this great Parliament being fully ſenſible that the Reſtoration of our Credit was a Point of capital Importance, inſtead of being diſcouraged by the Difficulty of effecting it, they were rather animated to undertake the Work with greater Zeal and Application; as if they looked on nothing which was neceſſary to be impoſſible; and reſolved at any Rate to find out Means to preſerve their Country, and break through all Oppoſition, how great ſoever it ſhould appear, to confirm and ſecure our happy Eſtabliſhment.

The Parliament was very ſenſible, that one great Spring of this Miſchief was that mentioned before, the Deficiencies of ſeveral Aids and Duties which neither had been, nor ever would be ſufficient to anſwer the Principal and Intereſt charg'd upon them. That theſe Deficiencies, and the Remoteneſs of the Courſe of Payment of the Tallies, were the true Reaſons why the Owners of ſuch Tallies were frequently neceſſitated for the procuring of ready Money, to diſpoſe of and exchange them at a great Loſs. By which Means the publick Credit was extremely weakened, our Commerce interrupted, and other public and private Affairs exceedingly perplexed. The Parliament therefore took this great Affair into their ſerious Conſideration, and in order to the Cure of this grievous Wound, which began to ulcerate and eat into the very Heart of the Government, they reſolved to ſearch it and lay it open to the Bottom.

This they did by ordering an Eſtimate or Computation to be laid before them of what Sums were, or would be wanting to ſatisfy and diſcharge all Principal and Intereſt due, or to become due, on the ſeveral Aids, Duties, or Funds, over and above all Arrears ſtanding out upon them, which were determined, and over and above all Monies to be raiſed by ſuch as were then unexpired; and the Computation of all the particular Sums that were wanting to make good all the deficient Funds being made, the whole amounted to Five Millions One Hundred and Sixty Thouſand Four Hundred Pounds, *&c.* The Parliament now having got to the Bottom of the Diſeaſe, reſolved on a thorough

rough Cure, by making Provision for the Payment of the whole Debt. They were perfectly convinced, that to cure a Part was no way to cure the Disease, and restore Strength to the Whole. Had some Deficiencies been taken Care of, and others neglected, public Credit must have continued lame; and the Government must still have halted, if it had not fallen to the Ground. That therefore the Remedy might be adequate and commensurate to the Evil, the Parliament found out a general Fund which might secure the Payment of the whole Five Millions, &c. That so there should remain no Tally without a Fund, nor any Tally on a deficient Fund, but what in its Course of Payment should be satisfied and discharged. For this End they continued divers Taxes and Duties after the Day on which they would otherwise have expired, to the First Day of *August*, Seventeen Hundred and Six, and appointed all the Monies which should arise, and be brought into his Majesty's Exchequer, from any of these Taxes or Duties, from the Day on which they were otherwise to expire, to the said First Day of *August* One Thousand Seven Hundred and Six, to be the General Fund for making good all the deficient ones, by the Satisfaction and Payment of the Principal and Interest due, or to become due thereupon. And that all Occasion of Complaint might be removed, and equal Provision might be made for all, the Parliament directed, that all Monies arising from the Duties so as before continued and appropriated for a General Fund, should be distributed and applied to pay Principal and Interests upon every one of the deficient Funds, in just Proportion to the Sum of which they were deficient. And that all the Money which should be in such a due Proportion distributed or placed to the Account of each deficient Tax and Fund for the Discharge of Principal and Interest, should be issued or paid out to all who were entitled to receive the same, in such Course and Order as if the same were Monies really arising by the respective and deficient Funds, and that without being diverted, misapplied, or postponed; and the Officers of his Majesty's Treasury were to incur great Penalties in Case this Method or Order were not observed. And to remove all Doubts about the Security intended to be given, in Case on the First of *August* Seventeen Hundred and Six, or within three Months then next ensuing, the whole Produce of the several Funds and Revenues appropriated for a General Fund, together with other Grants then in being, should not be sufficient to discharge the Sum of Five Millions, &c. intended to be discharged; that then what was deficient should be made good out of such Aids or Revenues as should be granted in the next Session of Parliament.

Thus the Parliament found out a Security sufficient to discharge this great Debt that lay so heavy on the Nation, which was not only a Stroke of admirable Wisdom, but likewise such a noble Act of public Justice, as perhaps cannot be equalled in the Story of any Nation. Money at that Time was not in being, and therefore not to be had; and a sufficient Security was all that could be demanded or expected? and this was very happily provided for, wherein a due Regard was had to the particular Interest of every Man concerned. And for as much as all the Branches of public Credit did plainly depend on, and mutually support one another, the Parliament took into Consideration, by what Means they might restore the Credit of the Bank of *England* which was then at a low Ebb.

In

In Order to this the Parliament agreed, to augment and enlarge the common Capital Stock of the Bank of *England*, by admitting new Subscriptions, which new Subscriptions, should be made good in Tallies and Bank-Notes. The Proportion was four fifths of the first, and one fifth of the last, and an Interest of eight *per Cent.* was allowed, as well for all such Tallies as should be brought in to enlarge their Stock by new Subscriptions, as for those Tallies which the Company was then possessed of, provided they did not exceed the Value of those Bank-Notes which should not be paid in upon this Enlargement of their Stock; and for securing the Payments of this Interest of eight *per Cent.* the additional Duty on Salt was granted and appropriated. The Time likewise of the Continuance of the Bank of *England* they thought fit to extend to the Year seventeen hundred and ten; and upon this Encouragement a Million was subscribed and paid in Tallies and Bank Notes, as the Parliament had directed. This Expedient was projected with all the Prudence imaginable; and tho' many Persons who were interested in it could not presently apprehend the Reasonableness of it, yet the Advantages they have since received, have fully convinced them that no other Way could have been found out to have retrieved their sinking Credit; for the Value of two hundred thousand Pounds in Bank-Notes being sunk by the new Subscriptions, the rest, as it was reasonable to believe they would, began presently to rise in Worth; and so likewise did the Tallies, after so many as amounted to eight hundred thousand Pounds were paid in to augment the Bank. And the Owners of the rest have a great deal of Reason to wish that they had sunk the Remainder also the same Way; for had that been done, this great Work had been accomplished at one happy Stroke. The whole five Millions had in a Moment been taken off from the Government, and thereby a Disease that was judg'd incurable had been intirely remov'd by a single Application. For upon this, the Credit of the Bank began to recover apace, 'till in a short time their Notes were all equal with, and their Bills that bore Interest better than Money. By this Means the Face of Affairs was in a short time much chang'd for the better, Credit began to revive, Money to circulate on more moderate Terms; foreign Exchange was less to our Disadvantage, and soon after at an Equality. The People began to think better of their Condition, and were more convinc'd of the Wisdom of our Administration, and the Care that was taken of them; and whatever Hardships they had undergone by Reason of a long War, and the recoining our Money, which, could not but occasion many Complaints, yet the greatest Part attributed this to the Necessity of our Affairs, and began to hope, that by the Care and Wisdom of the Government they should soon enjoy more favourable Times.

Besides this of the great Loss of Credit, another Evil of no less Difficulty or Importance remained still to be removed, and that was the great Scarcity of Money. The Parliament to prevent Disappointments by settling Funds which might be deficient, came to a Resolution, that the Supplies for the Service of the Year following, should be rais'd within the Year; and they voted those Supplies in Proportion to the Estimates laid before them. But this Resolution of Parliament seem'd a thing quite impracticable. How could five Millions be raised within the Year, while the Silver Money was called in and recoining, and there was not current Coin enough in the Nation to answer the Occasions of

of Trade, and ſcarcely the Conveniencies and Neceſſities of Life? The Enemies of the Government made themſelves merry with this Vote of Parliament, and inſtead of being the Occaſion of their Anger, 'twas the common Subject of their Raillery, and the Entertainment of their pleaſant Humour. And many even of the beſt Friends of the Government imagined that the Parliament by this, rather expreſſed their Zeal and Willingneſs, than their Ability to ſupport the State. They had no Way to ſatisfy themſelves in this Point, but by relying upon the Wiſdom and great Capacity of the Parliament, for whom they believed nothing was too hard, and who they hoped would conquer this Difficulty becauſe they had maſter'd ſo many others before, which were looked on as no leſs invincible. Neither were their Hopes in this Matter diſappointed, for the Parliament had recourſe to an admirable Expedient in this preſſing Exigency, and found out a Way of raiſing Money, in a Juncture when no Money was to be had. Other Parliaments have been able to raiſe great Sums of Money when the Defence of their Country required it, but it was the particular Honour of this to have been able to make it. They created Money without Bullion, and diſtributed great Quantity of Coin without Help of the Mint. This they did by authorizing the Lords of his Majeſty's Treaſury to iſſue out Bills from the Exchequer to the Value, firſt and laſt, of above two Millions; which Bills were firſt appointed to be brought in and ſunk upon the common Duty commonly called the Capitation Tax; but before the Seſſion ended, the Parliament was convinced by the firſt Collection of that Duty, that it would prove very deficient; and therefore they appointed the Exchequer-Bills to be brought in on any other of the King's Duties or Revenues, excepting the Land-Tax; and allowed an Intereſt of ſeven Pounds, twelve Shillings *per Annum* upon the ſaid Bills, which at firſt was not given. The Parliament by this laid a good Foundation for Paper Money to ſupply the Place of our Silver Coin, which was call'd in to be new made; for ſo many Payments were at this time to be made into the Exchequer, that when the People had Aſſurance given them that the Exchequer Notes ſhould be received back again in Payment for the King's Duties, they were very well ſatisfied to take them, at firſt indeed at a ſmall Diſcount, but not long after at an Equality. A great Number of theſe Notes were only for five or ten Pounds, which anſwered the Neceſſities of Commerce among the meaner People, for the common Conveniencies of Life. And that thoſe who had advanced Money in Loans on any Part of his Majeſty's Revenue, might not be obliged to receive it back in Notes that were under the Value of Money, to ſtrengthen the Reputation of theſe Bills, the Parliament authorized the Lords of the Treaſury to contract with any Corporations or Numbers of private Men, and to allow them a competent *Premium*, provided they obliged themſelves to exchange theſe Notes for ready Money when tendered to them for that Purpoſe; which the Lords of the Treaſury did accordingly.

By this Means the Credit of the aforeſaid Notes was mightily ſecur'd, and daily aroſe nearer to Par, 'till as at this time they exceeded the Value of Money, and whereas the Truſtees contracted with to exchange them for Money, were before as a *Premium* allowed ten *per Cent.* they have been ſince contented to do it for Four. By this Means Trade and Commerce were maintained; and without

out Silver we had an artificial Treaſure circulating thro' the Kingdom, which ſo well anſwered the Deſign of the wiſe Projectors, that by the Confeſſion of thoſe very Men who at firſt inveighed ſharply againſt it, it proved an effectual tho' a Paper Prop to ſupport the State, when its Silver Pillars were for a time removed. We were ſailing in bad Weather, and our Main-Maſt was brought by the Board; and 'tis very plain, that unleſs this Jury-Maſt of Exchequer-Notes had been preſently made and ſet up in this Streſs of Affairs, we muſt unavoidably have ſunk and periſhed.

Theſe Bills paſt in Payments as ſo many Counters, which the People were ſatisfied to receive, becauſe they knew the Exchequer would receive them again as ſo much Ready-Money. Theſe State-Counters ſo well ſupplied the Place of Money 'till new Coin was iſſued from the Mint, that Trade was preſerved, and mutual Payments well enough made to anſwer the Neceſſities of the Government and the People; and by this Means the Parliament had the Honour to accompliſh another Work that was judg'd impoſſible.

The Parliament likewiſe this Seſſion, to the great Satisfaction of the People, took care to remedy the publick Grievance of long ſtanding. Several Places in and about the City of *London*, which in Times of the *Romiſh* Superſtition were allowed as Sanctuaries to Criminals and Debtors, had ever ſince the Reformation pretended a Privilege to protect the laſt; and one of theſe was a notorious Neſt of broken and deſperate Men, in the very Heart of his Majeſty's capital City whither they reſorted in great Numbers, and to the Diſhonour of the Government and Grievance of the People, defended themſelves with Force and Violence againſt the Law and public Authority. The Parliament took care to redreſs this inveterate Miſchief, and what was long expected from others, was effected by this, in an Act intitled, *For the more effectual Relief of Creditors in Caſes of Eſcapes, and for preventing Abuſes in Priſons, and pretended privileged Places.* Wherein ſuch effectual Proviſion was made to reduce theſe Garriſons of Out-Laws, that immediately after the Act was publiſhed, they abandon'd their Poſts, and deſerted in ſuch Numbers, that their old Haunts became a Deſolation, and lay open to receive better Inhabitants.

The Summer after this Seſſion of Parliament, his Majeſty being at the Head of his Army in *Flanders*, his Enemies, even after they had opened the Campaign with the taking of *Aeth*, thought fit to enter into a Negociation of Peace, which was begun and carried on at *Ryſwick* by the Plenipotentiaries of all the Princes and States concerned, and thro' the good Diſpoſition of the principal Parties to ſo great a Work, the Treaty was concluded, and a Peace ratified the *Autumn* following; to the accompliſhing of which, his Majeſty's Preſence in *Flanders* mightily contributed. The Management of this famous Negociation, and the favourable Terms on which it was concluded, were no leſs to the People's Satisfaction than to his Majeſty's Glory. For the Malecontents never believed that it was poſſible for the King to make Peace upon any, much leſs upon Terms ſo very honourable; and therefore they look'd on this Tranſaction at *Ryſwick*, as a pure Amuſement either to break the Confederacy, or to cover ſome notable Deſign which was not yet ripe for Execution. And when at laſt they ſaw the Treaty far advanc'd, they began indeed to believe that a Peace might be concluded with the reſt of the Allies, but they were certain. *England*

would never be included: For they judg'd this so incredible a Story, that they scarcely believ'd it when the Peace was publickly and solemnly proclaimed.

This important Work being thus happily effected, his Majesty returned to *England*; where the People every where received him, as they had the greatest Reason in the World to do, with all the Applause and Demonstration of Joy that can be imagined. He met his Parliament the third Day of *December*.

The War being ended, the House of Commons, for the Ease of the People, voted the Army to be disbanded, and resolved to raise a Supply sufficient to pay off the Troops; But at the same time when they took off so great a Part of the Burden from the Country, out of a due Regard to our future Safety, they passed a Vote to enable his Majesty to keep such a Number of Troops on Foot, and to maintain such a naval Force, as in their Opinion the Security of the Government and the publick Tranquility required.

When the House had voted a Supply for the disbanding the greatest Part of the Army, they took into Consideration the Services of the Officers and common Men, who had amidst so many Hardships, Dangers and Disappointments in nine successive Campaigns, shewn so much Bravery and Fidelity in the Defence of their Country, as recovered the declining Reputation of the *English* Valour, and preserved the Kingdom from the terrible Assaults of the most potent Empire that perhaps was ever erected in the World. It was thought hard that such gallant Men, to whom the Kingdom owed so much, should be discharged without any Provision made for them; the House of Commons therefore passed a Vote in their Favour, *That the Officers should be continued in Half-Pay, 'till they should be otherwise provided for*; and, *that the common Centinels should have a Donative at their Disbanding*; and for their further Encouragement, *should be free to set up and exercise their Trades in any Town or Corporation throughout the Country.*

This being done, the Parliament took into Consideration two great Branches of Trade, which had long wanted a due Regulation; and they first entered upon that of the Company trading to *Africa*; and in Consideration of the Necessity of keeping up Forts and Castles for the Defence of our Factories on the Coast of *Guinea*, there being no regular Government among those barbarous People, on whose Protection they might safely rely, the Parliament thought it necessary to establish the *African* Company for the better carrying on our Commerce to those Parts. Yet the free Traders or Interlopers were likewise permitted to trade to the same Coasts, provided they paid to the established Company ten *per Cent.* of the Value of Goods exported, towards the Maintenance of the Forts and Settlements.

Next they entered on the Business of the *East-India* Trade, which had been depending many Years, and was look'd on as so nice and difficult that it had been referred to the King and his Council, and back again by them to the Parliament.

This Affair being brought into the House of Commons, and the old Company having offered to advance seven hundred thousand Pounds, at four *per Cent.* for the Service of the Government, in Case the Trade to *India* might be settled on them exclusive of all others, the House seem'd inclined to embrace their Proposal, when a Number of eminent Merchants proposed to the House to

raise

raiſe two Millions at eight *per Cent.* on Condition the Trade to *India* might be ſettled on the Subſcribers, excluſive of all others. They propoſed that theſe Subſcribers ſhould not be obliged to trade in a Joint-Stock, but if any Members of them ſhould afterwards deſire to be incorporated, a Charter ſhould be granted to them for that Purpoſe.

The Houſe judg'd this Overture not only to be more advantageous to the Government, but likewiſe more likely to ſettle this controverted trade on a better Foundation than it was before; a Bill therefore was brought into the Houſe, for ſettling the Trade to the *Eaſt-Indies* on thoſe who ſhould ſubſcribe the two Millions, according to the Limitations before mentioned. But ſo great a Regard was had to the Members of the old Company, that 'till they had refuſed and rejected the Offer made them of ſettling this Trade upon them, if they would accept it on the ſame Terms and Limitations on which the others were contented to take it, and which the Parliament judg'd moſt advantageous for the Kingdom, and the Bill did paſs in Favour of the New Adventures.

The Bill being paſſed, and the Books laid open to take Subſcriptions, the whole two Millions were ſubſcribed in leſs time than four Days, the People ſhewed ſo much Zeal to aſſiſt the Government, and promote the Trade of the Nation, that 'tis very probable a Million more had been ſubſcribed, had not the Books been ſhut up before the diſtant Corporations, and private Men in remote Counties, could remit their Commiſſions for the great Sums they intended to ſubſcribe. The Diſpatch of ſo great a Work, in ſo ſhort a Time, after the Nation had borne ſo chargeable a War for ſo many Years, ſurpriz'd and amaz'd all the World. And as it greatly mortified all thoſe who were joyfully aſſured that his Majeſty would be diſappointed of this Supply, ſo it gave our neighbouring Nations an aſtoniſhing Image both of the Opulence of the People, and the Strength of the Government. This Tranſaction view'd in all its Circumſtances, is indeed ſo very ſtrange and wonderful, that it will be a hard Matter for Poſterity to believe it. How will they be able to perſuade themſelves, that a Nation whoſe Wealth might with great Reaſon be ſuppoſed to be exhauſted after they had contended ſo many Years with ſuch a mighty Enemy, ſhould be capable of furniſhing ſuch a vaſt Supply in four Days? Yet this wiſe Parliament had ſo much Skill in touching the Springs of the People's Affection, that notwithſtanding all the Loſſes they had ſuffer'd, and all the Expence they had been at, they were prevailed with to advance this great Supply with ſuch incredible Expedition. And by this Means the Parliament, only by doubling the Duty on Proceedings at Law, and that on Salt, raiſed a Supply of two Millions; which to have done by any other Ways, was at that time a Matter of the higheſt Difficulty.

The Parliament likewiſe this Seſſion, applied themſelves with great Diligence to diſcover ſuch Offenders who by fraudulent and ſurreptitious Ways had carried on a ſecret Commerce with *France*; and to the great Damage of this Kingdom, had brought in for diverſe Years paſt, great Quantities of Alamodes and Luſtrings. Many of theſe Criminals they detected and puniſhed: And to prevent the Continuance of this clandeſtine and moſt prejudicial Trade, and to encourage our own Manufacture, they brought in a Bill which after paſt into an Act intitled, *An Act for the better Encouragement of the Royal Luſtring*

Company, and the more effectual preventing the fraudulent Importation of Lustrings and Alamodes.

And for as much as many ill Men continued to export *Engliſh* Wool, *&c.* to foreign Parts, to the unſpeakable Detriment of the Nation, notwithſtanding the ſevere Laws that were in Force againſt ſuch Offenders, the Parliament the more effectually to obviate that ſtubborn Miſchief for the future, made many prudent Proviſions, in an Act intitled, *An Act for the Explanation and better Execution of former Acts made againſt Tranſportation of Wool, Fullers-Earth and ſcouring-Clay.*

This Seſſion likewiſe, upon Complaints made, that the Woollen Manufacture was carried on in *Ireland*, to the great Prejudice of that Staple-Trade in *England*, the Parliament took care to ſtop the Progreſs of that growing Evil. They entered upon a Bill for that Purpoſe, but it terminated at laſt in an Addreſs to the King, *That his Majeſty would be pleas'd to uſe the moſt effectual Means to diſcourage his Subjects of* Ireland *from proſecuting the Woollen, and encourage them to apply themſelves to the Linnen Manufacture in that Kingdom, whereby they might carry on a gainful Trade to themſelves, without interfering with an Intereſt of which his Subjects in* England *were ſo very tender.*

Theſe were the principal Tranſactions of theſe worthy Patriots in their three Seſſions; and thoſe who ſeriouſly reflect on the mighty Difficulties which with unexampled Reſolution they encountered, and at laſt maſter'd, on the wiſe and effectual Remedies which they applied to the ſharpeſt and moſt obſtinate Diſtempers under which any Nation ever languiſhed, on their Conſtancy and unwearied Diligence, either in obviating new Dangers, or removing freſh Miſchiefs that embroil'd their Affairs, with what Vigour they plied the Helm, and how ſteadily they ſteer'd on very treacherous and boiſterous Waters, how oft they row'd againſt Wind and Tide, and tho' often carried back by the Violence of the Current, or diverted by rapid Turns or Eddies of State, yet ſtill return'd with invincible Courage, ſtemm'd the Tide and forced their Way, 'till at laſt, in Spite of all Oppoſition, they gain'd their intended Port, thoſe I ſay, who impartially and ſeriouſly make theſe Reflections, can't but entertain a great Veneration of their Ability and Zeal for the publick Good. If there be any Man that does not yet admire as he ought to do, the Greatneſs of this Parliament, let him but conſider what an amazing Undertaking it was to recoin all the Silver Money of the Nation when it was ready to ſink under the Weight of a long expenſive War; which Attempt was ſo hazardous, that the Enemy was made to believe it would certainly be fatal to us, and under that Confidence was perſuaded to continue the War, as they made Peace when that Preſumption was diſappointed. Let him conſider what a Task it was to recover the loſt Credit of the Nation both public and private, in thoſe low Circumſtances, to which we were then reduced. Let him conſider how great a Work it was to raiſe, or rather to make Money for the public Service which required extraordinary Supplies, when there was very little Money in being; let him conſider this well, and he will take righter Meaſures of the Wiſdom of this great Aſſembly. Theſe were the Works of refin'd Underſtanding, of the moſt extenſive Capacity and inflexible Perſeverance; and theſe were the Works of this Parliament. A Parliament that had the Honour to be hated and reviled as much as

any

any ever was, by the Enemies of our Government; which is a convincing Proof that they took the beſt Meaſures in the World for the Preſervation of it. For had they betrayed it, theſe Gentlemen would have thanked them for it; had they out of Supineneſs, or Ignorance, run it a-ground, our Enemies perhaps might have derided their Weakneſs and Unſkilfulneſs, but they could never have expreſſed ſo much Choler and Reſentment. The Slanders therefore and Invectives of theſe Men who heartily wiſh'd the Ruin of our Eſtabliſhment, is an honourable and laſting Encomium on the Proceedings of this Aſſembly; And as the Adherents of the late King openly declared their Anger and Enmity againſt the laſt Parliament, ſo 'tis not to be doubted but that all the Friends of the Government, that is every true *Engliſhman* has, on the other Hand, as great Affection and Reverence for their Memory.

A true and exact Account of all the Ceremonies obſerved by the Church of *Rome*, at the Opening, during the Progreſs, and at the Concluſion of the next approaching Jubilee, in the Year 1700. Taken and tranſlated into *Engliſh* from the *Latin* Original, printed at *Rome*, by Order from the Pope.

AT the Approach of the Jubilee, the Popes of *Rome* cauſe the Bill of Jubilee to be publiſhed with a great deal of Pomp and Magnificence. This Ceremony is always performed on *Aſcenſion-Day*, in the great Portal of St. *Peter*'s Church in the *Vatican*; where for this Purpoſe are placed two rich Chairs, from whence the Miniſters choſen by his Holineſs, read with a very loud and diſtinct Voice, the Brief or Bull of the Jubilee in *Italian*: After this Publication four ſeveral Copies of the ſaid Bull are affixed to the *Eaſt*, *South*, *Weſt* and *North* Corners of the City of *Rome*; as it was practiſed in Pope *Urban* VIII's Time, who' in the Year 1624, upon *Aſcenſion-day*, which then fell upon the 16th of *May*, appeared in Perſon in the Church of St. *Peter*'s, and commanded Signior *Don Auſtin Durando* to read the before-mentioned Brief in the Preſence of ſome of the Clerks of the Apoſtolick Chamber, and ſome other Officers, but neither any of the Cardinals, nor of the Canons of St. *Peter* aſſiſted at the Ceremony. The *Sunday* next following, the ſaid Bull was likewiſe publiſhed in the ſame Manner in the other Churches, where, according to ancient Cuſtom, they are uſed to open the *Holy Gate*.

This being done, Briefs or Letters are diſpatched to all the Patriarchs, Primates, Archbiſhops, Biſhops and other Superiours of all the Provinces in the Kingdoms, to notify the Celebration of the Jubilee, and to exhort the Prelates to be more than ordinary zealous in their Duty to inſtruct, either themſelves, or by their Miniſters, the Flocks committed to their Care, by which Means

they

they may qualify themſelves to obtain the happy Effects of the approaching Jubilee; juſt as the Jubilee inſtituted by *Moſes*, according to God's Order, was publiſhed before the ſeventh Month under the Sound of Trumpets.

The Solemnity of the Jubilee itſelf begins upon *Chriſtmas-Eve*, juſt before the *Veſpers*, by a Ceremony, which deſerves particularly to be taken Notice of, which is the opening of the *Holy Gate*. For the better Underſtanding of which, it is to be known, that this *Holy Gate* is one of the Gates of St. *Peter*'s Church in the *Vatican*, which is always ſhut, nay, even bricked up during the Interval betwixt the Jubilees, which always begins by the Opening of this Gate.

On the 24th Day therefore of *December*, which is the Eve of the Nativity of Chriſt, all the Gates of theſe four Churches, where there are any *Holy Gates*, are ſhut up by his Holineſs's Order, ſo that nobody can paſs thro' till ſuch time they are opened with the accuſtomed Ceremonies.

After Dinner, about the Time of the Veſpers of this great Eve, a moſt ſolemn Proceſſion is made, at which aſſiſt the Ambaſſadors of foreign Princes, then reſiding in *Rome*, the Magiſtrates of the City, all the Penitentiaries and Prelates abiding at *Rome*; all the Chapters, Fraternities, the *Roman* Clergy, the College of Cardinals, and the ſovereign Pontiff in Perſon; each according to his Rank and Quality. Thus they go in Proceſſion with a great Croſs before them, to the Chappel of the Apoſtolic Palace, where the whole Company being entered, the Holy Father, with all there preſent, fall upon their Knees before the Sacrament; in the mean time that many Officers are employed in lighting Flambeaus for the Cardinals to hold, as a Sign of Joy. Then the Pope throws ſome Incenſe upon a Chafing-Diſh, with a moſt profound Reverence before the Altar; after which, he begins the Hymn; *Veni Creator Spiritus*, which is continued to the End by a Concert of Muſic, and ſung diſtinctly, to repreſent the Holy Fathers in *Limbo*. From thence, this Proceſſion goes on in the ſame Order as before, to St. *Peter*'s Church, being followed by the Holy Father in Perſon, who is carried in a Chair, to the *Holy Gate*, which, as well as all the reſt, is kept cloſe ſhut up. Every Body having taken his Place, the Holy Father gets out of his Chair, and with a lighted Wax-Taper in his Hand, walks up three Steps to another Chair, placed for that Purpoſe, juſt by the *Holy Gate*. After he has repoſed a little, he ariſes, and turning himſelf towards the *Holy Gate*, he knocks with a Silver Hammer on the *Holy Gate*, which is to be opened, and ſings likewiſe three ſeveral times, the following Verſes, unto which the Muſicians, who compoſe the Chorus, anſwer at each time.

V. *Aperite mihi portas Juſtitiæ.*	V. Open unto me the Gates of Juſtice.
R. *Ingreſſus in eas confitebor Domino.*	R. When I am entered I will praiſe the Lord.
V. *Introibo in Domum tuam Domine.*	V. I will enter, O Lord, into thy Houſe.
R. *Adorabo ad Templum Sanctum tuum, in timore tuo.*	R. I will adore thee in thy Fear in thy Temple.

V.

V. *Aperite portas, quoniam nobiſcum Deus.*
R. *Quia fecit Virtutem in Iſrael.*

V. Open the Gates, becauſe the Lord is with us.
R. Becauſe he has made known his Strength in *Iſrael.*

Then the Pope ſits down in his Chair again; and ſays:

V. *Domine exaudi orationem meam.*
R. *Et Clamor meus ad te veniat.*

V. Lord, hear my Prayer.
R. Let my Cry reach thy Ears, O Lord.

At the ſame Inſtant that the Pope goes from the *Holy Gate* towards his Chair, the Maſons begin to demoliſh the Wall wherewith the *Holy Gate* had been bricked up, and as they are carrying off the Materials, the Pope goes on thus;

V. *Dominus vobiſcum.*
R. *Et cum Spiritu tuo.*

V. The Lord be with you.
R. And with thy holy Spirit.

OREMUS. *Actiones noſtras quod ſumus Domine,* &c.

This Prayer being done, the Chorus Sings the Pſalm; *Jubilate Deo omnis terra, ſervite Deo in lætitia,* &c.

During which time, the People which croud up as near as they can to the Rails, and the Penitentiaries in their ſacerdotal Veſtments, waſh the Head-piece, Poſts, and the Threſhold; and in ſhort, the *Holy Gate* with Holy Water: Which being done, the Pope, as he is approaching to enter the *Holy Gate*, ſays the following Verſes, and is anſwered by the Chorus.

V. *Hic dies quam fecit Dominus.*
R. *Exultemus, & lætemur in ea.*
V. *Beatus populus tuus, Domine.*
R. *Quid facit Jubilationem.*
V. *Hic eſt porta Domini.*
R. *Juſti intrabunt per eam.*
V. *Domine exaudi orationem meam.*
R. *Et clamor meus ad te veniat.*
V. *Dominus vobiſcum.*
R. *Et cum Spiritu tuo.*

V. This is the Day the Lord has given us.
R. Let us rejoice in it.
V. Happy is thy People, O Lord.
R. Which enjoys this Jubilee.
V. This is the Gate of the Lord.
R. The Righteous are to enter it.
V. O Lord hear my Prayer.
R. And let our Cries reach thy Ear.
V. The Lord be with you.
R. And with thy Spirit.

Let us Pray:

O Lord, who by thy Servant *Moſes*, did'ſt inſtitute among the Children of *Iſrael* the Jubilee and Year of Remiſſion: grant thro' thy Goodneſs, to us who have the Honour to be called thy Servants, to commence happily this preſent Jubilee, ordained by thy Authority; and in which it has been thy Will to ſet open to thy People in a moſt ſolemn Manner this Gate, thro' which to enter into

into thy Temple, to offer their Prayers in the Preſence of thy divine Majeſty; that thereby having obtained plenary and abſolute Remiſſion of all our Sins, we may, at the Day of our Departure out of this World, be conducted thro' thy Mercy, to the Enjoyment of the heavenly Glory, through *Jeſus Chriſt*. Amen.

This Prayer being ended, a Croſs is given into the Pope's Hand, who kneeling down in the *Holy Gate*, Sings the *Te Deum Laudamus*, *&c.* and afterwards, as he is entering thro' the Gate, the Chorus go on ſinging, *Te Dominum*. He is no ſooner entered thro' the Gate into the Body of the Church, but the Chairmen cloathed in Red, attending for that Purpoſe, take him up in a Chair, and carry him ſtreightways to the great Altar of the Church of St. *Peter*; where being ſet down, he ariſes out of the Chair, and after ſome time ſpent in Prayers before the holy Sacrament, he mounts a Throne, erected on Purpoſe for this Uſe, and begins the Veſpers, which, according to Cuſtom, are ſung for the Feaſt of the Nativity of our Saviour.

On the ſame Day, and at the ſame Hour, his Holineſs deputes three Cardinal Legates, to go and open the other *Holy Gates* of the Churches, to wit: That of St. *Paul*, that of St. *John de Lateran*, and of St. *Maria Majori*, which is performed with the ſame Ceremonies and Prayers as has been mentioned juſt now. This Choice falls commonly upon two Archbiſhops and the Dean, who go from thence with a moſt magnificent Cavalcade, to perform this Function, which is like a Proclamation to all the chriſtian World, that the Treaſure of the Church is ſet open, and diſtinguiſhes the true Catholics from the *Heretics* and *Jews*. It muſt be confeſſed that the firſt Origin, as well as the true Creation which gave Birth to this ſolemn Ceremony, is ſomewhat obſcure, but out of the Bull of Pope *Alexander* VI. which begins *Inter Curas*, *&c.* it is evident, that the ſame has been practiſed for many Ages paſt in the Church, and which has been mentioned by St. *Anthony* in his Chronicle, as a very ancient Ceremony. Some derive this opening of the Holy Gate from a Cuſtom practiſed in the primitive Church, where thoſe who had incurred the Cenſure of the Church, by Reaſon of ſome enormous Crimes and Scandals, were enjoyned to perform certain public Penances, and were excluded from the Entrance of the Church on *Shrove Tueſday*, by ſhutting the Doors upon them; but on the *Holy-Thurſday*, after a general Abſolution given to all the penitent Sinners there, by opening of the Gates, re-admitted and received into the Boſom of the Church; if they had accompliſhed the enjoyned Penance; if not, the Door was ſhut againſt them again till the next following Year, and ſometimes for their whole Life-time. The Church Iſle therefore, having from ancient Times been the Place aſſigned to thoſe who underwent the Church Penance during the time of the Church Office, this has introduced the Cuſtom of opening the *Holy Gate* at the beginning of the Jubilee.

But there being four ſeveral Churches, which each have a *Holy Gate*, this has occaſioned ſome Diſpute, which of them ought to have the Precedency in the Performance of this Ceremony. The Church of St. *John de Lateran*, is both the firſt in Rank, and enjoys ſome Prerogatives before all the other Churches in the City of *Rome*, as appears by the Conſtitutions of Pope *Gregory*

XI.

XI. and Pope *Pius* V. However, when any of these pontifical Functions, which have a more strict Relation to the Pope's Authority, Dignity, and Majesty, are to be performed with the utmost Splendor; such as the Canonization of Saints, the Coronations and Benedictions of Kings, the Church of St. *Peter* has always had the Preference given her before all the rest. And it is upon the same Score, that this Church claims the Preference in this most just Ceremony, both as to the Time and other Circumstances; the *Holy Gate* of St. *Peter*'s Church being the first that is opened by the Pope's own Hands. It has also been called in Question by some, whether any other Person besides the Pope himself has any Authority to open the *Holy Gate*; where it is to be observed, that in Case the Jubilee has already been published before by the deceased Pope and the Cardinals are not enter'd into the Conclave in order to proceed to the Election of a new Pope, it belongs to the Cardinal *d'Ostia*, Dean of the Church, to open the first *Holy Gate* in the Pope's Stead, as then their Cardinals represent the Pope's Person when they open the *Holy Gates* of the other three Churches; the Reason is, that, because this Ceremony is not essential, but only an accidental Part of the Jubilee, which might be celebrated without it, and was by some thought fit to be omitted, for Fear of giving Scandal to such, who perhaps look upon the Jubilee as imperfect without it, but it is my Opinion that if the Jubilee, be not promulgated before the Face of the sovereign Pontiff, the same cannot be published, and consequently the *Holy Gate* is not to be opened; the Authority of giving plenary Indulgence to the whole Church, belonging only to the Pope and the general Councils. However, it is to be observed, that this Jubilee being established every 25 Years, by many preceeding Popes, especially by *Paul* II. *Sixtus* IV. *Alexander* VI. *Julius* III. *Gregory* XIII. and *Clement* VIII. this plenary Indulgence, I say, being so often published, confirmed, approved and renewed by their Authority, there is no Question, but that the Cardinals, in Case of a Vacancy of the Chair may supply the Pope's Place, and consequently also open the *Holy Gate*; and the Dean of the Church may send his circular Matters throughout Christendom, to notify that the Jubilee, established and confirmed by the Authority of so many preceeding Popes, being near at Hand, they ought to prepare themselves to receive the Benefit of it, and to invite them to undertake this holy Pilgrimage, this being not to be accounted a new Grant of Indulgences, but only a Publication of what was granted before by a legal Authority. Thus Pope *Julius* III. in his Constitution; *Si Pastores, &c.* declares, that without any further Publication, the Jubilee begins with the Feast of the Nativity of *Christ* in the holy Year. And, whereas his Exaltation to the papal Dignity, did not happen till after *Advent*, in the Year 1549, when the holy Year was actually begun, he published a Bull, dated the 23d Day of *February*, 1650. in the first Year of his Pontificate, in which he declares, that the Jubilee had actually commenced with the next preceeding Feast of the Nativity of our Saviour.

But having entertained you sufficient with the *Holy Gates*, and the Ceremonies belonging to them, we must also take a short View of those Transactions which are performed in the City of *Rome*, to obtain the happy End of the Jubilee. As those who hope to reap the Fruits of a plenary Indulgence, must qualify themselves for it by many Acts of Charity, a true Penitence and o-

ther good Works, ſo, I muſt needs tire the Reader's Patience, if I ſhould pretend to give an exact Account of thoſe who flock from all Parts to *Rome*, to make their Confeſſions, and appear before the higheſt Tribunal of Penitence; it will ſuffice to ſay, that both Day and Night all the Churches of that great City, are filled up with innumerable Multitudes of People, who offer up their Prayers in the Preſence of God Almighty. I may ſay it without Vanity, that there is no Street, no not as much as a By-Lane in this vaſt City, which being formerly the capital Empire of the World, is now the Capital of God's Kingdom upon Earth, where you may not ſee moſt evident Marks of an unfeigned Piety; here you meet thoſe, who make it their whole Buſineſs to give Alms to the Poor, with ſo much Profuſion, that you cannot imagine otherwiſe, but that they are giving away all they have, the better to follow *Chriſt*; others you may obſerve to beſtow moſt of their Time and Subſtance in giving a good Reception to thoſe Pilgrims, who come from all the Corners of *Chriſtendom*, to partake of the happy Effects of the Jubilee. You will meet as well in the Streets as in the Churches, vaſt Numbers of both Sexes, who touched with Remorſe for their paſt Crimes, appear in miſerable Dreſs, and a moſt abjected Poſture; ſome are clad in long coarſe Gowns, others covered only with Sack-Cloth, ſome cover their Hands and Faces with Aſhes, others knock their Breaſts with their Fiſts; many there are who tear the Fleſh all over their Bodies by the Violence of the Diſcipline; and to be ſhort, there is ſcarce any Kind of Mortification invented to give Satisfaction to, and appeaſe God's Anger, which you ſee not put in Practice at that Time. Neither muſt you imagine, that thoſe Exerciſes are performed by private Perſons only; no, you will ſee whole Fraternities and Congregations, compoſed of a conſiderable Number, who all animated by the ſame Spirit, ſtrive to excite one another to the Performance of them, by their mutual Examples. Thus you may behold entire Chapters and Colleges of Cannons, and other Societies, enter in Proceſſion the City of *Rome*; nay, whole Pariſhes, with their Curates at the Head of them, who leave their Habitations to pay their Adoration to the Lord, and his Son *Jeſus Chriſt* in that Church, where, as it may be ſaid, God has erected his Tabernacle, and honoured it with his particular Protection, and which claims a Prerogative before others, by the Death of the Chief of the Apoſtles and his fellow Sufferer. With this Kind of People you ſee all the Streets and other public Places of this vaſt City crowded, going in Proceſſion from one Church to the other, ſome ſinging, others ſighing and ſhedding Tears. For whilſt ſome are buſy in ſinging the Litanies and Pſalms appointed for that Purpoſe, others offer their Prayers with their Eyes faſtened to the Ground, and when they approach the Churches, eſpecially that of St. *Peter*, you may ſee many of them crawling upon the Ground to the Foot of the Altar, where they continue for a conſiderable Time in ſaying their Prayers.

Theſe and ſuch like Devotions are practiſed at *Rome* throughout the Courſe of the whole Jubilee; when a few Days before *Chriſtmas-Eve*, (the laſt Day of the holy Year) Proclamation is made, that upon the next Eve of the Nativity of *Chriſt*, his Holineſs intends to ſhut put the *Holy Gate* of the Church of the *Vatican*; which Day being come, a Proceſſion is made from the Apoſtolic Palace to St. *Peter*'s Church in the ſame Manner, as has been mention-

ed

ed before; and, after some time spent in Prayers before the holy Sacrament, the Vespers are sung, and three Cardinals deputed to shut up the *Holy Gates* of the three other Churches. No sooner have these three Prelates and their Company received the Benediction from his Holiness, and are marching in a most splendid Cavalcade to perform this Function, but the Pope and Cardinals, who assist at the Ceremony, being presented with lighted Wax Candles, they march in good Order, with the Cross before them, towards the *Holy Gate*, which is to be shut up; the Pope being carried after them in a Chair under a Canopy, and as they pass by their Chappel where the holy Sacrament of the Altar is deposited, he offers up his Thanks to God for the happy Conclusion of the holy Year; which done, the holy Pontiff begins the Anthem, *cum Jucunditate*; whilst the Chorus is singing this Anthem or Psalm, *nisi Dominus edificaverit domum*, the Procession moves from and towards the *Holy Gate*, where, after some Prayers, the Pope standing under his Canopy, turns his Face to the *Holy Gate*, without his Mitre, and a Wax Candle in his Hand, and thus imparts his Benediction to the Materials, which are ready at Hand to close up the *Holy Gate*, in the following Words.

V. *Adjutorium nostrum in nomine Domini.*	V. Our help is in the Lord.
R. *Qui fecit cœlum & terram.*	R. Who has made Heaven and Earth.
V. *Sit nomen Domini benedictum.*	V. The Name of the Lord be praised.
R. *Ex hoc nunc, & usque in seculum.*	R. Now and for ever.
V. *Lapidem quem reprobaverunt artifices.*	V. The Stone which was refused by the Artificers.
R. *Hic factus est in caput anguli.*	R. Is now become the corner Stone.
V. *Domine exaudi orationem meam.*	V. O Lord hear my Prayer.
R. *Et clamor meus ad te veniat.*	R. And let my Cries reach thy Ear.
V. *Dominus vobiscum.*	V. The Lord be with you.
R. *Et cum spiritu tuo.*	R. And with thy Spirit.

Let us Pray.

Great God, who protects the highest, that is in the middle, and the lowest, who sanctifiest thy Creatures, bless those thy Creatures, the Stones, the Mortar and Sand; thro' our Lord *Jesus Christ*. Amen.

After which, the high Pontiff, the Clergy, and all the Rest that assist at the Ceremony, come out through the *Holy Gate*, just before it is going to be closed up; and the holy Father besprinkles the Materials with holy Water and some Incense, and putting again his Mitre upon his Head, with a Linnen Cloth round his Middle, he gives thereby to understand, that he professes himself to be the Servant of the true Servants of God, and that after the Example of our Lord *Jesus Christ*, he is not exalted to the papal Dignity, and put in St. *Peter*'s Chair to be served, but to serve others.

In this Posture the grand Penitentiary presents to him a Silver Trowel gnilt, wherewith he takes up three several Times some Mortar out of a Basket, carried by the Master of the Ceremonies, which Mortar he spreads and plaisters all along the lower Part, upon the Threshold of the Holy Gate; according to the Vision of the Prophet *Amos*, which saw the Lord with a Mason's Trowel in his Hands. The Threshold being thus covered all over with the Mortar, the Pope throws upon it both to the Right and the Left, as well as in the Middle, several Medals of Gold and Silver, representing the triumphant *Jerusalem*, the Walls of which are described, *Apocal.* c. xxi. to be built of precious Stones. The Pope after this covers the Mortar and Medals with three square Stones, and whilst he is busy in performing this Function, says, with a low but intelligible Voice, these following Words.

In fide & virtute Jesu Christi Dei vivi, qui Apostolorum Principi dixit; Tu es Petrus, & per hanc Petram edificabo Ecclesiam meam collocamus lapidem primarium, ad Claudendam ad huc portam sanctam ipso tantum modo, Jubilei anno reserandam. In nomine Patris, &c.

In the Faith and by the Authority of *Jesus Christ*, the only Son of the living God, who did say to the chief of the Apostles, thou beest *Peter*, and upon this Rock I will found my Church, we lay this last Stone towards the closing of the Holy Gate, which is not to be opened again till the next Jubilee. In the Name of God the Father, *&c.*

After the Pope has fastened these three square Stones with Mortar, and the Master Mason has drawn his Line, the grand Penetentiary with a Trowel in his Hand, lays likewise a Stone upon those laid before by the Pope, being assisted by the other Penitentiaries there present, to convince the World that they are the Pope's Co-adjutors, in the Administration of the Sacrament of Penitence. For each of them in his due Order, lays Hand to the Work, under the Direction of his Holiness, and raise the Wall, which is to close up the *Holy Gate*, to a considerable Height, whilst the Chorus Sings the Hymn: *Cœlestis urbs Jerusalem, &c.* Which being ended, the sovereign Pontiff washes his Hands, and says these following Words.

V. *Salvum fac populum tuum Domine.*	V. Lord save thy People.
R. *Et benedic hæreditati tua.*	R. And bless thy Inheritance.
V. *Fiat misericordia tua Domine super nos.*	V. Let thy Mercy appear unto us.
R. *Quem admodum speravinus in te.*	R. According as we have put our Hopes in thee.
V. *Mitte nobis Domine auxilium de Sancto.*	V. Lord send us thy Help from thy Sanctuary.
R. *Et de Sion tuere nos.*	R. And defend us from *Sion.*
V. *Domine exaudi orationem meam.*	V. O Lord hear my Prayer.
R. *Et clamor meus ad te veniat.*	R. And let my Cry reach thy Ears.
V. *Dominus vobiscum.*	V. The Lord be with you.
R. *Et cum spiritu tuo.*	R. And with thy holy Spirit.

OREMUS.

OREMUS.

Deus, qui in omni Loco Dominationis tuæ clemens & benignus existi, exaudi nos quæ sumus, & præsta, ut inviolabilis permaneat hujus Loci Sanctificatio, & Beneficia tui Muneris in hoc Jubileo Anno, Universitas Fidelium, impetrasse litetur; per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, &c.

Let us Pray,

Great God, who at all Times, and at all Places, gives us innumerable Proofs of thy Mercy and Goodness, hearken unto our Prayers, and grant that this Place may always be sanctified before thee, and that all faithful Christians may rejoice in having been Partakers of thy Mercies in this Jubilee; through our Lord *Jesus Christ*.

This Prayer being ended, the Holy Father sets himself upon the Throne, and whilst twelve Bricklayers, to wit, six on the Right, and as many on the Left Hand are busy in closing up and raising the Wall to the Top of the Holy Gate, the Chorus sings, *Lauda Jerusalem Dominum lætatus sum in his*, &c. and other such like Psalms. The Wall being finished by the Masons, the High Pontiff concludes the whole Ceremony, by imparting his Benediction with a plenary Indulgence of the Jubilee to all there present, who are not sparing on their Side in their Acclamations of Joy, and making ten thousand Vows for the Prosperity and Preservation of his Holiness. Which being done, the *Te Deum* is sung for a Thanksgiving for the many Mercies received by the People in this Jubilee, who thus well satisfied and filled with spiritual Joy, return to their respective Homes, as the Holy Father retreats to the apostolick Palace.

Cursory Remarks upon some late disloyal Proceedings, in several Cabals: composed of an Intermixture of Interests. 1699.

The CONTENTS.

A *Premonition against causeless Fears, by shewing the great Things the King and the Government have done for* England; *and the ungrateful Returns his Majesty has encountered from a Mixture of various Interests, assembled at several Cabals; compos'd of,*

Old Jacobites, Republicans, False Friends, New Converts, Placemongers, envious and ambitious Murmurers, seditious Clubbers and Writers: who are continually

Un-

Undermining Royal Authority, reviling the publick Miniſtry, and raiſing cauſeleſs Jealouſies and Suſpicions to amuſe the People, and advance themſelves into the Supremacy, by falſe Notions in Government.

Which are examined and refuted: Their Suſpicions proved falſe and groundleſs: Their Deſigns plainly diſcovered, in contributing toward the diſbanding the whole Army, ſending away the Dutch *Guards, ſecluding Members of Parliament, &c. And the Ways and Means by which they promote Diſcontents, are detected, &c.*

The PREFACE *to the* READERS.

TIS notoriouſly known to the Grief of good Subjects, and the Shame of bad Ones, that the King's Majeſty, at ſeveral Cabals, has been treated with leſs Honour and Reſpect than is due to his illuſtrious Merits, and glorious Atchievements: Or, that becomes a People, whoſe vaſt Obligations to him ſhould have better inſtructed them in their Duty.

But ſince Scandals will ariſe, to prevent the Woes that attend the Inventers and Promoters of them, I have eſſayed to put a Stop to their Currency, by endeavouring to reclaim the Traducers and diſabuſe the People, who are impoſed upon by falſe Suggeſtions, and attempted to be frighted out of their Allegiance with feign'd Fears and Dangers.

This being a kind Office to all, none can be diſpleaſed at the Undertaking. For tho' I ſhew how the Nation is abuſed, by Miſrepreſentations of Men and Things, I name not the Perſons, and if any are ſo fond of diſcovering themſelves, by being concerned at general Reflections, and ſay, There the Author means us, *I cannot help it, they are in the Right, and I can only ſay, What made them there? they know themſelves, and I my own Meaning; which I take to be ſo plainly expreſſed that no* Engliſhman *can doubt of it, or think I have uſurped a Province I had no Commiſſion for.*

If Men will do Things they are unwilling to hear of, and raiſe Spectrums they are afraid to ſee, the Fault's their own. They that make the Clamour muſt not blame the Eccho; nor they that raiſe evil Spirits be angry at him that lays them.

Some Men have taken the Freedom publickly to affront, ſcandalize and abuſe Authority, and if others have not the Privilege of vindicating injur'd Innocency and Integrity, and of throwing the Calumnies on the Heads of the Agreſſors, the Caſe is very hard, and admits of greater Aggravations, by Reaſon their Cauſe is juſter; for if ſuch a Courſe muſt carry it, the Liberty we have ſo long contended for is all a Chimera, whilſt every Man hath not an equal Share in it. And therefore, ſince it can't be ſuppos'd that any Law of Honour, Conſcience, or of the Nation can be violated by an honeſt Deſign of continuing a right Underſtanding, and a mutual Agreement between the royal Head and loyal Members, by removing the Cauſe of Diſſention, I ſhall not be in Pain about the Contents of the enſuing Pages.

Curſory,

Curſory Remarks upon ſome late Diſloyal Proceedings, &c.

THE Affairs of this *Sublunary* World carry a Reſemblance with thoſe of the Air; for as in thoſe celeſtial Regions, there is ſometimes a ſweet and harmonious Concord, and Serenity through the whole Hemiſphere, and at other tiimes the Face of Heaven is overcaſt with Frowns, Fogs, and Exhalations, which hover a while in the Air, and at length break into dreadful Fulgurations, and raiſe a Kind of War in the elementary World: So it is in this inferior Orb, which is peopled with Men compounded of the Elements: Sometimes we have gentle Calms of Peace and Tranquility, and other Times nothing but Wars, Seditions, Heats and Animoſities, which like the Plague infect our Converſations, diſturb the Body politick, and put all Things out of Order.

And as the Commotions in the Sky are ingendered of Fogs and Miſts drawn out of fenny and diſeaſed Commons, and are uſually foreſhewn by rolling Clouds, and the malevolent Conjunctions of erratick Stars; ſo the Troubles of the World in general, and of *England* in particular, take their Birth and Nouriſhment from ill Humours that poſſeſs ambitious Minds, and indigent and malecontented Men, who aſpire without Deſert, rail without Reaſon, and would put the Kingdom into a Flame, to warm themſelves by the Heat on't: Or by diſperſing their cauſeleſs Fears and Jealouſies through the Nation, deſign to divide and deſtroy it.

We are fallen into thoſe Dregs of Time, wherein Atheiſm and Irreligion, Sedition and Debauchery, ſeem to divide the World between them; wherein true and unaffected Piety is out of Countenance; wherein all the ſacred Ties to our Sovereign are as looſe as our Manners; and in which that generous Honeſty, and religious Loyalty, which was once the Glory and Character of our Nation, is vaniſhed into Diſobedience and Contempt of our Superiours: For among all the vicious and impertinent Humours of the Age, as none are more common, ſo none are more equally lamentable, dangerous and ridiculous, than aſperſing Things venerable and ſacred, and ſpeaking Evil of illuſtrious Perſons; and yet that is now improved to ſuch a wicked Height, that he is accounted the wittieſt Man and ſtaunchеſt Member of his Party, that dares calumniate loudeſt; or elſe has the peculiar Knack in wounding Authority with ſly, ob-oblique and ominous Suggeſtions; that can ſtab and look another Way, as if they were wholly innocent, and unconcerned in the Miſchiefs that are only of their own contriving.

Now were theſe mean and ſcandalous Practices to be found only among a few, from whoſe weak and crazy Heads better Morals could not be expected, like a ſlight Scratch in the Body, it might be cured by neglecting and contemning it; but ſince the Diſeaſe is grown epidemical, and has intruded into topping Societies, 'tis time to put a Stop to the Gangreen before the whole Body of the People are infected, and grow ſick of their Proſperity. Next our Duty towards God, it greatly concerns our Peace and Happineſs to uphold our Loyalty to God's Anointed, and our Obedience to his Government; for our Peace

and

and Safety being wrapt up in the Welfare of the King, and the Proſperity of his Laws, 'tis our Wiſdom and Intereſt to be true to both, and bear a juſtifiable Abhorrence to all ſeditious Members in the Kingdom, who would weaken the Head to fortify the Body, and would perſuade us, that to traduce and expoſe his Majeſty is the way to make his Reign and our Lives happy; and that the Diminution of his regal Power and Prerogatives, is the Way to ſupport his Grandeur, and make the three Kingdoms happy.

Theſe are the abominable Fallacies, which ſome ſeditious Members of our Body politick, are putting upon the fickle and injudicious Populace, with Deſign to abaſe the Monarch's legal Power, and lodge it in themſelves; and therefore 'tis every honeſt Man's Concern to oppoſe theſe wicked antimonarchial Principles and Practices, and to convince Men by the Truth and Reaſon of the Thing, that the Way to be happy ourſelves, is firſt to make the King ſo; and that to obey him humbly, to honour him conſcientiouſly, and to love him affectionately and heartily, is both our Duty and Advantage; whereas to caſt off that Reverence that he has a juſt Right to, to miſconſtrue his Actions, to traduce his Counſels, to ſuſpect his Integrity, and if it were poſſible, to render him cheap and inſignificant, which is the Courſe that is now taking by our Pſeudo-Patriots, is to tear our Peace, our Government and all to Pieces without the Help of a foreign Enemy.

Sure *England* is the unhappieſt Iſland in the World that can ne'er be proſperous and peaceable, fortunate and loyal, ſafe and contented at the ſame time. For no ſooner are we on the Borders of a happy Settlement, but ill Accidents, or malicious Inventions intervene to croſs and diſturb it. No ſooner are we in Poſſeſſion of a long deſired Peace, but ſome ſeditious Chimera's, nick-named the publick Good, or ſome cunningly ſtaged Fears and Jealouſies, Suſpicions and feigned Dangers, (which if duly examined, are nothing but the Reſults of a Spirit of Contradiction, and Diſobedience to monarchial Authority) throws us into ſuch violent Concuſſions and preternatural Heart-burnings, that the Nation, like a diſtracted Body, is laying Hands upon itſelf, and contributing more to its Ruin, by its own Heats and Diviſions than the Swords of our Enemies could effect.

Deteſtable Jealouſy and Suſpicion! How diſmal are thy Products! How deſtructive to Chriſtian Charity! How pernicious to human Societies! that no Bond is ſo ſtrong, no Tie ſo ſacred, no Deliverance ſo obliging, but this deluding Inchantreſs is able to diſſolve them.

What ſhall we ſay? Sure ſome ſtrange Fatality, ſome unuſual, unheard-of Giddineſs has ſeiz'd and infatuated ſome Members of the Kingdom, that they ſhould take Pleaſure in affronting their King and Deliverer, and out of an innate Averſion to Monarchy refuſe to do themſelves and their Country Right, for no other Reaſon, but becauſe they thought the King deſir'd it. Is not this to retort his ſignal Favours with Indignities, to requite his Love with Jealouſies, and to ſting him with our Tongues, while he is warming us in his Boſom?

Did he not deliver us from Tyranny and Oppreſſion? Has he not fought our Battles and procur'd us Peace and Plenty? Theſe Favours one would think had been enough to oblige a People of any Ingenuity, and for ever endeared a

Prince to us who ſnatch'd us from the Brink of Ruin, and with the Hazard of his own Life, preſerv'd ours, and the Kingdom.

Sure tho' we are unable to requite him, we ought not to injure him in his Honour, by baſe Surmiſes, and unwarrantable Suſpicions, and inſtead of treating him with the higheſt Epithets of Royalty, ſcarce afford him the civil Uſage of a Gentleman; certainly this is Ingratitude in the Abſtract, and wants a Name bad enough to ſignify its Baſeneſs; and that it may yet appear more black, and fright the Seditious from repeating their Crimes, by ſhewing them a Monſter of their own begetting; let us look a little backward, and trace it to its Original.

Our late Inability to extricate ourſelves and our Laws from a threatened Slavery, and Vaſſalage to a homebred and foreign Tyranny; and to defend our Liberties and Properties from the Inſults and Depredations of our own Countrymen and Strangers, made it abſolutely neceſſary for us to reſign our Power into the Hands of the Prince of *Orange*, now our gracious King, who wrought ſuch a Deliverance for the Nation as ought never to be forgotten, and can never be ſufficiently requited; if we conſider both the Matter which was great, and the Manner which was kind, and both extraordinary, and which will be mentioned with Honour by Men of Senſe, ſo long as the Proteſtant Name ſhall be remembered.

His Majeſty came not as the antient *Romans* and *Saxons* to conquer and lead in triumph after him, our Religion and Laws, our Lives and Liberties; but to defend, preſerve and ſecure us in them all.

For this End *alone* he undertook that dangerous and chargeable Expedition, which has prov'd as much to our Advantage, as it will be to his Majeſty's laſting Reputation.

What he has done argues that he was moved by a higher Principle than any this World can afford; in overlooking his own Eaſe and Security, when the publick Good and the Concerns of Chriſtianity call'd for his ſeaſonable Aſſiſtance. And

Here I could eaſily make a Panegyric upon his Vertues, and equal him to the moſt famous *Grecian* and *Roman* Generals; but I need not ſet forth his Praiſes, which do ſo loudly ſpeak for themſelves. Nor draw any tedious Parallels betwixt his Majeſty and the celebrated **Heroes** of former Ages, ſince I am herein prevented by all who have read the **Hiſtory** of former Times, and are ocular Witneſſes of what his Princely Goodneſs, with ſo much Courage, Mildneſs and Prudence hath done in this; for Things ſucceeded ſo well under his Conduct that we all ſubmitted ourſelves to his wiſe Direction, and put ourſelves under his gracious Protection, as the tutelar Genius of the Nation: And the Effects of his Enterprize were ſo ſtrange, ſo wonderful and ſurprizing, that had we not ſeen, we ſhould ſcarce have believed them, which makes the Wonder greater, that we ſhould ſo eaſily forget them.

As ſoon as his Majeſty landed, with what Joy and univerſal good Wiſhes was the News received? How forward were all Sorts of People to declare for his Highneſs; How willing were they to lend him a helping Hand for accompliſhing his great Work? How did we all generally concur and unanimouſly agree, to forget our Obligation to the late King, and aſſiſt his preſent Majeſty, rather than *James* the Second againſt ourſelves and his own Intereſt?

Nay, the Army itſelf, that now ſome ſcurrillous and trifling Pens have loaded with opprobrious Names, and ſtigmatized with baſe and ungenerous Reflections, for doing the beſt Piece of Service that ever was done for *England*, went over to him, chuſing rather to lie under the Imputation of Cowardice and Diſloyalty (which yet true *Engliſhmen* had rather die than really deſerve) than to be inſtrumental in inſlaving their native Country, and bringing it again under the Yoke of Popery and Slavery.

In ſhort, all Orders of Men, Eccleſiaſtical, Civil and Military, had their Eyes fixed upon his preſent Majeſty, as their great Deliverer, were reſolved to eſpouſe his Cauſe, and accordingly when the late King had withdrawn himſelf, Firſt, put the regal Adminiſtration into his Hands, and ſoon after, by a univerſal Conſent, ſet the imperial Diadem upon his Head. Where may it flouriſh for many, many Years.

Now, who that ever heard the doleful Sighs and Lamentations of *Engliſh* Proteſtants, when their Religion was in Danger of being loſt, and Popery, Idolatry and Superſtition was ſetting up as the national Mode of Worſhip could ever imagine, that the *Engliſh* could ſo ſoon, and ſo ungratefully forget the Benefit of reſtoring their Religion, or make any indecent Returns to King *William*, that acompliſhed it.

Who that ever knew, how in the late Reign our Laws were ſuſpended, our Properties ſeized, our Rights and Liberties invaded, and Proteſtants inſulted by furious Papiſts, could ever think to ſee the Day, that any *Engliſh* Proteſtant ſhould requite Good with Evil, and induſtriouſly ſlander the Footſteps of the Lord's Anointed, that healed our Breaches, and reſtored us to Liberty.

Who that has ever heard, or read, the humble Remonſtrance and Requeſt of a conſiderable Part of the *Engliſh* Clergy, Nobility, Gentry and Commons, to King *William* (when in *Holland*) to come over and help them: The Promiſes they made of ſtanding by him with their Lives and Fortunes, and how chearfully that great Prince undertook, and almoſt miraculouſly accompliſhed our Deliverance, could believe that the ſame Prince, ſhould from the ſame People receive a leſs dutiful and glorious Return, than the noble Enterprize deſerved.

Who that has ever heard, how unanimouſly and freely the Repreſentatives of the Nation, in the Convention at *Weſtminſter*, offered his Highneſs and his Princeſs the Crown? How they rejoiced at their Acceptance of it, and with what extraordinary Solemnity and Satisfaction they were proclaimed and crowned King and Queen of *England*, could ever think of ſeeing any thing that ſhould look like a Diminution of his Royal Authority, or ſuſpect his Kindneſs and good Intentions to a Nation, that he had obliged beyond Expreſſion?

Who could think, that after Acts of Settlement, Recognition of the King's Right, Aſſociation for his Safety, and ſettling a Fund for the War, and a Maintenance of his Royalty, that a ſullen, froward and ſeditious Sort of People ſhould riſe up among us, of all Qualities, but of no Religion, or moral Prudence, to beget a Miſunderſtanding betwixt this glorious King, and theſe loyal People, whoſe mutual Concord and Agreement is the Safety of the Kingdom, and the Terror of its Enemies.

How-

However, a few such there were, even in that very Parliament, that had given such ample Demonstrations of their Love and Loyalty. For the Nation having then a War upon its Hands (for the Maintenance of our new Settlement) with a potent Monarch that protected the Person, and espoused the Quarrel of the late abdicated King; and that great Supplies were absolutely necessary, to enable his Majesty to sustain the Force of a Kingdom, which by their own wise Administration, and the Supineness of *England* in the late inglorious Reigns, was now grown so potent, that it required a longer Sword to resist, than heretofore to conquer it, and in which his Majesty, without Flattery, has acquired more Honour, by checking and controuling the Power of *France*, than any of his great Predecessors did by subduing it; the Parliaments were obliged to lay great Taxes upon the People, and the Nation being not insensible of the Burden, the malecontented *Jacobites*, who were always more cunning in embroiling our Affairs, than in advancing their own, took the Advantage of it, and in all Companies declared, That the Government must of Necessity sink under its own Weight, and that our heavy Taxes, by reducing us to extreme Poverty, would inevitably prove our Destruction: And never ceased declaiming on this popular Subject, and galling the People in their tender Part; in hopes to make them weary of a Government, which was represented so burthensome, and to persuade them rather to let in the Deluge, than be at the Expence of maintaining the Banks.

Besides this Party that were for King *James*, there were others that were for no King at all, a Sort of Republicans of the old Stamp, that are for subverting Monarchy itself, to set up an Idol, they know not what, in the Room on't; and care not what becomes of King, and Parliament, and Kingdom too, so they can gratify their own Pride and Peevishness, and advance the *Dagon* of a Commonwealth; which is so inconsistent with the Humour, Nature, Interest and Constitution of the *English* People and Government, that they might as well attempt to stem the Tide, or reconcile disagreeing Elements, as think either to court or force them to submit to such a Form; yet however unlikely it was to expect the People's Compliance, they use their utmost Endeavour to promote it, and to this End Mr. *Harrington*'s Commonwealth of *Oceana*, and all Mr. *Milton*'s Antimonarchical Treatises, and that two which justifies the Murder of *Charles* I. and many Discourses of other Authors, as *Ludlow*'s Letters, and Mr. *Sidney*'s Discourse of Government, all on the same Subject, and tending to promote the Design of lessening and reproaching Monarchy, are reprinted, which, in their Ends and Designs, as well as their Authors, are no less Enemies to the Government, their King and Country, than the former; and assist in carrying on Discontents and Divisions among us, being such an odd Sort of Men, and so averse to all Kings, that if God should send them one from Heaven, they'd never like him two Days together; nay, if they were in Heaven themselves, 'tis to be feared they'd be turned out again, for attempting against the monarchical Power of God Almighty. These, I say, are some of the Troubles of our *Israel*, and are no less busy in traducing the King, than the rankest *Jacobites* in *England*, and greedily swallow down any Defamation upon the Court, to disgorge it with a greater Mixture of Malice and Slander at their next Republican Association. And though they are both in Extremes,

and as oppoſite to the *Jacobites* in their Principles, as they are to Peace and Loyalty; yet they both agree in Opinion and Practice againſt King *William* and his Government, and take the ſame Methods of lying and ſlandering, and raiſing Fears and Jealouſies to weaken and deſtroy it.

The *Jacobites* ſaid we ſhould never have Peace till *James* II. was reſtored; and the Republicans ſaid we ſhould never be able to cope with our Enemies, but muſt ſink under them, if we did not put ourſelves under the Regiment of a Commonwealth, and crown our Sovereign Lord the People. Theſe contradictory Notions were both ſupported by their Pamphleteers without Doors, and their crafty and diſſembling Ambodexters within, who, by aſſerting the War was like to be eternal, and the Nation's Ruin irretrievable, were tearing the Bowels of our common Mother, and plunging us into new Confuſions, by the united Endeavours of thoſe that were for a Popiſh arbitrary King, and thoſe that were for no King at all.

But the never to be forgotten Goodneſs of God, and the great Wiſdom, invincible Courage, and inflexible Reſolution of his Majeſty, having, to the great Mortification of the Enemies of the King and Kingdom, the entire Satisfaction of the true Friends of both, and the Admiration of all Men, concluded the War with *France*, and brought Home an honourable Peace, it confuted all their ominous Predictions, ſilenced their Clamours, ſhamed their Intrigues, and confounded all the pretended Dangers raiſed by our Enemies. And now one would think we had nothing to do, but to return our due Thanks to God and the King, make our Gratitude and Obedience as conſpicuous, as the Benefit was extraordinary; to pay our Debts, reward our Friends, forgive our Enemies, and under our own Vines and Fig-trees, ſolace ourſelves in a happy Peace, and live in Unity and Amity, and in Peace and Concord among ourſelves.

Theſe were the Things moſt deſired, beſt becoming Profeſſors of Chriſtianity, ſuitable to our Obligations, and ought to have been the Endeavours of all, in their ſeveral Stations. But, alas! to ſhew there is nothing completely happy on this ſide Heaven, how have we fruſtrated the Deſigns of God Almighty, whoſe Goodneſs and Long-ſuffering ſhould have led us to Repentance, by continuing in our Impieties? How ill and ungratefully have we treated his Majeſty, who, as the royal Inſtrument in the Hand of God, has procured us this, and many other ineſtimable Bleſſings? And how have we injured the whole Community, by dividing into Parties and Factions, and worrying one another by inteſtine Seditions? For,

No ſooner was there a Diſſolution of the former Parliament, and a freſh one convened, but new Murmurers, under the Names of Old Friend (though in Truth but a Compound of the other two) ſtarted up amongſt us to trouble our Affairs; who, though great Aſſerters of the late Revolution, ſeemed inclinable enough to a ſecond, if their private Sentiments may be collected from their public Diſcourſes; for from I know not what private Diſguſts, and perſonal Quarrels and Diſappointments, they are grown ſower and uneaſy, and to expreſs their Reſentments, in all Converſations endeavour to bring our Adminiſtration into Contempt; to clog the Wheels of the Government that it move ſlowly, or not at all; and, in ſhort, are againſt all Things which our known and open Enemies are againſt, and for all Things which they are for, and let the Conſe-

quences

quences be as miſchievous as they will, they think the more the better; and by theſe and other clandeſtine popular Arts, recommend themſelves to their Country as great Patriots, for no other Reaſon but that they would ſtarve, or bind up the Hands of the Government, that it ſhould not be able to ſupport and defend itſelf. The Proceedings againſt theſe Men, whether in their own Houſes or at Clubs, are of all others the moſt abſurd and unaccountable, and the Oppoſition they make againſt the Government ſeems to be the Effect of ſome ſtrange Infatuation. For though it ſhould be allowed, as it is a ſtanding Maxim among them that the Character of a Patriot, without Diſtinction of Times or Perſons, is to be always, in all Cauſes whatſoever, againſt the Court; yet they cannot be inſenſible, that the Face of Affairs is ſo altered by the late happy Revolution, that the Intereſt of their Country is the ſame with that of the Court. However, though this was a Government of their own chuſing, approving and ſettling, which methinks ſhould weigh much with all conſidering Men, that would not be thought guilty of Levity, Novelty and Inconſtancy; yet the Witchcraft of Parity, Envy and Ambition gives them ſuch a Satisfaction in croſſing the King, thwarting the Court, and by thoſe Arts rendering themſelves popular, that 'tis the Buſineſs of their Lives to make the King and his Miniſters uneaſy, and, if it were to be done, deſpicable in the Eyes of the People. Now,

Were theſe Miſchiefs done by the open and profeſſed Enemies of the King and Government, the Crime would be more tolerable; or were they hatched by the little Animals that frequent ſeditious Coffee-houſes, it would be more pardonable, becauſe their Tongues are no Slander; but to ſee and hear it done by our pretended Friends, Men of Quality and Figure, that are in eminent Poſts in the Kingdom, that have a Hand in public Affairs, is able to chill and ſtagger every Senſe about one! and what can theſe ſcandalous Practices be aſcribed to, but a deep-dyed Diſſimulation and Hypocriſy; when we ſee Men court and cringe at *Kenſington*, and rail at *Weſtminſter*; hug and embrace a Miniſter in the Painted Chamber, and cut his Throat in the Chapel; give a Courtier the ſmootheſt Words to his Face, and hang him behind his Back. What can one think but that they were tainted in their Original, and are ſo in love with Anarchy, that they hate the King and all that belong to him; and let them pretend what they pleaſe, from this Principle you can never court nor drive them, for the *Moor* was born black, and will continue ſo, in Deſpite of all the Soap in the Kingdom. The Snakes will be hiſſing and threatening, and if you ſhould cram them with all they can wiſh, or you can give, they will never loſe their Natures; and of theſe there are two Sorts, and both worth the knowing, that you may avoid them.

Firſt, the loud and open Talkers; and ſecondly, the private ſeditious Whiſperers. The firſt need no particular Deſcription, for the Noiſe they make, and the Hazard they run of forfeiting their Underſtandings, to gratify their Ill-nature, and humour their Faction, is the beſt Denomination of them. Theſe, though always declaiming againſt the Government, do leſs Harm than the other; for all their Invectives againſt the King and Court, being uſually carried as far above Truth, as beyond the Bounds of Decency, they are not like to ſucceed in their Deſigns; unleſs, when they aſſume a Power of talking away their King's Right, they could take away the People's Reaſon alſo; which can ne-

ver

ver be done by Men whoſe Underſtandings are warped with their Intereſts, and are not Hiſtorians of public Actions, but Lawyers of a Party; for grounding all they ſay upon idle Tales, Reports and Hearſays, they prove nothing but their Want of Breeding, and better Arguments, and their Calumnies, when driven Home, will recoil upon their own Heads: For they that charge others with Crimes they cannot juſtify, indict and convict themſelves of Falſity.

The private Whiſperers are commonly Men of a ſuperior Quality, ſuch as are aſhamed to own their Practices openly, and therefore, like Gunpowder in a Vault, do incomparably the more Miſchief for being ſtifled. For though they take Pleaſure to be always finding Fault, ever complaining and murmuring, and cenſuring the wiſeſt Councils, and the uprighteſt Conduct, yet they ſtill ſculk behind the Curtain, and look as demure and harmleſs, as if they had no concealed Sting, nor no Gall was mixed in their Creation, when they are the greateſt Enemies to the King and Government in the World. For though they do not ſpeak directly, and in Terms, againſt his Majeſty, yet they vent ſuch baſe Reflections, and unmannerly Inſinuations againſt him, under double and ambiguous Meanings, as poiſon the Ears of their Admirers, and prepare their Tongues to uſe a greater Liberty, 'Tis from ſuch pernicious Precedents of ſcandalous Babbling and idle Whiſpering againſt Authority, that the Lewdneſs of the Tongue becomes ſo epidemical in the Nation, and that the common People, firſt corrupted by ill Principles, and then influenced by the Example of factious great Ones, are grown to ſuch Exceſſes in their pragmatical cenſuring the Actions of their Superiors, as is unſufferable to the loyal and ſober Part of Mankind, dangerous to the State, and pleaſing to none but ſeditious Incendiaries, who play the Body againſt the Head with Deſign to deſtroy the whole.

What a ſtrange Liberty is taken in this licentious Age, when every private Perſon, that thinks he has Half a Dram of Brains about him, ſhall arraign the Actions of their Superiors. What is this, but blaſting the choiceſt Flowers of the Crown, and ſhrinking the Imperial Dignity of our *Engliſh* Monarch, into a Doge of *Venice?* For he is but a titular and no real King, whoſe Sovereignty and prerogative Royal is liable to the popular Scannings and Infractions of every proud and peeviſh Subject. There is no Tyranny to be compared to the Tyranny of a ſeditious Multitude, and the Condition of our *Engliſh* Kings are very little mended by thoſe, that free them from the Pope's Supremacy *in ordine ad bonum ſpirituale*, and ſubject them to the People, *in ordine ad bonum publicum:* For if General Aſſemblies for making Laws have but the Power of adviſing the King, 'tis the higheſt Inſolence in private Perſons, to cenſure and miſrepreſent him. Are the King's Prerogatives and Sovereignty the only Rights that may be invaded, and ſcandalouſly toſſed from Mouth to Mouth, as if the King that owns them were not ſacred, and exempted from ſuch impertinent Diſcourſes? Sure the World is turned topſy turvy, and Men's Underſtanding grow downward, or they could never think the Multitude are inveſted with the higheſt Price of Regality, *viz.* Judging of the public Good, and controuling all; whoſe Incapacity, Levity, and Ignorance, renders them unfit for any thing of this Nature. Therefore, if any ſuch are found, that by uſurping upon the King's Sovereignty, would plead for ſuch a Privilege of the Subject, the Cockatrice ought to be cruſhed in the Egg, their Tongues ſhould be tied as well as

their

their Hands; nay, the very boiling of their Thoughts, when they riſe ſo high, ſhould be ſkummed, and ſuppreſſed, or all will run into the Fire of Contention.

Though after all, I cannot be ſo injurious to the Generality of his Majeſty's People, as to think they aim at any thing above the Sphere of dutiful Subjects; for their Zeal and Forwardneſs to venture their Lives in his Majeſty's Service, is a manifeſt Contradiction of ſuch a Calumny, and a convincing Evidence of their conſtant Loyalty and Fidelity; and my only Deſign in expoſing the Principle was to ſhew, that Kinging the Multitude, is only a Trick to weaken the Monarchy, and is imployed as a Blind, (by ſome that in the Courſe of Affairs, are come to have a Share in great Actions) to amuſe the Nation with this popular and taking Theme, while they are laying a Foundation for their own arbitrary Ends, and uncontroulable Authority.

Having therefore acquainted my Reader, that the Government had three ſorts of Enemies, *Jacobites*, Republicans, and diſcontented Murmurers, which under the Maſk of Friendſhip were great Underminers of the Government, it is now my Buſineſs to ſhew, that according to an old laid Scheme of the *Jacobites* to deſtroy the Government, to the three Factions already named, are added another Set of Enemies, more dangerous than all the reſt to effect it, which to diſtinguiſh from the former, I call the Mixture, new Converts, or ſeditious Interpoſitors, whoſe Deſigns having been the Work of great Thoughts, and long Time. And now, as the laſt Game is beginning to be plaid among us.

I know it will diſpleaſe the Republicans, to be coupled with the *Jacobites*; our male-contented murmuring pretended Friends to be joined with the other two; and our new Converts, to be link'd with them all: however, in the Cauſe of my King and Country, that are harraſſed and ſawn by this unhappy Mixture of various Intereſts, combined againſt them, which like Beaſts of different Species, and Sexes, ſhut up together, forget their natural Enmity, to ſatisfy their common Luſts, and care not what kind of Monſters are produced betwixt them, ſo their brutal Appetites are but gratified: I ſhall not value what they can ſay, or do, againſt me; for as it is a Symptom of an ill Cauſe, when it can't bear examining, and that none are ſo much concerned at Reflections, as thoſe that cauſe them, ſo an honeſt Deſign of endeavouring the Peace of the Nation, as it don't deſerve, ſo it will not ſtand in fear of any Man's Diſpleaſure; and therefore I ſhall proceed to ſhew, that the Farce now acting, is but an Interlude revived; that the Actors, under what Diſguiſe or Dreſs ſoever they appear, are but Tools in the Hands of the *Jacobites*, and while they ſatyrize the Monarchy and public Management, are but compounding with the Court at *St. Germains*, and retrieving and advancing the Deſigns of the fruſtrated Faction.

It was a ſmart Reply of a great Man, when acquainted with the Danger that might ariſe from the great Number of Men, crowded into both Houſes, that were in the Intereſt of King *James*, he ſaid, *There was equal Danger from his falſe Friends, and from them that were for no King at all.* And though this ſingle Obſervation has Weight enough in it, to preponderate any Objection that can be made againſt it, I hope it will not be taken ill, to prove by Matter of Fact, that the Suppoſition of there being ſuch a Conjunction, was not ground-

groundleſs, and conſequently, that the Reflection was a wiſe and prudent Reprehenſion, of confining the whole Danger to a ſingle Faction, when there were apparent Inſtances, that others were in the ſame unnatural Confederacy.

Thoſe Gentlemen that ſerved his Majeſty in the Counſels and Cabals of his Enemies know, and are able to prove, that the *Jacobites* had certain ſtanding Rules, and Methods, to govern themſelves by, in all their Attempts againſt his Majeſty's Government, which were early communicated to his Miniſters, and daily Obſervation has ſhewed, as they have been baffled in any one, the next has been taken up with equal Heat and Vigour as the former; and now three of their four Projects encountering continued Diſappointments; the laſt, which gives us ſo much Trouble, and if not prevented will give us more, is now upon the Stage, and great are the Expectations of our Enemies from it.

The Projects preſcribed to the *Jacobites*, for the Reſtoration of their old Maſters, were couched under theſe four Heads.

Firſt, To join with the Republicans, and all the Malecontented under every Denomination. This failing, then

Secondly, To ſtrengthen their Party, by calling in a foreign Power; and if that was unſucceſsful. Then,

Thirdly, To do the Work at once, by aſſaſſinating his Majeſty's Royal Perſon, and in him the whole Kingdom.

Fourthly, If all the former Methods were rendered ineffectual, then they ſhould all come in to the Government, take the Oaths, and ſet up for new Converts. And this I call the Myſtery of Iniquity, that is now working.

The two firſt of theſe Projects for the Deſtruction of the Government, were a while kept with great Secrecy, and practiſed with no leſs Caution and Fears of Diſcovery; but as Trees when they have ſhot their Roots deep in the Earth, and have ſpread their Branches wide in the Air, every one may confidently affirm, they were of no very late Planting; ſo by a wonderful Turn of Providence, the Confederacy between the Seditious of all Names and Factions with the *Jacobites*, was fully diſcovered. *Lawton*, *Ferguſon*, and *Croſby*, proper Tools for ſuch a Work, were apprehended; and the Lord *Preſton*'s Plot, wherein the Original Papers, and Letters of the Conſpirators declare there was a Combination to ſubvert the Government, to depoſe, if not murder the King and Queen, ſay, That this Villany was methodically agreed and concluded, at a ſelect and formal Conference * 'between divers Lords and Gentlemen both 'Whigs and Tories.'

The next Contrivance of the *Jacobites* was, the profeſſed Murder of the King, and the Invaſion of the Kingdom; but Heaven detected the Conſpiracy, and the Barbarity of the Action has ſo branded the whole Party with the Scorn, Infamy and Hatred of all *Engliſhmen*, that they being now aſhamed to ſhew their Faces as *Jacobites*, take Sanctuary in their laſt Project, which I told you was, 'To ſubmit to the Government, to take the Oaths of Fidelity, and ſet up for 'Converts, that under Shew of Friendſhip and Sincerity, they might gain an 'Opportunity to herd with other ſeditious Perſons, and do more Miſchief by 'their ſeeming Compliance, than they were able to effect by their profeſſed and 'open Enmity.'

And

* *Vid.* Mr. *Aſhton*'s Trial.

And here I beg not to be misconstrued, as if I grudged at any Man's Conversion to his Duty, or thought it an Injury to the State, to have Love and Service of the whole Community: For it is what I heartily wish, and for some Years have employed my Pen for; but when I see Men the same in Principle and Practice, since they became *Williamites*, as they were when distinguished from good Subjects by the Name of *Jacobites*; you will pardon me for suspecting the Sincerity of their Conversion, till they give over the Trade of perverting their Brethren, and exhibit more signal Evidences of their Virtue and Loyalty, than yet they have done since they came among us.

The sacred Oracles tell us, 'that by their Works we may know Men,' and then what can we think, when we see the whole Gang of Enemies haunt the Court, for no other End but to ridicule and abuse it! Set up for Patriots, by sowing the Seeds of Sedition! Get themselves to be elected Members, that they may have the Privilege of affronting their Sovereign, saying that within Doors, what a modest Man durst not think without! Contend for a popular Omnipotency, and Liberty to destroy all our Franchises; and lessen the King's Power to give more than is due to their own? What (I say) can we think of these Proceedings, but that their coming among us is like Water in a Ship, not to succour, but to sink us; for such Things have been acted in Days of Yore, and what has been done may be done again, if an Almighty Providence does not prevent it.

That this is the Design to be dreaded, appears as well by the Greatness of their Numbers, as the Nature of their Actions; for since the Year when this Commerce began, we have had a greater Addition to our Malecontents, than from the beginning of the Revolution to that unhappy Junction. And the Trade of supplying every Vacancy in the Company, with Persons of the same Character, increasing rather than abating, I wish surcharging the Factory, does not bankrupt the Nation. That the Confluence of our new seditious Interpositors, does not infect us with our old Plagues, and that these upstart Pseudo Patriots, being added to the Number of the old *Jacobites*, Republicans and Murmurers we had before, it had not been better for us, rather to have had their Room than their Company. For I fear if a Man might look into some Houses, he would see many such Persons there, as would tempt him to ask the Question in the Gospel, 'Friends, how? and for what End came you hither, 'not having on the Wedding-Garment of Sincerity and Loyalty.'

Men that are conversant in the Policies of Nations, tell us, that though 'tis fit and commendable that there be a Reconciliation betwixt the King and his quondam Enemies, yet they ought not, in respect of the Government or themselves, to be admitted into Places of Trust, or the Management of great Affairs; because in despite of Fate, while Men are Men, there will such Jealousies arise, as will clog the Freedom and Confidence that ought to be between them. On the Behalf of the Government 'twill be objected, that too much Credulity encourages an Abuse; and trusting a reconciled Enemy, invites an Injury; for History is very pregnant with Examples of Men that have had Indemnity for one Fault, and have been taken in another with their Pardons in their Pockets, before the Ink was scarce dry upon the Parchment; and therefore we ought not to confide, where the Experiment is so dangerous.

On the other Part it will be ſaid, that in common Prudence our ſeditious Interpoſitors, ought not to deſire to be truſted, or intermeddle with the Public, becauſe Men can never love, where they have given too great Cauſe to fear, and will always diſtruſt, where they know they have injured, beyond a Poſſibility of Reparation. For tho' the King out of a Principle of Virtue, and Honour may forgive, yet their Guilt will not ſuffer them to believe he can, and that will hurry them upon obliterating their former Crimes, by repeating new Offences; both which, being ſeriouſly conſidered, 'tis an Argument, that thoſe that thruſt themſelves into Buſineſs, whom a previous Diſpoſition will not ſuffer to be juſt or hearty in it, they may make themſelves odious to their Superiors, by their Haughtineſs, and a reſtleſs Courſe of factious Competitions, but never will or can, do their King and Country ſervice.

But let theſe things be as they will in the Theory, and like general Rules be liable to particular Exceptions, yet 'tis notorious, that ſince thoſe that might not have what King they would, have joined with thoſe that would have none; and ſince the Name of Jacobites has walked under leſs offenſive Names, or has been obſcured, by mixing in Clubs and other Meetings, with the old Enemies of the Kingdom; there has been greater Incroachments upon his Majeſty's Prerogatives, than ever was before. More defamatory Speeches and Prints againſt his Government, more Fears and Jealouſies created, more unjuſt Suſpicions raiſed; and leſs dutiful Acknowledgments of the King's Care and Goodneſs to his People made at ſuch Aſſembles, than the King has deſerved, or becomes *Engliſhmen* in eminent Stations to be guilty of.

How have theſe ſeditious Members we are talking of, embarraſed all our Affairs, and put a Stop to every good Motion, by endeavouring to raiſe a Miſunderſtanding betwixt the King and his People, and render him ſuſpected at Home; that as the Champion of *Chriſtendom*, has merited, and received the Applauſes, Honour and Eſteem of all the World abroad?

O abominable Ingratitude, ſenſeleſs Deportment, and unpardonable Retribution, to think that the King would be at ſuch a vaſt Expence, and hazard his Life, to pull down the Tyranny of King *James*, to ſet up a deſpotic Power of his own? What Reaſon is there to bolt out ſuch ugly Suggeſtions, and hint ſuch ſpiteful Reflections, againſt the King's Perſon and Government? Has his Majeſty given us any Reaſon to ſuſpect the Continuance of his Goodneſs; or that he will be leſs Kind in preſerving our Rights and Privileges, than he was in procuring them, when they were almoſt loſt, and ſettling them ſo by Law, that it might be impoſſible for any to injure us for the Future; no, but the Men that in a literal Senſe would turn the World upſide-down, are come amongſt us: Influence Counſels; preſide in Debates; and carry every Thing before them: Not by the Force of their Reaſons, but by the Strength of their Numbers; not by the Goodneſs of what they advance, but by the Clamours of their Faction: Who while they are ſetting up themſelves, and carry all Things into Ataxy and Confuſion, aſſume a Supremacy, and Infalibillity, in all their Determinations; and yet would cover all by ſaying they are his Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal Subjects: But how they will reconcile their Words with their Actions, and printed Pamphlets, is worth our Examining, ſince all their Notions and Contrivances, look with malevolent Aſpects upon Monarchy itſelf, and from that original Taint, and a

Deſign

Design to promote themselves, raise undutiful Suggestions against the King in Being; who, without doubt, if he had deserved less Love, they would have paid him more Fear and Reverence.

The Doctrine of curbing, and restraining, the Power of Princes, when the Administration is in good Hands; tho' 'twas only calculated for the Ruin of Mankind; and pleases none but those, who design by such flagitious Arts, to gain a Power of doing that to others, which they pretend to be afraid of, from such as never intend it; yet it was always glossed with specious Pretences; and this method is exactly followed by our seditious Interpositors of the last Edition, who always advance what may seem pleasing and popular, enough to wheedle Men out of their Allegiance; and that is, *opposing the Sovereignty of the Prince, with an imaginary Power in the People to controul and govern all Things at their own Discretion.*

Which can be intended for nothing but Mischief; for as in the common Practice of Mankind, where any Society of Men usurp more than is their own, their Neighbours will take greater Care to confine them within their just Limits; so when Subjects are reaching after royal Power, by open Affronts, and unreasonable Demands, they instruct the King to lay the faster Hold, and more assiduously maintain the Rights of the Crown; for if causeless Jealousies makes People start from their Obedience, Self-preservation will also make him distrust, secure himself against unreasonable Suspicions, and even compel him to exert his Prerogative, when in scandalous Pamphlets and Clubs, it begins to be disputed, in whom it is invested, and these mutual Suspicions will create endless Contentions.

In a monarchial Government God's Vicegerency ought not to be delegated to any other Head than what is anointed, nor unaccountably scattered among the Multitude: For as dividing a Power which is only safe by being intire, derogates from the King's Superiority, so it is destructive to the People's Liberty, as it intoxicates them, and makes them stagger from one Form of Government to another, till their Diversions, as a Punishment of their Fickleness, at last sinks them under an absolute Monarchy. And therefore this Pretence of exalting a popular Power, can have no other end, but to create Jealousies between the Prince and his Subjects: For as they cannot digest the false Fears they are decoy'd into, without undutiful Resentments, so the Prince cannot brook Competitors in Power and Prerogative. Thus the Seditious play the Members against the Mind, in order to the Destruction of the whole Body.

All Reservations, of an absolute Power in the People, distinct and divided from the Sovereign, does but nourish a continual Ferment, support divers Interests, fill the Minds of the People with Sedition, Curiosity and Pride, and furnish Envy and Ambition with plausible Disguise for their Malice, and the Exaltation of the Factious that promote them; as was evident among the *Romans*, where the unlimited Power of the People was but an Artifice, to conciliate deluded Subjects to the Tyranny of the Senate.

Blessed be God we have a Prince, that neither does, nor intends to infringe our Privileges, or deprive us of our Rights; and therefore entertains no remote Suspicions of his Subjects, from whom he resolves to deserve none; and has given us all the legal Securities a Parliament could ask for our future Peace

and Happineſs. Why then ſhould any Sort of Men deal ſo Ill with him, that has dealt ſo friendly by us? Why ſhould any Men, though but in Clubs and Coffee-houſes, ſet up a Power in oppoſition to his Majeſty's, that has never imployed his Power, but to protect and defend us. And yet God wot, we have ſuch ill Members among us, that are offended at his Goodneſs, Surfeit on his Favours, and are ſo Heart-ſick of *England*'s Proſperity, that they uſe all Ways to diſturb it! And though the King being a Prince of ſuch incomparable Clemency, that he eaſily forgets and forgives the boldeſt Injuries: And to mollify their ſtubborn Tempers, by many indulgent Conceſſions, has endeavoured to quiet their diſordered Minds, even to the Heights of their own Wiſhes; yet nothing can prevail, but the more his Majeſty humours them, the more Exorbitant they grow, and being Caſe-hardened againſt all Obligations of Goodneſs and Ingenuity, are ſtill in their ſeveral Cabals croſſing his good Intentions, miſrepreſenting his Actions, and upon every idle Pique, diſcover their Want of Breeding, in making the former Expreſſions of their Gratitude, the ground of their preſent ill Treatment of him, and in their ſavage Rants, take Shelter in that miſmanner'd Sarcaſm, *What! did not we make him King?* As if the Thanks of their Deliverance from Tyranny and Oppreſſion, and giving what they could not keep, endowed them with a Priviledge of ſaying what come uppermoſt, and doing whatſoever they have a mind to, to promote Sedition, in hopes at laſt the Faction may grow too hard for the Government.

Now there is ſo little in this Pretence, to ſupport what they would build upon it; that were it not to diſabuſe the People, whoſe Names they uſe againſt their Wills, and to redeem their Underſtandings from being captivated, to ſuch diſingenious Interpretations of an imaginary Power reſiding in them, I ſhould never have given the Malice of ſeditious Men, the Peaſure of taking Notice of what they urge ſo impertinently and ſaucily; but for the End above ſaid I will ingage this Monſter of Ingratitude, and ſhew, though King *William* is the King of our Choice, which methinks ſhould endear him to us, yet he governs by a Right, ſuperior to that of a popular Election, unleſs you will exclude God Almighty from his Prerogative, in diſpoſing Crowns and Kingdoms.

'Tis true, King *William* like all other Princes in the firſt Ages of the World, came to the Crown, (without mentioning his Right of Blood) upon the ſingle Account of his Merits, and the People's Choice, but for any Set of Men, to draw from thence a Pretence to uſe him ſcurvily, and treat him as coarſely as if they were his Equals or Superiors, is abſurd and rediculous.

No Community whoſe Conſent eſtabliſhes a Monarch over them, can have Power ſuperior or equal to that which they have conſtituted: (provided he does not as the late King and others did, convert his Sovereignty into an arbitrary Power of Deſtruction, which in our Caſe, is not ſo much as pretended, by the worſt of his Majeſty's Enemies) for they have transferred the Power they had, by inveſting the King with the Sovereignty by a legal Eſtabliſhment and Recognition; and after that, 'tis unreaſonable and contradictory to aſſert they have it in themſelves, unleſs they will make all ſolemn Oaths, and deliberate Acts, of no Validity. If he be a King he has the higheſt Power, and all his Subjects, in whatſoever Sphere they move are below him, whether ſingle or collected. Tho' *England*'s Conſtitution be a mixed Monarchy, 'tis a Monarchy:

And

And though the Estates in their proper and distinct Orbs, are Sharers in the Government, yet this makes no Equality of Power with the King, for then the Government could not be a Monarchy, more than an Aristocracy or Democracy: And therefore wisely has the Constitution tempered this Affair, to prevent Contention and Parity; in investing the Monarch with a Sovereignty so discreetly qualify'd, as he may not destroy the Mixture, nor the People with such a Power as might render the Monarchy titular and precarious; but that their just Measures of Distance and Duty, might preserve the body Politic in Health, Peace and Vigour. Hence it is that the King is called our Liege, that is our lawful Sovereign, and we his Liege, that is, his lawful Subjects, and as such, can have no claim above it.

But that which puts an end to this saucy Taunt and Consequence of opposing the Power of the People to the King's Supremacy, because their Consent was necessary to his royal Installation, is what St. *Paul* urges as the principal Motive to Obedience, *viz.* that the *Apex Potestatis* the Power of Governing regularly imploy'd is of divine Institution, the Ordinance of God, not only as permitted by his Providence, but as appointed by his Will: That the Eternal is the sovereign Proprietor of Kingdoms, and though he make Use of Men to settle them, according to the Method his Providence directs, yet the Act is God's, and the King's Authority is from him, by a superior Character, than what the Populace can pretend to. So though the Estates of the Nation did confer the Sovereignty on King *William*, they were but the Instruments and Agents, for the Power and Right of transferring Kingdoms from one King to another, as from *Saul* to *David*, or from *James* the second, to King *William* the third, comes from God, who is Judge in these superior Causes, and puts down one King, and sets up another, and has such an Interest in disposing Power, that none must pretend to but himself. And though Men may chuse the Person, his Power is derived from God, more peculiarly than from the giddy Multitude, for by him Kings reign, and Princes decree Justice.

And this is more particularly King *William*'s Case, than we shall commonly meet withal in History. For though King *William* delivering the Nation from Popery and Slavery, the People were just, and gave him what he earned; yet 'twas the Power and Goodness of God Almighty in enabling him to do the Work which deserved a Crown, that pointed him out to the Reward, and as it were adorn'd his Head with a Glory, and marked him out with such an illustrious Character of Merit to the People, that they could not miss him in their Choice; but must take him as the King already chosen by God, by such providential Occurrences, that in common Gratitude to his Majesty, or their own future Safety, they could not overlook him; and now ought to respect and honour him as sincerely, as if an immediate Voice from Heaven had placed him in the vacant Throne, and said, this is my Vicegerent. His Power therefore seems to be the express Designation of God Almighty, and ought not to be sully'd by any Attribute below that Original, but owned and revered as a Participation of the divine Sovereignty, as was intended by God, when he first for the Good of Mankind put them under Government; which being the Doctrine of the Bible, destroys all inferior Competitions, and stops the Mouth of clamorous and saucy Upbraiders; unless they will set up for Atheists as well as Anarchists,

and

and by foreſtalling us from fearing God, and honouring the King, by abuſing Words, ſignificant in their Meaning, would neither leave us a God to fear, nor a King to honour.

Another Source of our Diſcontents and ill Treatments of his Majeſty, ariſeth from a ſcandalous Cuſtom of cenſuring the Actions of our Prince, keeping up Calamnies againſt the Court, and miſrepreſenting the Government, as if it were in Confederacy to deſtroy the Liberties and Priviledges of the Subject; which *Engliſhmen* are always ſo tenacious of, that they too greedily imbibe ſuch falſe Reports, without examining from what Sort of Men they come, or their Deſign in publiſhing them; which if they would give themſelves leiſure to ſcrutinize, they would ſoon diſcover 'twas but the Artifice of deſigning ſeditious Medlers, to kindle Jealouſies, and inflame the unthinking Croud into ill Words, Impatience and Diſtemper, and ſet them a lingring after more Liberty than they know how to uſe, to make Way for Tumults and Inſurrections.

Public Good and the Liberty of the Subjects, are two excellent Words, when they are honeſtly uſed, and peaceably intended; but are tender Points, and cautiouſly to be inſiſted on, leſt ſeditious Men make uſe of it to taint their Allegiance. And that this is the Deſign now on Foot, will appear by taking a View of the Liberty that is contending for, by the Mixture of various Intereſts againſt the Government; and it will ſoon appear, not to be a Freedom from arbitrary Impoſitions, illegal Exactions, and other ill Effects of a deſpotic Power; for theſe things are not pretended, no, but 'tis a ſeditious belluine Liberty of Saying, and doing what they pleaſe, that is ſtruggling for. Not the Liberty that our Forefathers fought for, that was bounded by the Laws of Order, and public Good, but a Liberty of Contention, a Liberty of publiſhing malicious Suggeſtions, and falſe Repreſentations of Things, that may be ſerviceable to the Faction! A Liberty to affront the King, to incroach upon his Prerogative, to leſſen his Power, and ſubject the Rights of his Sovereignty, to the Caprichio's of every angry Intruder into public Societies, and a Liberty of improving and practiſing upon Fears and Poſſibilities, till they have brought us in Vaſſalage to themſelves; whoſe hot and fiery Spirits, acting upon falſe Suggeſtions, can have no other Deſign but to amuſe and confound us; and therefore the beſt Way to ſhield ourſelves from the Danger and Deluſion, is to judge of the Deſigns by the Men that promote them; for all the Arts employ'd by our known Enemies, though never ſo artificially diſguiſed, under the ſpecious Terms of Good-Offices to Public, that are but the ſly Impoſitions of cunning Knaves upon credulous Fools, to advance their own Party: And for that Reaſon, when we ſee ill Men take up a Fit of Kindneſs for their Country, and appear better natured than conſiſts with their Principles and avowed Intereſts, 'tis time to ſuſpect a Fraud, and weigh their Words with their Practices, before we truſt them further than conſiſts with our Safety; for the Men and their Deſigns can never be parted.

Liberty is the greateſt Glory of the People; yet if it be not bounded by the Laws of Reaſon and Diſcretion, 'tis the greateſt Make-hate in the World, and tends directly to the Ruin of every Community, by the known Rule, that the beſt Things corrupted, become the worſt. Liberty perverted into Contention for Superiority, in the very Deſign of the new Mixture, is but trapanning

and

and deluding Men into real Slavery; catching them into Nets and Snares; and inſtead of putting Men upon conſidering every thing in its proper Place, and one thing with Relation to another, according to the Reaſon, Weight and Importance of the Action, before we proceed to Cenſure, it indulges intemperate Heats and Hearſays, and by the very Methods whereby Men think to aſſert their Liberties, they are taught by ſeditious Men to deſtroy them, for there is no ſuch thing in the World as abſolute Freedom.

Another Cauſe why Men are not pleaſed with the Government they live under, but by a continual Endeavour to ſubvert the ſovereign Power, diſturb it with Sedition, is a Deſire of Immunity from Puniſhment, in ſuch Perſons whoſe Crimes have rendered them obnoxious to Laws; for it being impoſſible, as long as Men are ſubject to Paſſions, but ſuch Faults will be committed as the ſovereign Power thinks fit to puniſh; the Perſons who have committed thoſe Faults will indubitably ſeek to avoid the Puniſhment, by raiſing a Party able to reſiſt the ſovereign Power. And as Criminals ſeek to avoid Puniſhment for Crimes already committed, ſo thoſe who know they are laying Deſigns to promote themſelves and their Party, which are contrary to Law, and therefore cannot arrive at their Ends, but by invading other Men's Proprieties; they will diſturb the Government, that they may find Security in thoſe Crimes, which for the future they reſolve to commit; and this they always attempt, by gaining Credit enough with the People to impoſe a Cheat upon them, by making uſe of the Names of Religion or Liberty, or ſome other like ſpecious Pretence to gull them; and to this End there is a Faction now among us, that to promote Fears and Jealouſies, lately bagg'd their Pamphlets about the Streets, abuſing the King under the Name of the Court; and upbraiding and reviling the laſt Parliament, as if they had been the worſt of Mankind; but this we thought was only a Liberty taken in his Majeſty's Abſence, and the Interval between the old and new Parliaments, from whom we were in great Expectations, and hoped that the King's Return, and their Seſſion would put an End to theſe Extravagances, and unite all the People in the true Intereſt of the Kingdom, and promoting the Advantages of a happy Peace, to which their Repreſentatives were invited by his Majeſty's moſt gracious Speech following.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I Have no Doubt but you are met together with Hearts fully diſpoſed to do what is neceſſary for the Safety, Honour and Happineſs of the Kingdom; and that is all I have to ask of you.

In Order to this, two Things ſeem principally to require your Conſideration.

The one is, What Strength ought to be maintained at Sea, and what Force kept up at Land for this Year; all that I ſhall obſerve to you upon this Head, is, that the flouriſhing of Trade, the ſupporting of Credit, and the Quiet of People's Minds at home, will depend upon the Opinion they have of their Security; and to preſerve to *England* the Weight and Influence it has at preſent, on the Councils and Affairs abroad, it will be requiſite *Europe* ſhould ſee you will not be wanting to yourſelves.

The

The ſecond Thing I ſhall mention to you, as of great Conſequence, is, the making ſome further Progreſs towards diſcharging the Debts which the Nation has contracted, by reaſon of the long and expenſive War. In this the public Intereſt, as well as Juſtice is concerned; and I think an *Engliſh* Parliament can never make ſuch a Miſtake as not to hold ſacred all parliamentary Engagements.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

I Do earneſtly recommend theſe Things to you, that you may provide ſuch Supplies as you ſhall judge neceſſary for theſe ſeveral Occaſions.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I Think it would be happy if ſome effectual Expedient could be found for employing the Poor, which might tend to the great Increaſe of our Manufactures, as well as remove a heavy Burden from the People.

I hope alſo you will employ your Thoughts about ſome good Bills, for the Advancement of Trade, and for the further diſcouraging of Vice and Profaneneſs.

The Things I have mentioned to you being of common Concern, I cannot but hope for Unanimity and Diſpatch.

But notwithſtanding this royal and ſeaſonable Advice, ſo pathetically adapted toward the quieting People's Minds at home, the Sore ſoon broke out again at their ſeditious Clubs which they frequent both in and out of Parliament, to raiſe unnatural Heats and Jealouſies, and from thence were artificially tranſmitted to ſuperior Claſſes, to ſerve the baſe and ungenerous Ends of ungrateful People, and putting the Nation into Flames of Diſcontent and Diviſions. Theſe Meetings, as they influence other Actions, are the Sinks that pollute our Fountains, the Clouds that ſcatter Storms among us, and here the Men may be found, as well as in other Meetings, from whoſe primary Debates and Reſolutions we expect all the ſucceeding Ills that attend us, from the bold Strokes at Monarchy that are made in other Places; and as the ſmall Cells in *Rome* are ſaid to contrive and determine Affairs before they are brought into the Conclave, and that they who would know what will be done by the Cardinals, muſt conſult ſome of the minor Fryars; ſo there is ſuch a Correſpondence and mutual Agreement between theſe ſeditious Clubs and their Brethren in other Privilege Places in the Kingdom, that he that knows what's concluded on in one Place, may know what will be done in the other. For theſe Clubs being compoſed of a Mixture of Men, who having ſowered all the Generoſity of Nature, make it their Buſineſs to calumniate the beſt, and miſ-inform the worſt of Men; and have to that End, inſinuated themſelves ſo far into the Societies of thoſe that would be thought *Angeli Agentis in Rebus humanis*, the great Intelligences in human Affairs, that they have twiſted their Intereſts together, and they have infuſed a perverſe Spirit into ſome Men, that what one contrives the other acts, and what's ſaid of one Meeting may be underſtood as the Deſigns of many others.

King

King *William* having done all that honeſt Men could wiſh, or mortal Man perform, for the Glory and Safety of *England*, a Set of envious Men roſe from their ſeveral Shades that had been long in the Deſign of eclipſing his Glory; and like the Council that was held by the *Jews* againſt our Bleſſed Saviour, ſay *What do we do? this Man does many Miracles, and if we let him alone all Men will believe on him*; ſo this late Intermixture of Men and Intereſts againſt his Majeſty and Government, ſeeing every Day freſh Inſtances of his Goodneſs, and Arguments of his growing Glory; in Order to their main Deſign, united their Counſels, ſaying 'What do we do, if we let him alone, all his Subjects 'will admire and love him:' For notwithſtanding all our former black Arts to diſguiſe his Virtues, blaſt his Honour, and leſſen his Authortiy, we find the People ſee through their own thin Pretences, the King ſurvives our Scandals and lives to make us the common Scorn, and himſelf the People's Darling.

Let us therefore (ſay they) take his Prerogative a Peg lower, ſmite him with our Tongues, wound him with our Pens, and publiſh it through the Land, that he is not fit to be truſted with the Sword: Let us raiſe Fears and Jealouſies, call his Soldiers a Pack of Cut-Throats and Murderers by Profeſſion, and act as furiouſly as if the Calamities we pretend to fear, were felt already, and from the Experience of the Good he has done us, raiſe a Poſſibility of his doing as much againſt us; and by theſe Ways and Means, we ſhall turn his Friends out of the Houſe, pack off his Domeſticks, deprive him of the People's Love and Duty, and accompliſh our own Wiſhes in reſtoring our old Maſter, or which is as well, inveſt ourſelves with the ſupreme Authority.

Theſe were the pious Reſolves at a Club, held I think at the *Old Devil*, and from thence tranſmitted further, and order'd to be printed and publiſhed in ſeveral Pamphlets; which if I prove, will be ſufficient to convince the World, ſuch Deſigns againſt his Majeſty and Government are on foot; and that there are a Set of People amongſt us that promote and indulge them as Copies fit to imitate.

And that I may not trouble my Reader in raking old Dunghils, and ſearching after Pamphlets that are ſcarce, or not to be found, I ſhall take my Riſe no higher than the Commencement of the Peace, and begin with a Pamphlet intitled *A Diſcourſe concerning Militias*, wherein the Author has inſinuated, that his Majeſty is not to be truſted with the Power of the Sword, (*a*) and gives his Reaſons for it in theſe Words,

'King *William* by Blood, Relation, and other Ties and common Intereſts, 'has the Houſe of *Auſtria*, moſt of the Princes of *Germany*, and moſt of the 'Potentates of the *North* for his Friends and Allies; and can, whatever Inte-'reſt he joins with, do what he thinks fit in *Europe*.'

And is not this a great Happineſs to have ſuch a Prince King of *England*, that has ſo many powerful Friends to aſſiſt him againſt the common Enemy. Can our Alliances be too great, can our Helps be too many? who could think 'twas in the Power of Envy to make an ill Conſtruction of ſo great a Bleſſing, or that any could ſuck Poiſon from theſe additional Flowers to the Crown of *England*; and yet we ſee the Clubbers from theſe noble Advantages, have conjur'd up this Jealouſy (*b*) 'What Security can be given, he (meaning the 'King

(*a*) Page 14, 15. (*b*) Book and Page predict.

'King) will not make Uſe of this Power to ſuppreſs the Liberties of the 'People?

Ungrateful People! has not the Security been already given, in delivering the Nation when ready to ſink into Ruin, and in conſenting to ſuch Laws as a Parliament propoſed for your Safety; and if after that they deſired more, 'twas for want of aſking, if you have it not. Is not the Good he has done a ſufficient Security of his Majeſty's Integrity, and a firm Ground for all his Subjects Acquieſcence in his Conduct? Have you any Reaſon to diſtruſt him? Can you think that he that ventured his Life to ſerve you, can have a Thought to injure you? Away with theſe idle Fancies and cauſeleſs Jealouſies, leſt you tempt Men to think you want a greater Security for your Liberties than you are fit to be truſted with; and like the frozen Snake, when you are warm'd by an over fond Indulgence, you ſting your Benefactor, which among our modern Murmurers and ſeditious Interpoſitors would go near to find Indemnity under the undeterminable Name of the Liberty and Privileges of that Sort of People, who in queſt of a popular Omnipotency, pull down all that oppoſes it, and chuckle every Faction whoſe Paſſion, Prejudice and other Circumſtances contribute moſt to the carrying on that Deſign.

Now repreſenting the King as a Monarch unfit to be truſted, being the topping Project, and the Foundation of all that was to be reared upon it, in Order to facilitate their future Purpoſes: It was agreed at a ſucceeding Club, which, as I take it, was held at the *Young Devil*, that the forecited Author having a Grain or two of Modeſty too much for ſuch a towering Deſign, that an abler Pen at beſpattering Kings with invented Calumnies and Suſpicions, ſhould draw up their Reaſons, and report their Reſolutions on this Subject, while the Clubbers were idle and ill-natured enough to hear the ſame; and they having lain a while upon the Table in the Club-Room aforeſaid, where Sedition is as commonly vented, as at the Treaſon-Table in *Newgate*, or *Tom's Coffee-Houſe*, out comes their printed Reſolves in plainer Words, and more agreeable to the Senſe of the Party, under the Title of *A Confutation of the Ballancing Letter*; in which (*c*) are theſe Words delivered.

'A Standing-Army is making the Government abſolute and arbitrary, and 'the Nation Slaves. It commands all our Laws, Liberties and Eſtates. To 'put this Power into the King's Hand, is to lay the whole Nation at his Diſ'cretion, and therefore, tho' we have honourable Thoughts of the King, yet 'we don't believe he deſerves this Truſt, nor can manage it faithfully. That 'he has neither Merit nor Capacity to intitle him to ſo entire a Confidence; 'no, not if he had all the Perfections on Earth, as he has a great many; nay, 'if he were an Angel he was not fit for this Truſt.'

Are theſe the Products of your honourable Thoughts of the King? Are theſe the Methods you employ to ſpeak your Gratitude for his Majeſty's redeeming you from the Slavery threatened, and poſſeſſing you of the Liberty you are making ſuch very ill Uſe of; that can, like the Man in the Fable, blow hot and cold, and with the ſame Mouth diſgorge bleſſing and curſing, commend and diſparage, applaud and diſtruſt in the ſame Breath? Are theſe Suggeſtions the honourable Ways and Means you take, like your tricking Predeceſſors of forty-eight,

(*c*) Preface, Page 9.

eight, to make him a glorious King? Bluſh O Heaven! and let Earth ſtand amazed and tremble! Tell it not in *Gath*, publiſh it not in *Aſkelon*, leſt the whole Nation be condemned, and included in the Guilt of a few ſeditious and ungrateful Members, that having received the Benefit of their Deliverance from his Goodneſs, durſt not truſt him with an Army to defend their Liberties, but would take the Sword from this Prince and force it upon the People, from whom, if they govern themſelves by the leading Maxims and Humour now in Vogne, and ſtriving to be uppermoſt; there is more Danger of a Rebellion, than of the Prince's aſſuming a deſpotick Power.

Sure theſe Gentlemen's Conſtitutions are over-run with the Scurvy, or *Atra Bilis*, for none ſee Phantoms and dread imaginary Dangers like hypocondriac Enthuſiaſts; or elſe they would ne'er have raiſed ſuch mean, falſe and diſhonourable Reflections upon a Prince whoſe Merits have given him a Name ſuperior to all the Titles upon Earth, and earned him the entire Truſt and unalienable Duty of all his Subjects.

What! has not King *William* deſerved this Truſt? O impious Calumny, horrible Slander, groundleſs Suſpicion, that is daily confuted by Experience, and could be vended by none but whoſe avowed Deſigns are for doing further Miſchief! What's become of the *Old Engliſh* Senſe of Favours, and Gratitude to Kings that delivered them from Tyranny? Is it all dwindled into popular Caprichio's, and ſhrunk up into *Janiſarian* Privileges? Has exempting us from the Fears of Jails, Inquiſitions and *Smithfield* Fires, cauſed theſe clandeſtine Reproaches. Has the reſtoring our Religion, that ought to be dearer than our Lives, deſerved no better Acknowledgment? Has the Purchaſe of our Peace and Liberty to enjoy it with Satisfaction, merited no more dutiful Returns than to affront his Majeſty with their cauſeleſs Fears, retort his Kindneſs with hated Jealouſies, and ſully his Candour with vile Suſpicion?

'Yes, (replies the Authors of them) (*d*) we have truſted the King with all 'we had, all the Rights of an *Engliſh* King, as the imperial Crown with all Do-'minions, Juriſdictions, Prerogatives and Preheminencies thereunto belonging:' And yet in the Concluſion ſays, 'he ought not to be truſted with the Sword '(which he calls a Standing-Army, tho' the other Author calls it as I do) for 'fear of enſlaving the Nation:' and in ſaying that, he might as well have left out all the reſt; for the Power of the Sword, which is a very extenſive Word, is as much the King's Right, and as firmly veſted in him by Law as any other of the Appendices, as the Crown; and ſince there are ſo many Lawyers that are the leading Men in theſe Clubs, it looks ill they ſhould forget it.

And as to giving the Crown, let the Poet anſwer for me,

As for the Crown you have beſtow'd,
With all its Limitations,
The meaneſt Prince in Chriſtendom
Would never ſtir a Mile from home,
To govern three ſuch Nations.

(*d*) Page 3.

For if the Sword from th' King's with-held,
Which Laws have made his own,
Who knows but when the Megrim works,
Such wav'ring Chriſtians may, like Turks,
Employ't againſt the Crown.

Self-Preſervation is a Principle in Nature never to be dropt, and by the ſame Rule that Men ſuſpect, they give Cauſe to be ſuſpected, which is only applicable to thoſe that have rais'd the *Mormo's*; for all the Liege and loyal Subjects of *England*, that are true and ſtedfaſt to the King upon Rules of Honour and Conſcience, had rather die if Occaſion ſhould require it, than hear his Majeſty traduced or ſuſpected. They ſay his Majeſty has deſerved more than *England* has to give: has merited the entire Confidence and Obedience of his People: and that after all the Experience we have had, to grow ſuſpicious of his good Intentions, is to revile his Virtues, grow weary of our own Happineſs, expoſe ourſelves to Danger, and affront the Common-Senſe of Mankind.

But ſeditious Men ſeldom do their Work by Halves, and therefore, as if it were not ſufficient to unking his Majeſty, they endeavour to unman him alſo, by ſaying he has no Capacity for ſuch a Truſt, to which I'll make no Anſwer; for ſuch Efforts do not blaſt but brighten, and they that have the Confidence to aſſert that will boggle at Nothing; therefore, like Men that deny their firſt Principles, they are to be confuted with Scorn and Taciturnity: All the World admire the Strength of his Judgment, Ability of his Mind, and Dexterity of his Parts, which I dare not undertake to delineate; for to do it by the common Topicks of Compariſon, would be a Diminution of his Greatneſs, and to form a juſt Idea of his royal, perſonal Capacities, or venture upon his Character, requires a Soul as great as his own, and it would be a Profanation in any vulgar Hand to attempt it: Silence and Admiration beſt commend Things above the Sphere of our Capacities.

Next, to ſcare People out of their Duties, as it is the common Practice of all ſeditious Conventicles, to ranſack Stories for memorable Accidents and Prodigies, and having calculated them for this Meridian, amuſe People with a ſuperſtitious Belief that the ſame Events muſt follow: So our Author (to the Credit of his Learning) tells us from Mr. *Knox* a lamentable Story to fright both Sexes out of their Allegiance, *viz.* (*i*) 'That in the Kingdom of *Ceilon*, there 'was a King. Strange! and that King had a Standing Army too. *Prodigious!* 'and his Subjects were wont to call him by a Name that ſignified next to God. '*Horrible and dangerous!* and the People were ſuch Slaves that they durſt not 'ſpeak to him in the firſt Perſon (ſingular Number, Preter-perfect Tenſe and 'Indicative Mood) and ſay, I did ſo or ſo, but *Baulagaut*, the Limb of a Dog 'did ſo. *Betrayers of their Liberties!* and if the King ask'd how many Children 'they had, they anſwered, the Limb of a Dog had ſo many Puppy-Dogs, 'and ſo many Bitch-Puppies. *Officers and Men that had Places at Court I 'warrant them!*' And from this poor, crawling Fancy, ridiculous in its Application, and unpardonable for its Wit, he takes occaſion to fall into a Fit of Devotion, and gives God Thanks we were not born Puppy-Dogs: And I wonder when his Hand was in and his Eyes up, he did not preſcribe the Remedy to

(*i*) Page 13.

to his Majesty's Subjects, to bring the King to Reason, and redress all these Mismanagements and Grievances, *viz.* Rebellion; for that he says, cured the King of *Ceilon* from (*f*) attempting to make himself the rickety Head of a languishing Body.

This Story big with an ill Design, as silly as it looks, was strangely admired by the Party, and tho' calcuted for nothing but Fools and Fire-sides, furnished them with new Matter against the Court, and the whole Faction was so full of that Whim that it larded all their Discourses: and you could hear of nothing but of Slavery and *Baulaugatizing*, arbitrary Power and Puppy-Dogs. The *Lobby*, the *Painted-Chamber* and *Court of Request* rung with the dull Fancy; and those that were not in the Mixture, in the Language of our modern Bullies, and new Converts, were all Sons of Bitches. Fine Language, but this is their Way of arraigning the Faith of Kings, and frighting timorous Souls from their Duty.

The great Point of slandering the King with Jealousies and Suspicions being thus far advanced, they reassume the former Debate about the Power of the Sword, and at a Club held, I think at the *Rose*, or at the *Long-Dog* at *Westminster*, I am not certain which, the Question being put, it was resolved, *Nemine contradicente*, and published in a Pamphlet called, *A Discourse concerning Militias*, 'That (*g*) nothing is so essential to the Liberties of the People, as 'placing the Power of the Sword in the Hands of the Subject.

And now you see what this Intermixture of Interests would be at, and what their Pretences of Liberty amounts to, *viz.* to tie up the King's Hands and to arm their own with the Power of the Sword, and then, Good Night, Landlord. Either we must have one Popish King, or four hundred arbitrary Sovereigns; and of these two Evils which is most eligible is as great a Difficulty to determine, and therefore I'll return. I wonder when these Gentlemen's Pens were in, or their Mouths open in the Club, they did not claim the Crown also, for that would have stopt many a wide Gap in their Fortunes: and it is as essentially necessary that they should be both in one Hand, as that Majesty should have a sufficient Power to defend itself: For as Times go, and Subjects which have found Protection from their Prince, and have no just Grounds to suspect any Prejudice from him in their Laws, Liberties or Estates, yet enter into Diffidence of him, and being led by Passion, false Consequences, Envy, or Ambition, endeavour to subvert his Government; it is essentially necessary for his Safety, that the sovereign Prince should be arm'd with something more than his own Innocency and Integrity, to repress seditious, aspiring and unreasonable Subjects; But to return from this Digression, let me ask these Gentlemen a short Question or two. First,

Since Things are not ripe enough yet for the Intermixture to tell their Names, appear in their own Dress, and say, if they could wrest the Sword out of the Hands of King *William*, they would restore it to the late King *James*; which, tho' first in the Intention of giving these Disturbances, must be last in Execution. I would fain know, since there are so many Factions among us, and all, tho' fit for nothing else, imagine they are capacitated to govern, to what Sort of People in *England*, they would commit the Power they are contending for, and whether they

(*f*) Preface. (*g*) Page 6.

they have conſidered the Impracticableneſs and Danger of this baffled Project. Will they commit it to the Papiſts, to the Church of *England* Men, the Preſbyterians, the Independants, the Anabaptiſts, the Fifth-Monarchiſts, the Socinians, the Muggletonians, or the Quakers; and whether their Diſappointment would not be equal to their Folly. For if they ſhould give it to the Papiſts they'd reſtore it to King *James*, and that would diſpleaſe, as well as expoſe the *Williamites*. If they ſhould commit it into the Hands of the ſtanch Church of *England* Men, they would be ſure to give it again to King *William*, and that would enrage the Jacobites and Republicans. If they ſhould give it to the Preſbyterians, they would keep it themſelves and ſet up a Commonwealth, ſeize the Kings and the Church Lands, and diſoblige the Monarchiſts and Epiſcopal Party. If they give it to the Independants, inſtead of beating the Sword into Plow-ſhares, they would hammer it into bloody Axes. In ſhort, the Anabaptiſts would demean themſelves here, as they did to the Princes of *Germany*. The Chiliaſts would keep it in their own Hands 'till Chriſt came; and the Socinians would dethrone him from being a King, as well as from being a God: the Muggletonians would bleſs none but themſelves with Offices, and curſe all the World beſides with Incapacity and Poverty, and the Quakers have been ſo accuſtomed to heave the Glaſs and Noggin to their Heads, that they will let the Sword drop out of their Hands, and ſuffer all (like themſelves) to run into Confuſion. And this Game having been once played already, 'till each vigorous Pretender had ſupplanted the other, and at laſt were found to ſettle on the antient Baſis Monarchy: 'Till they can agree where to place it more beneficially to the Conſervation of our true Liberty. 'Tis beſt to let it remain quietly in the Hand where it is.

The Gentleman that publiſhed, *Conſiderations upon the Choice of a Speaker*, has told us (*h*) 'twas the Obſervation of the Lord *Burleigh*, (and he was counted a very wiſe Man) 'that *England* can never be thoroughly ruined but by a Parliament, and I believe the antimonarchical Clubbers who make ſuch deſperate Stoops at the regal Power, and would leave his Majeſty nothing but an empty Name think ſo too. For the *F*'s, the *H*'s and others that ſet up for the Vanity of ſpeaking long and impertinently, having talked themſelves out of Breath, and the whole Audience out of Patience about where the Power ſhould be placed, the Club came to this Reſolution, which is publiſhed in a virulent Pamphlet, call'd *Conſiderations upon the State of the Navy conſidered* (*i*). That if the Grievances continue the Commons may at laſt be forced to take the Management of the Navy, and dependant Officers into their own Hands, by appointing Commiſſioners of their own, and this ſeems rational enough, that thoſe that are at the Charge ſhould ſuperintend the Management of the Affair.

All Proceedings have their Courſe and Train, and by the Wake Men ſteer, you may eaſily gueſs to what Port they are bound. The Deſigns of theſe Men by their working, is to ſhake our fundamental Eſtabliſhment, and under the Appearance of Liberty, to ſhrivel his preſent Majeſty into an Emperor of the Moon, and therefore trace thoſe Meaſures in which others of the ſame Kidney were ſucceſsful, in hopes of the ſame Event, and will run from one Degree of Wickedneſs to another, 'till they have obtained what they aimed at. Their laſt Demand related to the Land-Force only, and now to ſhew they will never be ſa-

(*h*) Page 1. (*i*) Page 16.

ſatisfied with any thing 'till they have poſſeſſed themſelves of all. The Management of the Navy, and dependant Offices muſt be ſeized into the Parliaments Hands, which being agreed on by all Sides to be the Strength of the Kingdom, you may gueſs how unreaſonable they are, and what Uſage his Majeſty muſt expect. See by what Tricks they introduce the Scheme of ſubverting the Government: for, as if they believed the Lord *Burleigh*'s Notion, what they lurch from the King they would beſtow upon the Parliament for that End, and no Queſtion but with the ſame Deſign at Bottom of it as their Forefathers had in advancing the Rump; make them their Tools to ruin the King, and then turn them out of Doors and erect a Frippery of their own. They are very kind Souls, and would give the Parliament what they won't accept as they are wiſe and can't accept, while they continue the Character of being his Majeſty's moſt loyal and dutiful Subjects, the Commons aſſembled in Parliament.

This ſeeming Kindneſs to the Parliament is but a Trick of the old Trade, to leſſen the King's Authority; for inveſting the Parliament with the ſupreme Authority of *England*, is as great an Error as the Deſign to make them ſo is miſchievous, for they muſt meet, and ſit, and act as Subjects, and under that Denomination 'tis Nonſenſe to call them the ſupreme Authority. They that would make the Parliament greater than they are, do but ridicule their juſt Authority; and new minting Phraſes to take away their Subordination, is only intended to raiſe Heats and Animoſities in the Kingdom. I know 'tis one Piece of ſeditious Men's Policy to repreſent thoſe that truly love and faithfully ſerve his Majeſty as if they were Enemies to Parliaments; but herein they act like *Pliny*'s malicious Animals that had their Poiſon in their Tongues and Gall in their Ears, and will neither ſpeak nor hear but what ſets Men at variance. There is no Body of Men ſo univerſally and abſolutely good, that it can be any Harm to wiſh ſome of them were better. Nor is it any Diſparagement to Men's Underſtandings, to ſay, they are not always infallible; nor no ill Wiſh, that no Men would act as if they were ſo. Our *Engliſh* Parliaments are the happieſt Conſtitution in the World, and notwithſtanding all their Faults and Exciſes which have given great Diſſatisfactions to the conſidering and ſober People of *England*, and have been ſometimes very troubleſome to the ſupreme Authority by a peculiar Fondneſs of their own Notions, yet they are to be had in great Veneration, and will be ſo by all that underſtand themſelves: Whereas thoſe ſeditious Men that would clothe them with a political Omnipotency, and rob the King to enrich the Parliament, are the greateſt Enemies to the Conſtitution.

The Reaſon why the Parliament ſhould take upon them the executive Part of the Government, as their factious Authors would have them, is, becauſe they that are at the Charge ought to ſuperintend the Affair. Which is a Notion ſo injurious to our Conſtitution that it overthrows the Structure, and levels all before it. For tho' there are ſome ill inſtructed Men, that have boldly diſputed for a co-ordinate Power in the Parliament, yet, 'till the Publication of theſe Reſolves no Bayard has been ſo blind, nor Wretch ſo impudent (pardon the Expreſſion) as to give them the whole executive Part alſo. Every parliamentary Addreſs and all our Laws ſpeak the contrary. For when according to their Duty, they have propos'd what is requiſite to be done, they pray his Majeſty

to take care that it may be executed, now the Power these Men assume in delegating the King's Prerogative to the Parliament is no less injurious to their Honour, than prejudicial to the King; for the Inference they suborn to colour the Presumption is no less than if they had said in plain Words, since you have the Power of the King's Purse-strings, puzzle his Affairs; cross all his Politicks: tire him with troublesome Tasks; confound his Ministers with cross Purposes; deny him what you think he desires; advance whatever you think will displease him; take Advantages of the Necessities of the Crown and Creditors wanting their Money; Keep the Exchequer poor, and as the Word is, let him know who and who's together; and in fine, compel him to buy supplies at the Price of his Sovereignty, and establish yourselves perpetual Dictators, the Power is your own, and now's the Time to exert it.

What barbarous Humours and unnatural Presumptions govern these seditious Clubbers, who would tempt the Parliament to embarrass the King's Affairs, and take the whole Administration of the Government into their Hands, which is the King's Right by all the Laws of *England*, and because they have a joint Privilege of granting Supplies, would invest them with the supreme Authority of the Nation to controul and govern all Things at their Discretion, which is an Error as great as the Design to promote or engross it is mischievous; for the Parliaments have no such unlimited Power, and only act in Concurrence with the King. For as the King cannot raise Taxes without Consent of Parliament, so the Parliament cannot do it without the King. Laws do not take their obliging Force from the Quality of those that devise them, but from the regal Power that enlivens them from dead Letters into speaking Laws. 'Tis the royal *Le Roy le Veult*, The King will have it so, which is the imperative Sentence that gives every Law a Being, and is pronounced in passing every Act of Parliament. So that these bold Donatives and Demands, illegal Suppositions and vexatious Disputes are so far from asserting the People's Right, as is pretended, that they utterly destroy them by unwarrantable Encroachments and Additions, and in the whole are but the Froth of seditious Intermeddlers, the Transports of wild Desires, and the Gratification of some unreasonable Men, that never did, nor never will do good to *England*, 'till they govern themselves by better Principles, and prove their Conversions real, by more loyal Practices.

Hitherto I have only shew'd you what the Mixture of various Interests have been plotting, towards the accomplishing their main Design of subverting the Government, and reducing the Nation into a State of War and Confusion, which some will think are Crimes too black to be heard of among Christians; but so degenerate is the Age, and so abominably wicked are this Sort of People, that that which precedes is nothing to the tragical Scene that is opened in the afore-cited Pamphlet (*k*) *viz.*

'The Government is built upon this Foundation, that Kings are accountable 'to their Subjects, and that upon Forefalture of their own free Will and Power 'they may proceed to a new Election, and place one more righteous upon the 'Throne.'

A bold and impudent Assertion, and as far from Truth in the Design of our Laws, as light is from Darkness, and the Club that vomited up this Position, and

(*k*) Page 13, 14.

and the Men that do comment upon it by their Practices, and act like People ſpotted with the Plague, being incurable themſelves, they have yet the Pleaſure left of infecting others, which I ſhall endeavour to antidote by ſhewing that extraordinary Proceedings are not to be produced as Precedents, but upon the ſame Occaſions, for the Laws of *England* have taken ſuch Care of the King, and his Authority, that they have made his Perſon ſacred and his Rights inviolable; but that I ſuppoſe which miſleads People into that pernicious Error, is miſconſtruing the Proceedings againſt the late King, which is as full a Confutation of that Principle as can be imagined, if rightly apprehended, for that the honourable Convention might not ſeem to make dangerous Precedents to Poſterity, give the People a ſcandalous Authority, or render the Monarchy of *England* precarious, and not worth Acceptance, they cautiouſly and honeſtly avoided ſuch Pretences and ſettled the Nation (*l*) 'upon the expreſs Renunciation of *James* the Se-'cond, his voluntary withdrawing himſelf out of the Kingdom, and the Ne-'ceſſity of providing for the Nation when the Throne was vacant;' and therefore would never depart from the Words Abdication and Vacancy of the Throne. So that what the Convention did upon that extraordinary Occaſion, was when the late King went hence, but ſhutting the Door after him, which the Mixture of various Intereſts are now endeavouring to open with Picklocks of their own inventing, and I queſtion not but if they had Power to their Will they would make Uſe of their *Betty*'s alſo. For, whereas ſome modeſter Men build this popular Notion only upon a King's open Violation of the original Contract, converting his Sovereignty into a Power of Deſtruction, and reſtrain that alſo to Caſes apparent, evident and certain, theſe wretched Men, having none of theſe Things to pretend againſt King *William*, threaten the Nation with a Diſſolution of their Monarchy, for no other Cauſe than the Miſmanagement of the Miniſtry, and for that Reaſon only ſay, (*m*) 'tis time to think of another 'Form of Government;' which ſums up their Deſigns in a few Words, and calls for a parliamentary Prevention, leſt Men, under the Apprehenſion of the Danger threatned, ſhould be tempted to think that the Evils they neglect they tolerate, which God forbid!

Having thus diſcovered the Deſigns of the Mixture, let us look into the Cauſes they aſſign to juſtify their Practices. And here I encounter ſuch palpable Contradictions, that would give me more Trouble to find out a Method, than Matter to refute them, if I were not obliged to them for preſcribing one; Fears, Jealouſies and Suſpicions are the unhappy Parents of their lewd Proceedings againſt his Majeſty and Government, and yet almoſt in the ſame Breath, confeſs they are ſecured from all Apprehenſions of Danger during his Reign. So that by their own Acknowledgment, their Fears are fooliſh, their Jealouſies cauſeleſs, their Suſpicion undeſerved, and makes it my Task to prove them ſo, which I ſhall do very briefly.

'Tis a true, but unhappy Character of a particular reigning Faction againſt Monarchy, that they are ſo given to Leaſing, that though they had Truth on their Side, yet it 'would never pleaſe them 'till they had dreſſed it up and ſet off with all the Colours of Folly, Falſhood, and Calumny, and in much larger

(*l*) *Vid.* Vote of the Convention of *Jan.* 28, 1688.
(*m*) Page 14.

Meaſure muſt we expect theſe Additions, when all theſe joined with Prejudice promotes them. What can we think more ridiculous than ſpreading Inſinuations that the King is not in the Intereſt of his People, which is ſuch a plain Contradiction they might as well have ſaid he was divided from himſelf. For their own Conſciences, if they have any, and they would give them leave to ſpeak, muſt ſay that in all the Circumſtances of his Majeſty's Hiſtory, he has ſo abated his own Grandeur, ſo bountifully ſcattered his Favours amongſt us, and ſo little conſidered himſelf, that no King ever did ſo much, no mortal Man could do more, to convince the World, that as he had no other Intentions in his coming hither than to preſerve our Religion, Laws and Liberties, ſo it has been his Endeavour, ever ſince, by a juſt Adminiſtration, and even ballancing all Intereſt at home, and expoſing his dear Life abroad, to advance the Welfare and Glory of the Nation, as you might have heard from his royal Mouth, in his moſt gracious Anſwer to the Commons, addreſs'd *March* 25, 1699.

'I came hither to reſtore the ancient Conſtitution of this Government; I 'have had all poſſible Regard to it ſince my coming, and I am reſolved through 'the Courſe of my Reign to endeavour to preſerve it intire in all the Parts of it. 'I have a full Confidence in the Affections of my People, and I am well aſſured 'they have the ſame in me, and I will never give them juſt Cauſe to alter their 'Opinions. It ſhall be my Study, to the utmoſt of my Power, to perform the 'Part of a juſt and good King: and as I will ever be ſtrictly and nicely careful 'of obſerving my Promiſes to my Subjects, ſo I will not doubt of their tender Regards to me.

Let all his Majeſty's Actions be tried with the ſtricteſt Scrutiny, and if they be taken as they ought, in Coherence with his great Deſign of preſerving the Honour and Safety of the Nation, his whole Life will appear juſt and equitable; but if Men will lay their falſe invented Fears at the Doors of his royal Palace, that were begot and nouriſh'd in their own Houſes, catch here and there a Snap, without examining the Reaſon, Uſe and End of every Action, which alſo by the way may not be fit for them to know neither: for every Head is not fit to pry into the Cloſet of Princes. Reaſons and Maxims of State are above their Reach, and looking upward will but turn their Brains, and make their Heads giddy, which are too much afflicted with the Megrim already. I ſay, if they proceed ſo clandeſtinely, they may run into an eternal Circulation of Jealouſies, ſlander the beſt Government in the World, and make *Quidlibet ex Quolibet*, find Treaſon in the Laws, and pick Blaſphemy out of the Holy Bible.

Let the King's Enemies if they can, give us one ſingle Inſtance wherein he has not been juſt to the Conſtitution? What Law has he broken? What Rights of the People has he invaded? What new Pretences of Prerogative has he invented? or wherein has his Majeſty ſtretch'd thoſe that are the known and allow'd Rights of his Crown, to the Prejudice of his Subjects? or what has he omitted that might conduce to their Happineſs? Did the King ever ſtop his Ears to any reaſonable Petition? Did he ever deny Juſtice to the meaneſt Subject, or refuſe ſhewing Mercy where it was needful? No, in his Majeſty they have

have nothing to revile but his Virtues, and were it fit to mingle his Glory with the Jealouſies of the Mixture, they could never be ſo perfectly ſummed up, as in their Oppoſites.

How unreaſonably do Men argue, that would make Jealouſies, Conjectures, Hearſays, Fancies, and Reports, a Ground to raiſe Suſpicions upon, againſt a King, whoſe Life and Actions confound all ſuch Pretences: and yet ſuch Brutes are found among us, that notwithſtanding all his Majeſty's bountiful Conceſſions, raiſe evil Surmiſes, and make ſeditious Comments, and ungrateful Returns to his Goodneſs, forget their Obligations, by growing weary of their Duty, and would perſuade the World, that the King is not in the Intereſt of his People, becauſe they are in none but their own.

And now having anſwered the firſt Cauſe they aſſign as the Reaſon of their Fears, I proceed to the next; which is as unreaſonable and ridiculous, as the former is falſe and ſcandalous, and both confute themſelves.

Thoſe Pſeudo Patriots, that by improving and practiſing upon Fears and Impoſſibilities, would cover the Affronts and Indignities they put upon his Majeſty, confeſs there is no Danger to be expected during his Reign, and give theſe ſubſtantial Reaſons for it * 'Becauſe he is our *Moſes*, and has delivered *Eng-* 'land from a Captivity, equal to that of the Children of *Iſrael*. A Prince whoſe 'Life is ſo neceſſary to the Preſervation of *Europe*, that both Proteſtant and 'Popiſh Princes, forgetting their ancient Maxims, and innate Animoſities, 'made it their common Intereſt to chuſe him their Patron and Protector; a 'Prince in whom we know no Vices, but what have been eſteemed Virtues in 'others, *viz.* His undeſerved Clemency to his Enemies, and his too much ex-'poſing that Life, upon which depends not only our Safety, but the Liberties 'of all *Europe*, and the Proteſtant Religion through the World;' and yet to ſpoil their Kindneſs, uſher in an Inference, that tells the Reader they give no Credit to their own Elogies, for after they ſaid, 'If this moſt excellent Prince 'was as immortal as his glorious Actions, we ought in common Prudence, to 'abandon all Thoughts of Self-Preſervation, and wholly rely on his Care and 'Conduct.' They are pleaſed to add, what was the mighty Argument of their Party in another Place; 'That ſince no Virtue, nor Pitch of Glory, can exempt 'him from paying the common Debt to Nature, we ought not to intruſt any 'Power with him, which we don't think proper to be continued to his Succeſ-'ſor!' A poor Shift, God wot, to ſupport Ingratitude, and might have been better ſolved, by agreeing to be civil to him during his Life, than by making his Mortality an Argument for the Exerciſe of ill Manners, promoting Fears and Jealouſies, and aſpiring after his Sovereignty; for by theſe Policies the intermixture Work, that ſay in effect not this King, but another King, or a Form of Government 'that would have no King in *Iſrael*, that the Seditious might do 'what was right in their own Eyes, act like Men of Authority and not as the 'Scribes;' for then they will want no collateral Security for their Privileges, when their Reaſons are in their own Hands, and the ſupreme Power placed in that Sort of ill-natured People, whoſe Underſtandings grow downward, and affront a good King in being, becauſe it is poſſible a bad one may come hereafter, which is an Abſurdity never equalled, but by thoſe Members of the ſame

* Argument againſt a Standing Army, *p.* 9.

Club, that affirmed among other Debates and Reſolutions *, 'That the moſt 'likely Way to reſtore King *James*, is maintaining an Army to keep him out:' Or a Gentleman that ſaid, the late Noiſe of an Invaſion from *France*, was a Trick of the *French* King's to keep up a Standing Army in *England*.

To ſlander his Majeſty in his Honour, and the good Eſteem of his People, not for any thing he has done, or that they fear he will do, but for what poſſibly another King may do hereafter, is either a ſenſeleſs, or a very malicious Way of arguing, and makes all their Panegyrics on the King, look as if they were formed from the deepeſt Malice and Prejudice, and were only the Arts of the Mixture, under Profeſſion of the greateſt Veneration, to diminiſh the Perſon they pretend to magnify, and to uſe their own Words, is 'cutting a Man's 'Throat with a Feather;' for though a preventional Prudence, in ſtifling ill Conſequences in their Cauſes, and obviating Miſchiefs in the Bud, is very commendable, yet to make a Danger real where it is but imaginary, to act as if it were in Being, that is as far diſtant as the next Generation, to ſuſpect a King in the Throne, for the Fault of a King that may be yet unborn, and from a bare Poſſibility of Power being ill employed, to act as if it were ſo, is but ſtruggling with Phantoms and Chimeras, and enflaming the People with ſenſeleſs and ſeditious May-be's. A King of *England* a hundred Years hence, may be a Tyrant; muſt we therefore be rude and ungrateful to the King in being, whom we confeſs he neither has, and believe he never will do us Injury? It may happen in the next Generation, a King by the Exerciſe of a deſpotic Power, may deprive the Subjects of their Liberty, muſt we therefore raviſh the Rights of the Crown from our preſent Monarch, that by his Valour has regained, and by his Goodneſs preſerves them? We may be wronged by an Enemy, muſt we therefore ſuſpect our beſt Friends? and becauſe the World muſt be deſtroyed by Fire, muſt we run with Torches in our Hands, and burn our Houſes now, in Dread of the general Conflagration? Surely none are ſo mad to grant it! and therefore to ſtrike People with dreadful Expectations, of what may happen we know not when, and ſet up Poſſibilities and Contingencies to unravel and perplex preſent Affairs, ſmells rankly of a Deſign, and that our new ſeditious Interpoſitors would enſlave us, firſt to their Principles, and then to their Perſons, as their Predeceſſors have once done already.

Our Miſeries are endleſs, if we ſtand in Fear of Poſſibilities; for as there is nothing we fear ſo certain of coming, as 'tis certain that many Things we fear will never come, we ſhould hope the beſt, and not by Treachery, Cowardice and Diſtruſt of Providence, contrive and enlarge our own Unhappineſs; for this is to die for Fear of Death, and ingulph ourſelves into certain Miſery, upon invented or ill-grounded Apprehenſions.

This Deſign of amuſing the People, with Evils that might happen from a Standing Army being on Foot, how did the Mixture of Intereſts, by pretending to read his Majeſty's Thoughts in that Affair, draw ſuch unnatural Conſequences, and retort ſuch diſingenuous Reflections upon his ſuppoſititious future Conduct, as was unſufferable in hearing, and undutiful in reporting; and yet how coolly, ſedately and wiſely did his Majeſty manage himſelf in that whole Affair, and ſilenced all that ſlandered his Intentions, as if he would govern by

* Arg. cont. Stand. Army, *p.* 28.

a Standing Army; for though possibly his Majesty might be of Opinion (as well as thousands of his Subjects of celebrated Intellects and considerable Fortunes) that as public Matters were then circumstantiated, a greater Land Force was necessary than what was talked of; yet so great was his Desire and Endeavour to allay the Heats, that some Men were raising upon that Subject, that he suffered the Quiet of his People to prevail upon his Judgment, and as soon as the Bill for disbanding the Army was ready for the Royal Assent, he immediately passed it; and to that great Example of Self-Denial, made the following Pathetic to the Parliament's Speech, *February* 1, 1698.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I Came to pass the Bill for disbanding the Army as soon as I understood it was ready for me.

Though in our present Circumstances, there appears great Hazard in breaking such a Number of the Troops: And though I might think myself unkindly used, that those Guards, who came over with me to your Assistance, and have constantly attended me in all the Actions wherein I have been engaged, should be removed from me; yet it is my fixed Opinion, that nothing can be so fatal to us, as that any Distrust or Jealousy should arise between me and my People, which I must own would have been very unexpected after what I have undertaken, ventured and acted, for the restoring and securing of their Liberties.

I have thus plainly told you the only Reason which has induced me to pass this Bill; and now I think myself obliged, in Discharge of the Trust reposed in me, and for my own Justification, that no ill Consequences may lie at my Door, to tell you as plainly my Judgment, that the Nation is left too much exposed.

It is therefore incumbent upon you, to take this Matter into your serious Consideration, and effectually to provide such a Strength as is necessary for the Safety of the Kingdom, and the Preservation of the Peace which God hath given us.

The House of Commons, in an Address, were pleased to tell the King, that the passing the Act for disbanding the Army, 'Gave great Satisfaction to his Ma-'jesty's Subjects; and that his Compliance with the punctual Execution there-'of, would prevent all Occasion of Distrust or Jealousy between his Majesty 'and his People:' And one would have thought it could not have missed that great End. Yet there were a Remnant at several Clubs, that, reaching after sovereign Power, like the Bay of *Biscay*, are always tumultuous, let the Wind blow where it will, that were more enraged and disturbed at his passing the Bill, than they were before on Pretences he would not: and at several Cabals, (to use their own Words) said, 'The King had cross-bit them, foiled them 'at their own Weapons, had broken their Measures, and removed a Pretence, 'which they hoped would have been a lasting Subject of Complaint, and keep-'ing up the pretended Fears of arbitrary Government:' Insomuch that a Gentleman of no small Figure in public Affairs, upon reading his Majesty's Speech above recited, in great Passion swore, 'G—— d—— me, 'tis impossible to cir-'cumvent

'cumvent this Gentleman, (meaning the King) he countermines all Intrigues, 'and will govern us in Deſpight of our Teeth.' At other Clubs ſome Members of the Faction raved againſt the Bill, becauſe it had left 'Seven thouſand 'Cut-Throats' yet in *England*, whereas there ought not one Red or Blue Coat to have remained on this Side of the Water. In hopes, I ſuppoſe, they being diſguſted, under Reſentments of the Slight, they would immediately tranſport themſelves, comply with the Court at *St. Germains*, and aſſiſt them in the Reſtoration of Popery and Slavery: Or otherwiſe, by leaving the Nation defenceleſs, we might have no Benefit by a Peace, that coſt the Kingdom ſo great an Expence of Blood and Treaſure: For whatever theſe Men pretend of the Zeal of *Engliſhmen*, in the Defence of their Country, and the no Need of Swords in Times of Peace; they do but arraign their own Politick: 'For 'that Peace which puts People out of a Condition of Defence in caſe of a War, 'muſt expect a War;' and ſuch a State as leaves a People at the Mercy of an Enemy, is worſe than a War itſelf, unleſs we could perſuade our Neighbours, to be as ſupine and negligent as they would have us be; for otherwiſe, our Sloth and fancied Security is but an Invitation for them to over-run us, or cut our Throats while our Hands are tied behind us: The Pretence of relying ſolely upon our Fleet renders our Safety as uncertain as the Wind and Weather; for if, in Time of War, when we had the Aſſiſtance of a Neighbouring Fleet, in Conjunction with our own, beſides a powerful Confederacy by Land, yet found we had enough to do, before we could bring our Enemies to any tolerable Terms of Peace, it would be the greateſt Folly in the World, to depend upon a ſingle uncertain Help, when we might be ſubdued before we could put ourſelves into a Poſture of Reſiſtance at home, or expect it from abroad. As weak is the Pretence of relying upon our Militia, which for ever will be nothing but a raw and undiſciplined Multitude; and to truſt to it, is to combat Wolves with Sheep, to let go a real Security, and rely upon an imaginary one. The Project of making the Militia ſerviceable on all Occaſions, is ſtill in the Clouds; and the inſuperable Difficulties they meet with in producing the Miracle, and the Delays they give us in forming the Stratagem, tempt us to think, they are at laſt fallen into the other Notion, *viz.* 'That re-'gular and diſciplined Troops are far ſuperior to the beſt and ſtrongeſt Mi-'litia in the World; that Experience and Diſcipline make an Army ſervice-'able; and where the Security of a Nation requires a martial Strength, it is 'ridiculouſly impolitic to diſband the Learned only to teach the Ignorant, 'and put the Government to the Toil and Expence of making Officers and 'Soldiers, when we have them made to our Hands.'

There is nothing but Contradiction, and an inflexible Humour, govern this ſort of People; for after they had loſt their vain Fears of arbitrary Government, in the Character they themſelves give the King, they ſhelter under the Danger that might ariſe from the Army itſelf; and yet after all the rude and ungenteel Language they give both Officers and Soldiers, yet at laſt the Power of Truth has forced them into this ingenuous Confeſſion, * 'That what they 'have ſaid againſt Standing Armies, they would be underſtood of ſuch as are 'Inſtruments of Tyranny, and their Country's Ruin, and not of our preſent 'Army,

* Argument againſt a Standing Army, p. 30, & 31.

'Army, which was raiſed by Conſent of Parliament, in the juſt and neceſſary 'War; and next under God and our great and glorious Deliverer, have, by 'their Bravery and Conduct, preſerved our Liberties, and the Proteſtant Re-'ligion through *Europe*.'

There are a ſort of Talkers that ought to have good Memories, and theſe ſeditious Bablers, though they have an excellent Faculty in the former, they are extreamly defective in the latter; for it was this very Army, that next to God and our great Deliverer, have by their Bravery, and Conduct, preſerved our Liberties, and the Proteſtant Religion through *Europe*, that in other Places † they call common Cut-Throats and Murderers by Profeſſion, and under thoſe hard Names, move, that there may not be ‖ One Soldier left in *England*. It is a great Shame and Pity that the Army have not the Privilege of bringing Actions of Slander againſt the Mixture, for as every injured Perſon and Fraternity ought to have Reparations proportionable to their Sufferings by ſlanderous Tongues; ſo I am very confident, the Freeholders of *England* would give them ſwinging Damages, where the Aggreſſors confeſs the Action. Well,

Since then, by their own Confeſſion, there is no Cauſe of Fear from the King, nor Danger from the Army, it is worth our further Enquiry, what has raiſed all this Duſt to choak us with Jealouſies and Suſpicions, and after all the Reputation we have gained in War, would ſink us into a dangerous Remiſſneſs in Time of Peace, and upon remote and invented Fears of Danger, that will probably never happen, expoſe ourſelves to thoſe which we muſt certainly look for, as ſoon as we have put ourſelves out of a Capacity of Reſiſting, by diſbanding the whole Army, and the Reaſon I meet with in an ingenious Author, *viz.* Becauſe a ſort of Men ſet up for wonderful Patriots, grow jealous of the Prerogative, and commence Zealots for Public Liberty, who, in the late Reigns, though we had not only the juſteſt Cauſes of Jealouſy, but all the Certainties of Evidence, that Arbitrary Power was erecting; yet ſome of them were ſilent, and others that went into them with as hearty a Zeal for Arbitrarineſs, as they ſeem now to put on for Liberty, and in the late War laboured hard to lay us open to Invaſion and Conqueſt, what they could not compaſs during the War, are endeavouring to accompliſh now, by all the Arts imaginable, and leave no Stone unturned that may make a Step to our Confuſion, and their own Advancement; but this Affair being determined by the King and Parliament, I ſhall add no more but my hearty Wiſhes, that there may never be an unhappy Occaſion, by the Malice of our foreign Enemies, or the Treachery of the Mixture, to convince us by a dear-bought Experience, who were were in the Right. However,

Though this Matter is at length accommodated, as you have heard already, to ſhew their Envy, Covetouſneſs, and Ambition, is never to be ſatisfied, till themſelves be in Office, or all overturned: they reaſſume their never-failing Topics, arbitrary Officers and Miſmanagements, and through the Sides of his Miniſters, wound his Majeſty in his Honour, and under the general Name, and Cry againſt the Court, reflect upon his ſacred Perſon; for though they do not

† Argument againſt a Standing Army, p. 29.

‖ Anſwer to the Ballancing Letter.

not explain it in Words at length, but hide themſelves under dubious and ambiguous Terms, their Meaning is as intelligible as that it is Day when the Sun is upon the Meridian. None but the King has Power of modelling the Court, or exchanging the Miniſtry; and they might as well ſay, the King was the Head Conſpirator to introduce the pretended Slavery, as to ſay he appoints the Inſtruments to accompliſh it: and how they will reconcile this, either with the Character they are pleaſed to give them, or the profound Reſpect and Duty they pretend to owe him, is paſt my Underſtanding.

I am no Advocate for ill Miniſters, and they that know who are ſuch, would do well to tell them ſo, or apply themſelves where the Diſcovery will be welcome, and Miſmanagements redreſſed, and if they do not take the legal Method of convicting ſuch Offenders, their Pretences will, by all that underſtand themſelves, be cenſured, like Sir *H. D. C.*'s Petition, to be frivolous, vexatious, and ſcandalous. I know they will anſwer, it is none of their Buſineſs: and I muſt reply, they do ill to concern themſelves with that which is not; for it is leſs every Man's Duty to rail, than to ſeek to remedy what they know is amiſs: and if they know it not, they are much more to blame, to make worthy Men's Reputations the Subjects of idle and envious Banter, unleſs they covet the Name of Buſy-bodies, or what is worſe, common Slanderers.

There is a blind Side, and weak Part in the Populace, that eaſily yields to any Aſſault, which all that ſow Sedition endeavour to ſecure to themſelves, and that is, they naturally love to hear Great Men ſpoken ill of, and are never better pleaſed than when their Ears are drummed with rancorous Diſcourſes and malicious Inſinuations againſt their Superiors: which the Mixture knowing, they frequent public Places, and without conſidering their own Quality, and the Port they ought to keep, aſſociate with all Companies, to exaggerate the Faults and Misfortunes of the Government, which they always do to the Height, and make every Mole-hill a Mountain, every Gnat a Camel, every Slip or Stumble a dangerous Symptom of approaching Ruin, and hint them with ſuch a Superfetation of Fears and Jealouſies, as if the whole Frame of Nature were diſſolving, and the World on the Brink of Ruin, by the Miſmanagement of thoſe they are pleaſed to call ignorant and ill-deſigning Miniſters, and then ſigh out Damnation againſt them, with ſuch hideous Accents, as engages their Auditors to believe and publiſh them, and by theſe little Artifices of the Mixture, falſe Reports are ſpread, and the King and Court traduced, when there is no Cauſe or Reaſon to give them Credit. Hence ill Conſtructions are put upon uſeful and innocent Actions. Ill Turns are given to well intended Deſigns, and every Trip in the Adminiſtration is magnified by unjuſt Aggravations, without making an Allowance for the Difficulties, under which the Miniſtry for many Years have laboured: in maintaining a War by Sea and Land, when our Money was debaſed, our Credit ſunk, and almoſt at an Impoſſibility to retrieve it: beſides the Care and Thought, in uniting Men of different Parties, different Principles, and different Intereſts, to contribute towards the common Preſervation: which no Man knows the Trouble of, but thoſe that underwent the Burden of it, which if impartially weighed, and conſidered, with due Regard to the Circumſtances of the Time, and Neceſſities of Affairs, it would not only cool the Heat of their Enemies, but merit the Ap-

plauſes

plauſes and Thanks of thoſe very Men, who are ſo forward to condemn them, without conſidering how much the Government is weakened, and the Honour and Reputation of it broken, by theſe ignorant and ungrateful Underminers.

No Government on Earth is ſo completely perfect, but ſomething will be amiſs in the Adminiſtration, and ſome unhappy Occaſions of Complaints will ariſe; but the Ways by which the ſeditious Intermixture manage themſelves, plainly diſcover their Deſigns are not to rectify Diſorders, but to countenance their own Clamours againſt the King and Court, becauſe they are not infallible; whereas a modeſt and ſincere Intention for the public Good, would firſt conſider how far promoting ſuch Suggeſtions would carry them, ſince if they look back but a few Pages into our Hiſtory, they will find that the ſame Complaints have already kindled a War, and many a doleful Tragedy amongſt us. 'Tis impoſſible to know what they mean, by what they ſay, for they take the Meaſure of Good and Evil, not from the Nature and Tendency of Actions, but from the Characters of Perſons, and they are elected or reprobated, as the Perſons are eſteemed for, or againſt the Party, to which their natural Propenſities, or ſordid Intereſts incline them, and being tinged with Malice and Malecontentedneſs, they think nothing more their Duty than to feed and cheriſh unnatural Heats and Diviſions, till they can blow up the Sparks of their Phrenſy into public Combuſtions. 'Tis their natural Humour to diſlike, and as faſt as they are able, ſubvert every eſtabliſhed Government; and it is no Wonder, for what can reſtrain Madmen from railing at their Keepers, and Governors, and the Laws, which fetters them up from thoſe Outrages, that they are ſo eager to act upon their Country.

There is ſcarce a Crime to be mentioned in reference to the Public, but they confidently charge it upon the Miniſtry; but keep the Proof of them in the Clouds, as if the World were obliged to believe malicious Reports, upon the Credit of a ſpightful Hearſay, which have neither Being nor Beginning, Colour nor Pretence to juſtify them. There is all the Reaſon in the World that ill Miniſters ſhould be puniſhed, and he would be one of the worſt of Men, that would either palliate their Fault, or protect their Perſons when they are convicted of what they ſtand accuſed; but yet there is no Reaſon that any Man ſhould be ſcandalized, and ſuffer upon the naked Account of a running Clamour, that has no other Father, but the malicious Inventions of thoſe that are ſtruggling for their Places. It is no wonder to hear the greateſt Worth defamed, the wiſeſt Conduct ſuſpected, the profoundeſt Wiſdom ſlighted, and Men of the moſt exemplary Virtue evil ſpoken of. The envious Eyes of ſome Men, will for ever be diſturbed for ſo great a Luſtre. The *Iſraelites* envied *Moſes*, the *Jews* ſcandalized the bleſſed *Jeſus*, the *Romans* ſuffered *Belliſarius* to beg about their Streets, that had been thrice their Deliverer, and no ſooner were the *Athenian* Captains by their excellent Conduct, Valour and Succeſs, raiſed in the Eſteem for their very Enemies, but they were preſently envied, impoveriſhed and proſcribed by their own Countrymen. The renowned *Cæſar*'s Fall was owing as well to the Envy as Malice of Republican *Brutus* and *Caſſius*. 'Tis a great Piece of Folly to think the worſe of any Man for being envied and evil ſpoken of; for it is certain the wiſeſt and beſt Man in the Nation, though others may, ſhall never eſcape Cenſure; therefore heavy Accuſations, and Crimes of the higheſt

Nature, ought to be well proved, before they are believed, or ſpread Abroad to the Prejudice of great Men in their Lives, Honours and Eſtates; for if it be enough to be accuſed, where ſhall we find a Man that is innocent.

We have heard many unpardonable Crimes objected againſt the Court, but how rarely do we hear of any Proof made againſt them; and therefore ſince the ſeditious Interpoſitors, after all their tedious Searches and Examinations, have not been able to deſcry the Dangers they pretend to fear; it is a ſufficient Principle of Preſumption, that their Jealouſies are ill grounded, that they find Fault merely for the Sake of finding Fault, and like Boys, having blown a Soap-Bubble from a Walnut-ſhell, reſolve to keep it up as long as they have Breath to follow it. Nay, ſince they exhibit foul and diſmal Charges againſt the Miniſtry, without referring to any Act of the Miniſters to make it good, they prove nothing but that they are oppreſſed with Envy, and Ill-nature; for they are not ſo unſkilful at improving the minuteſt Piccadillo's, that had they been furniſhed with any Shadow of Truth, they would not have ſmothered them, and therefore ſince they have produced none, the Reader may juſtly conclude, they have none to produce. And all undeſigning Men, notwithſtanding all the Scarecrows that are ſet up to fright us, may with great Satisfaction and Quiet depend upon his Majeſty's Promiſe made to the Houſe of Commons * in Anſwer to their Addreſs, *viz.* 'That he will take the beſt Care he can, that all Sorts of 'Miſmanagements, and Irregularities ſhall be prevented or redreſſed.' So that upon the whole Matter, our Enemies crying out againſt the Government in general Terms, without being able to produce any thing worth the hearing, to juſtify their Noiſe and Clamours; they prove nothing but their Want of Breeding and better Arguments, and their Calumnies, when driven Home, will recoil upon their own Heads; for they that charge others with Crimes they cannot prove, indict and convict themſelves of Falſity; and as this Offence may be the Parent of many Diſturbances, ſo among our other real Grievances, it calls for a timely Redreſs, for it is infinitely below Authority, to indulge, or neglect a Humour that proceeds from nothing but invincible Pride and Peeviſhneſs. However,

Certainly Cauſes there are, for all theſe Complaints are not made for nothing. There can be no Smoak but there muſt be ſome Fire; and therefore to be juſt to my Reader, and ſatisfy my Country, I muſt not ſmother them; but in Conſcience and Honeſty am obliged to bring ſome of them upon the Stage, and ſhew the Reaſons why there are ſo many Complaints againſt the Court, and the firſt I encounter is,

That many of the ſeditious Mixture are under great Diſappointments. They want Places of Profit that they may repair their tatter'd Fortunes at the Expence of the Public, and Places of Truſt, that they may have it in their Power to turn the Scales, if ever the Beam ſhould begin to totter. And ſhew their exquiſite Parts in doing nothing, and undoing all things. And the Government being ſupplied at preſent with able and experienced Stateſmen, and that it is too long to go barefoot, till they can be recruited with dead Men's Shoes, they would pull them off, and force a Way to their Preferment, through the Reputations of the preſent Miniſters, and for that End only, endeavour to make the

* *Martis, 4 die Aprilis* 1699.

the preſent Miniſters uneaſy to themſelves, and hateful to others, that they may turn them out, and thruſt themſelves into their Places; and this Chicanery they manage with ſo much Art and Induſtry, at their ſeveral Clubs and Eating-Houſes, as if all were going to ruin, unleſs they be ſpeedily employed, and ſuch Methods obſerved to regulate Diſorders, as they only can propoſe, though when their Notions come to be examined, it is a thouſand to one, but they are utterly impracticable, dangerous in the Uſe, and deſtructive in the End; but the Vulgar not perceiving what's in the covered Diſh, they run into the ſame Cry againſt the Court, and eagerly ſpend their Mouths in the Chaſe, which their Leaders have ſtarted, without knowing what the Game is, how it muſt be dreſſed, or who muſt feed upon the Carcaſs when they have helped to catch it.

Noiſe and Nonſenſe is enough to ſet all the idle Tools of the ſeditious Mixture a madding, and therefore having ſwallowed the infectious Vehicle, it ſoon has its Operation, and now they all applaud the Contrivances and Stratagems of theſe State Empiricks, as the only Phyſicians that can cure all the Diſtempers in the public Adminiſtration: the only Patriots that can heal our Breaches, and reſtore to every factious and impoveriſhed Zealot, what he has a Mind to. And in order to it, Railing at the Miniſtry is called Liberty and Property, and Freedom of Speech, and deſpiſing Authority is called not fearing the Face of Men in their Country's Cauſe: when their Country is no more concerned in their Invectives and Quarrels againſt the Court, than they would be for their Country, if it were in their Power to ſerve it. Let theſe Underminers of the Miniſtry make what Pretences they pleaſe, Self-Intereſt is at the Bottom of all their Raree-Shews for reforming what is amiſs, and the Truth of the Matter is, theſe Gentlemen having their Wants to lead, and the Devil to drive, they can find no ſuch Expedient to ſupply the former, and pleaſe the latter, as by changing the Miniſtry, and thruſting in themſelves to accompliſh what they aim at; and therefore proſecute the Deſign accordingly with uncommon Vigour. See them ſet round a Table, with all their Politics about them, affecting as zealous a Look as if every Man were a *Machiavel*, and as expert in redreſſing Grievances, and preventing Abuſes, as *Solon* or *Lycurgus*, and now whatever opens their Mouths againſt the Government, nothing but the Hopes of a Place can ſhut them, and that does it effectually. As a late Poet ſings,

Attempts to purify the Court,
Is damning Men of Places:
Till decently they ſend them home,
And get themſelves put in their Room,
And then they'll change their Faces.

'Tis not becauſe ſome in are bad,
That forms Fears and Pretences;
But Wants of Equipage and Poſt,
And Supplies at the Public Coſt,
To keep Coach and ſix, and Wenches.

The moſt ſerious Diſcourſes amongſt them, and of weightieſt Matters, at laſt center in their Wants of Preferment, and begin where they will, a Place is the End of it. And though they may ſmother their Deſires and ambitious Aims awhile, and appear only public-ſpirited Patriots; yet their Vizor at length drops off, and their Deſigns are diſcovered, they want an Office, a lively Inſtance whereof I heard but the other Day in a Coffee-houſe, where a diminutive Animal, of a late, and from a mean Riſe, though now arrived to a great Eſtate, being heartily railing againſt the Adminiſtration, and ſighing out his Fears for his dear Country and poor *England*. A Gentleman ſmartly reprimands the Fop, tells him his Family was once regarded as Men in the true Intereſt of the Nation. And though his Father's Chair ſliding from under him, the Fall had ſwelled his Spleen, turned his Brain, and affected his Uncle's by Sympathy: He was ſorry to ſee the Son alſo diſcover more Weakneſs and Ill-nature in the Family, in curſing and reviling the public Management, and promoting Diſcontents in the Nation. To whom the Upſtart replied, 'I will, and ought 'to do it, for the Court has uſed me barbarouſly, and the Place I was a Candi-'date for they have given to another.' In ſhort, he overvalued himſelf, by aſpiring to the Degree of a Stateſman, and was angry that a fitter Man had the Preference; and now his Diſappointment muſt be called a national Grievance and Miſmanagement. And if you ſearch to the Bottom of all our Clamours, ſtill the Want of a Place is the Cauſe of them.

Some of the Murmurers it is true, are modeſter, or rather ſubtiler than others; yet all iſſue at laſt in the ſame thing, and though the Poiſon does not break out at the Mouth, yet they have their Methods too, and ſlander the Adminiſtration with their Ears and their Looks; and whilſt other's Clacks are running, accent and confirm their Calumnies, by tipping the Wink, ſhrugging the Shoulders, and ſhaking the Head ſo diſmally, as ſuggeſts more Crimes againſt the Court than the World ever knew, or Arithmetic can number. And if the Stream runs againſt a Miniſter they think their Enemy, a familiar Nod, or gracious Smile from his Lordſhip in Mummery, confirms all the Slanders which are broached at this Cabal, and ſhall paſs them as confidently, as if they were mathematical Demonſtrations, when, peradventure, there is not one true Syllable in all the Clatter.

Others of this ſeditious Mixture, make their Wants and Neceſſities the Cauſe of promoting Diſcontents and Jealouſies, and raffle for Preferments and Places, for the ſame Reaſons that wiſe Men think ſhould utterly debar them; for hungry Men ought not to be invited to ſcanty Commons, their debauched, extravagant and vain Expences, having conſumed their own Eſtates, there is no Reaſon to truſt them with the public Purſe, or Offices that may give them an Opportunity of oppreſſing the Subject to ſupply their Neceſſities, and lengthen their own Teathers by defrauding other Men of their Right of Common. I am not inſenſible, that it is thought a great Piece of Policy in a Prince, to make frequent Changes in his Court, and when ſome have filled their Pockets, to give them leiſure to ſpend it; and oblige others of his Subjects with the like Advantages. I will not diſpute whether this may prove advantageous to the Crown; but I am of Opinion it is detrimental to the Subject, for the ſame Reaſon that * *Tiberius*

* Epitome of *Joſephus*, p. 488.

berius gave to his Friend, upon aſking him that Queſtion: 'I ſeldom, ſays he, 'change my Governors of Provinces, becauſe every new hungry Comer racks 'the People by new Exactions, till they have filled their Coffers, and then are 'at quiet.' And to this Purpoſe told them, that a poor Lazar having his Sores covered with Flies, which he endeavoured not to drive away from feeding on his Fleſh; the Spectators believing it proceeded from his Inability to do it, they went near to do that Office for him; but he pray'd them to let the Flies alone, for having now glutted themſelves with my Blood, faith he, they don't ſuck ſo greedily, but that I enjoy a little Eaſe; but if you drive them away, freſh Flies will light upon my Sores, and ſuck me to Death. Which applied to beggarly Pretenders for Employments, puts a Bar to their importunate Sollicitations, eſpecially when they take ſuch indirect Courſes to obtain what they ſeek for. Men's Neceſſities may be great, but good Men's Loyalty will ſurmount their Wants, and not put them upon robbing the King of his People's Duty and Affections, to fill their own Bellies; but rather to ſuffer any thing for his Majeſty than cauſe him in the leaſt to ſuffer by or for them. They have a great deal to anſwer for, who by the State Craft of preſſing for Redreſs of Grievances, would amend their own Circumſtances, by raiſing Hurricano's in the State, and ſtirring up ſuch Commotions as ſometimes ſhatter the Conſtitution, and as our own Memoirs can too ſadly inform us, often entirely deface and overturn it. When theſe dangerous Incendiaries firſt ſet out to awe the Government, what Pains do they take to ſhew themſelves diſaffected, and hope to get Places by Arguments of their Diſloyalty, and run againſt the Court in hopes they will aſk their Price, and take them off by beſtowing Preferments upon them. For thoſe Methods being ſucceſsful in former Reigns, they revive in this.

King Charles *the Second knew their Game,*
And Places gave and Penſions;
And had King William's *Money flown,*
His Majeſty would ſoon have known
Their Conſciences Dimenſions.

But he has wiſely given them up,
To work their own Deſires;
And laying Arguments aſide,
As Things which have in vain been try'd,
To Faſtings, Want, and Prayers.

It is a lewd and unwarrantable Step in Politics, for ſeditious Intermeddlers to expect to be gratified by profitable Employments, for being intolerably vexatious to the Government; and by all the ſharking Ways and Means imaginable, to place themſelves at the Helm; for this Cunning is not always crowned with Succeſs; but oftentimes the wild Purſuers draw down ruinous Conſequences on their own Heads, by attemping to riſe by ſuch notorious Acts as call their Fidelities into Queſtion; for if Men can be loyal no longer than they are bribed to their Duties by Preferments, the King leans on broken Reeds, and cannot be ſecure till he has as many good Places in his Gift, as he has bad and hungry

Subjects

Subjects in his Kingdom; and if Men would but consider that they have to do with a Prince, that is not to be hectored out of his Favours, they would give over throwing Obstacles in the Way of their own Rising, seeing there is no great Feats to be done in this Reign by such a fantastical Conduct: Whereas the Exercise of Humility, Loyalty and Modesty would melt his heroic Soul into such gracious Considerations, as would put him upon considering how he might be still more beneficial to his People,

The reigning Sins, Pride, Ambition, and Atheism, are other Grievances that call aloud for Redress, and the Neglect of suppressing them, are to be reckoned among our real Mismanagements, and as the Cause of the Molestations they afflict the State. Envy and Obloquy spares no body, the most unblemished Virtue is not shielded from their Darts. 'Tis defined by *Cicero*, to be Grief conceived in the Mind, at the Good which another Man enjoys; and that Good especially, by which the envious Man receives no Injury; but they are sick because other Men are well, and the better it is with another the worse it is with him. When Men have consumed their own Estates by idle, and extravagant Expences, they envy those that are grown rich by their Industry; and this makes them curious in enquiring, and prying into other Men's Affairs that they may find something to lessen them. A Temper so far from being Christian, that there's nothing of Humility, but much of the Devil in it. Hence it is that the Rattling of a Courtier's Coach frights them out of their Senses, the Sight of a fine Coat makes them ready to tear their own Cloathes tho' gayer, and puts them into such a heat, that nothing but the Promise of a good Place can cool their Envy, or divert them from declaiming against the Court, telling Stories of Mismanagement, detracting from their Merits, and making large Additions to their Failings; and if the Court oblige them with some fine Thing to play withal, their pretended conscientious Clamours will submit to their Interests, and then the Court is the honestest Place in Christendom.

Pride and Vanity are other Ingredients that contribute toward the Composition of a Malecontent; for they swell the Factions with such good Opinions of themselves, and their Capacities for public Employments, that there is a Necessity for others to be turned out, that they may have an Opportunity, to shew their rare Qualifications: and then the most compendious Ways to obtain their Wishes, are to calumniate the Court, and cut down the Oaks, that the Shrubs and Under-wood may flourish; when all is but a grand Mistake, for neither have the Possessors deserved a Writ of Ease, nor is the Intruder qualified either with Brain or Body for it; but his Pride and Vanity screwed up his own Price, and represented him of greater Value than he was. But some lucky Hand being so kind, to plum the Depth of his Understanding, procured his Dismission, and now in Revenge, King, Church, Court, City, Country, must go to wrack, and suffer all the Reproaches that the Wit and Malice of the Party can invent.

Haughty and ambitious Antimonarchists, are the other Causes of all the Fears and Suspicions that are raised in *England*; for such elevating their Minds above their Ranks, and the End of their Institution, and wearing venerable Titles; to humour ambitious Freaks, some popular Maggot, or invented Danger to withdraw Subjects from their Allegiance is started; and therefore if

we

we would not be chouſed out of our legal Settlement, before we imbibe their Deluſions, we had need make ſharp Enquiries, whether the ſpecious Pretences of their Reformers don't deſign to juſtle out that univerſal Repoſe, which we have enjoyed under his Majeſty's Government, and therefore are all equally obliged to promote it. Innovations, which ſelf-intereſted Men would introduce into the Adminiſtration of the Kingdom, have ſometimes unhinged our regular Conſtitution; but we rarely hear that they have ever corroborated the Old, or have enlarged the Power of the Kingdom or the Advantages of the People. Hiſtory ſwells with Examples which confirm this Truth. How unanimouſly have our Laws ſentenced all Commotions, tho' gilded with the faireſt Colours that Art could invent. 'Tis atteſted by the Experience of all Ages, that the horrible Evils which factious Innovators, by raiſing Fears and Jealouſies, have brought in amongſt us, have been a greater Burthen to us than any other Affliction that could have happened. This is, and ever will be the neceſſary Conſequence of ſuch Endeavours; for if every ſorry Pretender of Grievances, ſhould take a Licence to diſobey his Superiors, whenſoever he has a mind to deliver himſelf of a Complaint: Then farewel Society, for no Form of Government can ſubſiſt on theſe extravagant Terms, ſince every one hurried by his Paſſions, would never want plauſible Reaſons to ground his Plea of reſiſting Authority upon, and by this Means our Miſeries would be endleſs.

Our Laws enjoin us to obey the King as ſupreme Head and Governour, and forbid us entering into any Engagements, that by the wideſt Conſtructions may ſeem to claſh with our Duty. Now ſuch as by an implicit Surrender, devote themſelves to any Perſon or embodied Society, which are ſuperior to them; if that Society have given any Signs of Diſloyalty, or of advancing themſelves, the People are in great Danger of being ſtript of their Fidelity to their liege Lord, when their Leaders who ought to animate the Allegiance of the lower Orders of Men, become themſelves the firſt Deſerters. 'Tis enough we give Men of Quality the Reſpect that is due to them, without being ſo much their Vaſſals as to ſell that Liberty of ours, of which the King is the only Maſter of. Not that I blame a Deference paid to great Men, but I would not have their authoritative Influence, Hand over Head betray us to comply with their criminal Paſſions; 'tis worth the while therefore, firſt to obſerve as I ſaid before, whether theſe Reformers of Abuſes themſelves are loyal and ſteady in the Intereſt of their Sovereign, and whether there is not a Snake hidden in the Graſs: and that under Pretence of rectifying Diſorders and Miſmanagements, they have not a crafty Deſign to Hook us into a Combination that undermines the Throne of our Prince, for if we get any Light, that they drive at ſo black an Attempt, we muſt diſdainfully retreat from ſuch perfidious Deſigns, and generouſly ſacrifice every glittering Advantage which they cajoled us with, to our Duty. And whatſoever Intereſt ſtarts up, to cleave inviolably to the King; for as his Side is the juſteſt, ſo the Advantages of ſticking to it, well be the moſt honourable and ſatisfactory.

'Tis only the Effect of a giddy Preſumption, that ſpirits on tumultuous Subjects to quarrel with the Adminiſtration of the State, imagining that public Affairs would roll more ſmoothly, if themſelves were in the Miniſtry, or Things were managed by their fanciful Schemes; whereas 'tis their Duty to ſubmit

mit to the Laws, to baniſh Murmuring, and ſtifle Oppoſition, when a Conformity to their Regulations are required. But if Abuſes do inſinuate into the Government, no doubt but we ought to wiſh they were reformed, but let no Man undertake it, without a lawful Commiſſion, and certain Evidence of the Facts: For all extrajudicial Attempts, and ſiniſter Ends, tend rather to the ſhaking of the Monarchy than amending its Defects. And after all that State-menders pretend to in changing the Miniſtry, the King is the proper Judge of every Alteration; and tho' he ſhould not agree to ſuch Demands, as carry a fair Plauſibility of Right for their being granted, ſtill ought to acquieſce with Confidence, that his Non-concurrence is for the real Good of his Subjects; and tho' the Reaſons are behind the Curtain to us, they are evident and demonſtrative to himſelf and Council. How happy are we then, that have a King that careſſes his Subjects as his Children, and with an indefatigable Application propagates the Welfare of all under his Charge? How dutiful and diligent therefore ſhould all his Subjects be in their ſeveral Stations, who baſk under that Sun-ſhine, to ſmother the Guſts and ill Deſigns of the Mixture early, before they become gloomy Clouds, big with impending Ruin to darken the Luſtre of royal Grace.

Here I had the Thoughts of eaſing my Reader from the Fatigue I have given him; but I find myſelf under a Neceſſity of trailing him a little further, before I can diſmiſs him with entire Satisfaction. For having ſhewed him that there is a Deſign carrying on at ſeveral Cabals, either utterly to deprive his Majeſty, or at leaſt to leſſen his Authority, I muſt ſhew him now, that ſince it could not be done at once as in the Aſſaſſination-Plot, they are now doing it by Degrees, and as the Wolves would firſt rob the Sheep of the Aſſiſtance of their faithful Allies, that they might become an eaſy Prey to their Devourers; ſo that the Mixture might impoſe upon the King at Pleaſure, 'twas reſolved at another Club, and publiſhed by one of their Secretaries in a Pamphlet, * called, 'an Anſwer to the Ballancing Letter, That

To preſerve the Honour of the Government, none or few, who have gainful Offices, ſhould be Members of the Houſe of Commons.

Sure the Gentlemen of this Club are Men of great Intereſt and Correſpondence, and what they tranſact in their Club-Room ſtrangely influences other Places; for there is ſcarce a Page in the whole Libel that has not been the Subject of Debates and Reſolutions in more eminent Aſſociations, and then no wonder to ſee Things go at this Rate, and themſelves ſo mightily concerned for the Honour of the Nation, which was never further in their Thoughts, than to make what Earnings they could, from their Pretences of having ſerved the Government: For ſome are well known amongſt them, that now rail at all above and below them, that are not of their Faction, that have had their Hands deeper in the King's Pockets, and have received larger Shares of his Bounty, than any Men of their Quality in *England*; and yet are ſo ungrateful, that they never afford his Majeſty one good Word: but upon all Occaſions detract from his Virtues, eclipſe his Glory, and by all the Power they have, leſſen his Authority; and in this their favourite Project, aim at nothing leſs than if it were poſſible to leave him Friendleſs alſo; for under that Name they would exclude his Officers; which are but the late King's Politics reverſed, and tend no other Purpoſe but to expreſs their Ingratitude.

Every

* Page 7.

Every Proteſtant Gentleman in *England*, under ſuch requiſite Qualifications as the Law has eſtabliſhed, have a right to be elected Members of Parliament, and nothing can look with a more arbitrary Countenance upon the Gentry of *England*, than a Deſign of this Nature; for it takes away their Birth-rights, and ſinks their Honour in the Eſteem of the Nation, as it diſtinguiſhes them as Men unfit to ſerve their Country, becauſe they have the Honour of ſerving their King. Is this for the Honour of the Government, to perſuade the World, that they that ſerve the King are not to be truſted in the Management of public Affairs. What a manifeſt Contradiction is this to common Senſe, that thoſe which other whiles they call the King's Friends, muſt have a Mark ſet upon them as his greateſt Enemies: for if they truly love and faithfully ſerve the King, as I am inclined to think they do, becauſe the Mixture hate them, they will offer nothing, but what they apprehend will be of ſervice both to King and Country, whoſe Intereſts can never be divided, but live and die together. To think to ſerve the King by injuring the Country, is to diſcrown their Maſter and to think to oblige the Nation, by leſſening the King's Authority, and impairing his Revenue, is to behead the People, their Intereſts as I ſaid before are ſo interwoven together that one cannot ſuffer, but the other ſenſibly feels it; and therefore the Mixture ought to give the Officers ſome other Name, or let them keep their Places. Beſides, is it for the Honour of the Government to diſfranchize the Electors, and ridicule them as ignorant Animals, who don't know who are fit to be their Repreſentatives in Parliament? Is not this Arraigning the Commons to think an Office can corrupt them, and byaſs them from their Duty to their Country? What diſingenious Reflections are theſe upon Gentlemen, and what Heart-burnings will it beget among us? How do they know which Way theſe Officers will vote, ſince ſome Officers vote as conſtantly againſt what they call the Court-Party, as if they held their Places by no other Tenure; ought not every Member to vote as his Judgment directs him, without being cenſured at every drunken Club for ſo doing. And why ſhould the Yea's be thought leſs judicious and conſciencious than the No's, or the No's than the Yea's, God forbid; for theſe are but Bones of Diſſention thrown among us to ſet all at ſquabbling: and that the Seditious may find their own Account in faſtening Crimes on Men of Honour and Worth, they neither know why nor wherefore: Whoſe Jugglings may prove of dangerous Conſequence to the State, and to thoſe who are over-reached by them.

The Deſign they manage, in endeavouring to exclude all that have Offices under the King out of the Houſe of Commons is plain enough; they are afraid the King's and Country's Affairs ſhould thrive too well, and therefore would have the Houſe of Commons to be like themſelves, all of a Piece, and wholly againſt the King and Court. I cannot but wonder how they dare make ſuch Reflections upon the Houſe of Commons, as to inſinuate there are any Parties and Factions among them, by pretending to diſtinguiſh who are for and againſt the Intereſt of the King. What a Liberty of cenſuring all the reſt do they furniſh Converſation with? When they propoſe the turning out ſome particular Member, under the Suppoſition that they are in the royal Intereſt, which is unkind to the Parliament, and ungrateful to the King: And I am only ſorry that I am not wholly at Liberty to purſue, and improve the Reſults

of my own Thoughts upon that Subject: Though they have partly ſpared me the Labour in contriving their Schemes ſo ill, that they are neither adapted to perſuade the Wiſe, nor to deceive the Simple; their Intrigues, and the Slanders by which they manage them, being ſo open and barefac'd, that had an Enemy deſigned to expoſe their Wickedneſs, he could not have fathered upon them more unlucky Inſtances, than what is covered under this old Trick of ſecluding Members, which we hope the Lord's Wiſdom and Goodneſs will prevent, leſt the ſame Club, when their Deſigns are ripe, ſhould think their Lordſhips alſo dangerous and uſeleſs, and propoſe it as a Grievance to be redreſſed. For what has been done may be done again, and the ſame Cauſe will produce the ſame Effects to the End of the Chapter.

Which is as evident as Demonſtration can make it, by the next Step the Mixture took at a Cabal held, as I take it, at *the Old Devil of St. Dunſtan's*, where to expreſs their Ingratitude to the Height, and ſhew what Sort of Cards were Trumps, when their Spies and Emiſſaries, and the Agents and Factors which they keep in all Corners of the Town, to fetch and carry, to traffic for News, and ſupport the Trade of promoting Fears and Jealouſies, had brought in their ſtraggling Reports, they came to theſe unkind Reſolutions, and ordered them to be engroſſed, and * printed and publiſhed by their former Secretary, *viz.*

'That letting in Aliens, diminiſhes the Strength of the Nation, and there-
'fore the *Dutch* muſt be removed out of the Kingdom, and a fatal Day ſet for
'their Departure.'

Without Doubt the Mixture will ſay theſe Proceedings are for the Honour of the Government too? To invite Strangers to our Aſſiſtance, and when they have done our Work, and contributed to the Nation's Deliverance from Tyranny, and Oppreſſion; then to treat them with Unkindneſs and Ingratitude; which as our Caſe ſtands in Expectation of what may happen, is as oppoſite to the Honour and Intereſt of *England*, as Light is from Darkneſs.

Tho' I've no Lilly *in my Belly,*
This home-ſpun Truth I'll boldly tell ye,
(And may I be no Prophet)
If thus we ſerve our trueſt Friends,
Some nameleſs Sparks may have their Ends:
And Miſchief may come of it.

Nay, thoſe ſtaunch Senators I doubt,
Who with a Vote French *Armies rout,*
And quarrel who ſhall win moſt;
Should Monſieur land, would ſurely fly,
And turning Tail, heroic cry,
The Devil take the hindmoſt.

Certainly the Gentlemen of this Cabal are very looſe in their Sentiments, that find thoſe Aliens, now ſo great an Eye-ſore, that not long ſince they careſſed with the higheſt Expreſſions of Reſpect, and made ſuch Acknowledgments of Obligations to them, that they were never able to recompence. Pray, Gentlemen,

* Pamphlet predict. p. 22, and 23.

men what have they done to merit your Diſpleaſure? Wherein have they miſbehaved themſelves towards you, that all of a ſudden they muſt be ſhipped off, as a dangerous People? How long have you been perſuaded that they have diminiſhed the Strength of *England*, were you of this Opinion when they landed in *Torbay*, and with their Swords in their Hands, aſſerted your Liberties? Could you have done the Nation's Work without them? If you could why did you ſo earneſtly requeſt their Aſſiſtance, and if you could not, why would you have them uſed ſo unkindly. For ſhame give over affronting the Honour of *Engliſhmen*, with ſuch ungrateful Characters, and making the Nation contemptible in the Eyes of all the World, for the Sake of a few male-contented Clubbers, and the next Time you employ your Secretaries Pens, let it be to better Purpoſe, and enjoin them for the Honour of your Club Room, to apologize for the Slurs they have put upon the Nation already.

But the Decree of the Cabal you ſee is peremptory. Our *Dutch* Friends muſt march off, and the Reaſon they give for it is a double one, *viz.* * For every Foreigner living in *England*, ſay they, we have an *Engliſhman* the leſs. That's ſtrange! Since if we had not had their Aſſiſtance, our Quota during the War, muſt have been greater, and conſequently more *Engliſhmen* muſt have fallen a Sacrifice to Popery and Slavery, than has done, and therefore we have more *Engliſhmen* left alive for having had their Aſſiſtance, than in all probability we could have had, if we had wanted them; but this Core againſt the *Dutch* lies deeper than every Man's aware of; for theſe very Men that propoſed packing off the *Dutch*, not long ſince were as zealous for promoting a Bill of Naturalization for all the *French:* Though the latter Nation are our known Enemies, and the *Dutch* our faithful Allies, and imbarked in the ſame Cauſe againſt them. But it ſeems the Mixture knew what Monarch protected the abdicated King, whoſe Reſtoration is a great Point among them, tho' kept behind the Curtain; and where the Court of *St. Germains* ſtood; and therefore were compounded with the two Courts, by ſhewing Kindneſs to that Nation, and ſending away the *Dutch*, who by Intereſt as Well as Alliance, were obliged to aſſiſt us when Occaſion ſerved againſt them both. I could urge a great deal more upon this Head, but I know they are upon the Fret already, for being touched in the gall'd Place, and being unwilling to Scour them more, or meddle with a Waſps-Neſt, I won't attempt to put a Statue of Braſs out of Countenance, or hope to convince or ſilence Men of their Complexions.

The great Reaſon why the *Dutch* muſt troop off, is ſtill to come, and tho' they were always accounted as his Majeſty's domeſtick Servants, and have for many Years attended his royal Perſon in his Progreſſes, yet not a Hoof muſt be left behind: and to enforce this Propoſal they draw their unanſwerable Argument from a Hen-Rooſt Metaphor, and ſay † 'Strangers are the Neſt-'Eggs of a foreign Invaſion.' See how theſe witty Gentlemen tumble in their pretty Tropes; rickety Heads and arbitrary Power, obedient Subjects and Puppy-Dogs, Invaſions and Neſt-Eggs. Tipical, topical, tropical, my Red is Green. What pleaſant Sport might a Man make with the grave Speeches that have been made upon theſe Heads, but I have no Time to loſe in winnowing Chaff, or catching Butterflies; and therefore ſhall proceed to ſhew how theſe Gentlemen

* Lib. & p. predict. † Page 23.

forget themſelves, and ſay and unſay to uphold the great Hypotheſis of being perfect Enemies to his Majeſty. When a Probability of trouble from *France* was urged as a Reaſon to keep up ſuch a Number of Troops as might ſecure the Nation from ſuch Attempts, then the Mixture ſcoffed ſuch obviating Dangers as ridiculous Imaginations. Then we hear of nothing but the great Courage, Zeal, Fidelity and Unanimoſity of the *Engliſh* Nation, in Caſe of a *French* Invaſion; but when the Talk was not about the *Dutch* ſtaying or going, all thoſe glorious Epithets are ſhrunk into the meaneſt of Spirit, and they ſhewed the Nation in ſuch a cowardly Poſture, as if they ſtood all ſhivering behind the Door, for Fear of —— thouſand *Dutchmen*; or that every one of thoſe Neſt-Eggs ſhould hatch ſuch a Brood of Shake-Bags as would beat all the Fighting-Cocks in *England*. Thus are we repreſented as ſtout as Lions, or as fearful as Hares, as will beſt agree with the Deſigns of the Mixture: If the King would have Land-Forces proportionable to thoſe of our Enemies. Then there were no need of any other Guards than his Halberteers; for in Caſe of any Invaſion every individual Man in *England* would be a Soldier; but if it be thought reaſonable, civil and obliging, that the *Dutch* Guards ſhould remain in *England*, then upſtart Fears and Jealouſies, and remonſtrate ſuch diſmal Accidents may follow ſuch an Act of Gratitude as may ſubject us to a Conqueſt, and make us all Slaves to *Holland*. Did ever Men make ſuch wretched Pretences? 'Tis a ſad Symptom that ill Deſigns are brewing, when ſuch poſitive People are driven to ſuch ſceptical and doubtful Innuendo's, and are forc'd to take Sanctuary in naked May-Be's, and thwart and affront his Majeſty upon every trifling Suggeſtion, ariſing from the Principles of Diſloyalty; ſo that nothing muſt be done for him out of Reſpect to his Perſon, or the mighty Deliverance he atchieved, 'till all Demands of the Cabals, how unreaſonable ſoever, ſhall firſt be fully ſatisfied. But why ſhould we wonder, 'tis natural for this Mixture to be diſpleaſed with the Grandeur and Proſperity of the Court. The Height of the King's Felicity frets their proud and envious Minds, and they are never ſo apt to ſpy Dangers, and complain of the Badneſs of the Times, as when the Government is like to be moſt flouriſhing. They are incurable Malecontents, and in Dread of an arbitrary Power, which they ſay they have no Reaſon to ſuſpect, yet are making Encroachments upon the royal Authority, and lying at Catch for all Advantages, and huſbanding all Opportunities to abate the ſovereign Prerogative, and to keep the Monarchy low, by removing his Friends, impoveriſhing his Revenue, and being imperious and inexorable in their Impoſitions; as may be eaſily read in their Reſolve to expel the *Dutch*, *viz.* * 'That a 'fatal Day be ſet for their Departure.

And why a fatal Day! they could not mean it to the *Dutch* Guards, for they were but going home from whence they came to our Succour; and therefore muſt mean it in Reſpect of us, that it would be fatal when we want Friends to be refuſed their Aſſiſtance. They were pleas'd to call the *Dutch* a dead Weight upon the Nation, and I wiſh all others that are ſo had bore them Company; and then, as we have fewer Enemies, by being well rid of the latter, and ſo the Balance would be equal. The Libel has yet ſome Fragments of Hiſtory to give it a greater Currency among the ſeditious Intermeddlers; but being nothing

* Pamphl. predict. p. 23.

nothing to their Purpoſe, I ſhall not reckon it ſo much to mine as to anſwer them; for ſince my whole Deſign was only to expoſe theſe leud Scribblers, I hope I have done it to your Content; and this Affair being now amicably determined by the King and his Parliaments, nothing more ought to be added but what I ſhall ever contend for, *viz.* a dutiful Obedience to our Superiors.

I have now ſhew'd you the reigning Evils of our preſent Times; give me leave to acquaint you by what Ways and Means they are rais'd, and continued to breed Diſturbances, and then I ſhall diſmiſs my Reader.

The Spring and Progreſs of all our cauſeleſs Fears and Jealouſies, and the unhappy Conſequences that have attended them, are owing to the more than ordinary Induſtry of ſeditious Men's trafficking for News, and employing a Sort of idle peddling People to range up and down in queſt of freſh Intelligence, who importune all they meet to contribute to the Stock of ſlandering the Government; and if they chance to meet any of their Aſſociates, upon the Frontiers of their reſpective Walks, they frankly impart what they have gain'd to each other, as Beggars do their Fragments: and ſeditious Clubs are the common Places of Rendezvous, where they all unload, and every particular Member partakes of the joint Collections of the whole Society, where a ſullen Grandee of the Mixture will give a Guinea for a Tale that humours his Deſigns, that will not part with half a Crown to pay his juſt Debt; and by this Means all Reports fly abroad with ſuch winged Speed as may fluſh the Party to blazon them in all Quarters of the Town and Country. And if they get a Story by the End that looks a little a Squint upon the Court, and yet is not in itſelf full enough of Remark and Wonder, the Club vamps it with new Circumſtances of their own, alter, improve and refine it, 'till they have made it foul enough to blacken the Miniſtry. To this End they vouch it with grave Nod and ſolemn Face, they will talk ſhrewdly and deſcant upon it with a thouſand pretty Conjectures: they will whiſper in your Ear ſome ſubtle and notable Obſervation of Circumſtances; and with wiſe and politick Forehead will ſuſpect impoſſible Plots upon the People's Liberties, foreſee unthought-of Deſigns in the Court to that Purpoſe, and foretell ſtrange and prodigious Events that muſt neceſſarily follow; 'till by theſe and the like Arts they make every falſe Report able to walk alone, without the Help of Leading-ſtrings, and maintain itſelf upon its own Credit and Reputation, 'till the public Voice confirms it, and then you cannot for Shame be ſo uncivil to demur upon the Credibility of the Brute, when it has received ſuch an authoritative Sanction. And yet if you would trace theſe Streams to their Fountain, you might as well ſeek the Head of *Nilus*, which tho' it falls with a mighty Torrent, and overflows *Egypt* with its ſwelling Streams, you muſt at laſt derive its Original, as ſome of the Antients have done, from the Mountains in the Moon. So if a Man would ſearch for the Authors of theſe malicious but fabulous Relations, he ſhall be ſure to have them father'd upon ſome very credible Perſons without Names, who had them from *John-a-Nokes*, who had it from *John-a-Stiles*, who had it from Nobody. And if you will obſerve and examine all Reports that bear the Stamp of the Intermixture, as *Chryſippus* did the oracular Lies of *Apollo*, you will find, as he did, not one in five Hundred that are not apparently forged and Counterfeit; and therefore I ſhall take my leave of them in the Words of a late Poet.

For

For Shame give o'er these senseless Lies,
The very Mob sees the Disguise
Of your dull Shams and Fears;
In vain you employ them as a Blind,
While we perceive you have a Mind
To set us by the Ears.

Britain, *which does to* Cæsar *own*
Her Liberty, is wiser grown,
Then these stale Arts give o'er;
We know your wry, distorted Faces
Are nought but Tricks to get you Places,
And won't be bubbled more.

While Cæsar *does the Throne sustain,*
You rail at Monarchy in vain,
And idly think to Rump it;
Tho' Faction common Good pretends,
To serve their undermining Ends,
We'll cart their common Strumpet.

A careful shunning of Impostors and Make-Bates, and leaving them in the Clouds they have rais'd, is therefore the Duty of every good Subject, lest assisting the Seditious in their vexatious Contrivances against the Government, you dash upon the Rocks of Offence, and ruin your present Pretensions and future Hopes. To avoid those Dangers study to be quiet, continue your Allegiance to the King, be obedient to your Equals and civil to all Men. The Practice of these Virtues will procure you Friends and imprint a Belief in Authority that you deserve their Favour, it would be the best Security of our Privileges, of public Good, and steady Government. For there is in every virtuous and heroic Soul such a Sense of his Subjects Love and Duty, that 'twould be an Affront to the Ingenuity of human Nature, to suppose that a Prince can be severe upon a willing and obedient People.

A Liſt of the Seven Thouſand Men, appointed by his M
Kingd

REGIMENTS.	COLONELS.	Lieutenant Colonels.	Majors	Captains. * * *	Cornets.	Guidons.	Exempts.	Brigadiers.
1. Troop of Horſe Guards —	The Earl of *Scarborough* —	- -	- -	- -	1	1	4	4
2. Troop of Horſe Guards —	The Duke of *Ormond* —	- -	- -	- -	1	1	4	4
3. Troop of Horſe Guards —	The Earl of *Rivers* —	- -	- -	- -	1	1	4	4
Troop of Grenadiers —	*George Cholmondly*, Eſq; —	1	1	- -	- -	1	- -	- -
Royal Regiment of Horſe —	The Earl of *Oxford* —	1	1	9	9	- -	- -	- -
Regiments of Horſe —	*Henry Lumley*, Eſq; —	1	1	9	9	- -	- -	- -
	Cornelius Wood, Eſq; —	1	1	6	6	- -	- -	- -
	The Earl of *Arran* —	1	1	6	6	- -	- -	- -
	Hugh Windham, Eſq; —	1	1	6	6	- -	- -	- -
	Duke of *Scomberg* and *Lemſter*	1	1	6	6	- -	- -	- -
	The Earl of *Macklesfeild* —	1	1	6	6	- -	- -	- -
Royal Regiment of Dragoons	The Lord *Raby* — —	1	1	6	6	- -	- -	- -
Regiments of Dragoons —	*William Lloyd*, Eſq; —	1	1	6	6	- -	- -	- -
	The Earl of *Eſſex* — —	1	1	6	6	- -	- -	- -
1. Regiment of Foot Guards	The Earl of *Romney* —	1	1	28	- -	- -	- -	- -
2. Regiment of Foot Guards	The Lord *Cutts* — —	1	1	14	- -	- -	- -	- -
Regiments of Foot —	*William Selwyn*, Eſq; —	1	1	10	- -	- -	- -	- -
	Charles Churchill, Eſq; —	1	1	10	- -	- -	- -	- -
	Henry Trelawney, Eſq; —	1	1	10	- -	- -	- -	- -
		16	16	138	69	4	12	12

* * Whereof the Colonel, Lieutenan

ajesty, in his late Proclamation, to be the Standing Forces of this

om. 1699.

Making in all.	Number of Men in each Troop or Company.	Troops or Companies.	Number of Men in each Regiment.	Drummers.	Hautboys.	Drum-Majors.	Deputy-Marshals.	Corporals.	Serjeants.	Solicitors.	Trumpets.	Kettle Drums.	Surgeons Mates.	Surgeons.	Ensigns.	Sub-Lieutenants.	Lieutenants.	Quarter-Masters.	Adjutants.	Chaplains.
181	- -	- -	160	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	4	1	- -	1	- -	- -	2	- -	1	1
181	- -	- -	160	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	4	1	- -	1	- -	- -	2	- -	1	1
181	- -	- -	160	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	4	1	- -	1	- -	- -	2	- -	1	1
176	- -	- -	145	4	4	- -	- -	6	6	- -	-	-	- -	1	- -	2	2	9	1	1
390	36	9	324	- -	- -	- -	- -	18	- -	- -	9	1	- -	1	- -	- -	9	6	1	1
390	36	9	324	- -	- -	- -	- -	18	- -	- -	9	1	- -	1	- -	- -	9	6	1	1
248	34	6	204	- -	- -	- -	- -	12	- -	- -	6	1	- -	1	- -	- -	6	6	- -	- -
248	34	6	204	- -	- -	- -	- -	12	- -	- -	6	1	- -	1	- -	- -	6	6	- -	- -
248	34	6	204	- -	- -	- -	- -	12	- -	- -	6	1	- -	1	- -	- -	6	6	- -	- -
248	34	6	204	- -	- -	- -	- -	12	- -	- -	6	1	- -	1	- -	- -	6	6	- -	- -
283	38	6	228	6	6	- -	- -	12	6	- -	-	-	- -	1	- -	- -	6	6	- -	- -
283	38	6	228	6	6	- -	- -	12	6	- -	-	-	- -	1	- -	- -	6	6	- -	- -
283	38	6	228	6	6	- -	- -	12	6	- -	-	-	- -	1	- -	- -	6	6	- -	- -
1383	40	28	1120	56	- -	1	1	56	56	1	-	-	- -	2	24	- -	32	2	1	1
694	40	14	560	28	- -	1	1	28	28	1	-	-	- -	1	12	- -	16	1	2	1
445	36	10	360	10	- -	1	- -	20	20	- -	-	-	- -	1	10	- -	10	- -	1	1
445	36	10	360	10	- -	1	- -	20	20	- -	-	-	- -	1	10	- -	10	- -	1	1
445	36	10	360	10	- -	1	- -	20	20	- -	-	-	- -	1	10	- -	10	- -	1	1
7000	544	138	5737	136	22	5	2	282	168	2	60	10	6	9	66	2	152	69	12	19

t. Colonel, and Major of each Regiment, are Three.

To follow p. 246.

The Caſe of *England*, and the Proteſtant Intereſt.

SINCE the preſent Condition of the Kingdom, and the whole Proteſtant Intereſt by the Conjunction of *France* and *Spain* abroad, and a more horrid Combination of ſeveral at home, muſt needs affect with the moſt melancholy Reflections all true *Engliſh* Hearts, all ſuch as have any real Love or Zeal for their Religion, or their native Country. I cannot think it amiſs to preſent a ſhort and impartial View to ſuch as have not conſidered the ſame.

In the Beginning of the laſt Age, the Proteſtant Intereſt in *Europe* was more than a Match for the Roman Catholick; the Kingdom of *Bohemia* was almoſt all Proteſtant; near half the Subjects of *Hungary*, of *Auſtria* and *Moravia* were Proteſtants (and did many times defend themſelves by Force againſt the Emperor himſelf, when oppreſſed by him for the Sake of their Religion.) That in *Germany* the Houſes of *Newburgh* were Proteſtants of the ſtricteſt Sort; the *Saxons* all of them Proteſtants, and being hearty and unanimous, and ſeated in the Middle of *Germany*, were a Bulwark and Defence to the Proteſtants of many other leſſer States, as often as they were oppreſſed for their Religion, by their own or their neighbouring Princes: That many of the Subjects of *Bavaria*, *Bamburgh*, *Cologn*, *Wurtzburgh* and *Worms*, were Proteſtants. Beſides theſe that were Proteſtants, and which were ſo powerful as to maintain eight or nine Thouſand Men in Defence of their Religion, and always came off with Advantage, the *Vaudois* in *Italy* were all of them Proteſtants, and great Numbers of the *Spaniſh* Low-Countries were of the reformed Religion; beſides, *England* and *Holland*, and the *Northern* Kingdoms of *Denmark* and *Sweden*, and Dutchy of *Brandenburgh*, were entirely Proteſtant. But now, inſtead of this, s not the Proteſtant Power deſtroyed almoſt over *Europe?* The whole Kingdom of *Bohemia* entirely Popiſh? Are not the Proteſtants of *Poland*, *Auſtria*, *Moravia*, utterly deſtroyed? Is not their Deſtruction now carrying on, and almoſt finiſhed in *Hungary?* In *Germany*, the *Newburghers*, of Proteſtants are become fierce Enemies of the Protoſtant Religion. The Proteſtants of *Bavaria*, *Bamburgh*, *Cologn*, *Wurtzburgh* and *Worms*, are all deſtroyed. In *France*, the *Spaniſh* Low-Countries, *Savoy* and *Vaudois*, after long and mighty Struggles, the Religion is utterly extinguiſhed. Againſt the poor *Palatinates* the Perſecution is now carrying on with its uſual Barbarity, and their Neighbours the *Saxons* are ſo far from being able to help them, that they are under the fearful Apprehenſions of ſuffering the like from their own Prince (lately turned Roman Catholick to obtain the Kingdom of *Poland*) ſo ſoon as his Wars with *Sweden* and other Troubles created him by his *Poliſh* and *Lithuanian* Subjects will give him leave. Beſides this, two *Northern* Princes have given great Cauſe to ſuſpect their Converſion to the Romiſh Religion: That *Sweden* by its Separation from the reſt of *Europe*, by the *Baltick*, is unable to give Aſſiſtance to the Proteſtants in any Part of *Europe*, without

without the Consent of the *German* Princes bordering on the *Baltick*, which will never be granted by Papists, in Favour of the Protestants.

Thus the Protestant Religion which had spread itself over almost all *Europe*, which had gained the entire Possession of some Countries, the greater Part of others, and mighty Interest in most, has, through the restless Malice and Endeavours of its Enemies, been subverted and destroyed in Country after Country, 'till it is at last reduced to a little Corner of what it once possessed (*England* and *Holland*.) And we do think our Enemies will not accomplish (what they have thus prosperously carried on so far) our utter Destruction? Is it not high time then to think ourselves in Danger, to look about us to enquire what it is hath thus weakened us, brought us so near our Ruin, what Measures will certainly accomplish it, and what we must take for the Prevention of it?

The Romish Methods of converting the Protestants have been in all Countries the same, *viz.* Confiscation of their Estates, Goals and Imprisonments, Fire and Sword, dragooning and massacring, and inflicting the most inhuman Torments that Rage and Fury could invent upon such whose Resolution and Zeal for their Religion could not be moved by the former Means. If this be the true Case of *England*, and the Protestant Religion, what is wanting to give the finishing Stroke to our Destruction, but only an Ability in the *French* King to break the Powers of *England* and *Holland*. And if we consider how, in the Year 1672, the *French* King marched his Army through the midst of *Flanders*, fell directly upon *Holland*, then unprovided, entered their strongest Towns like open Villages: some without Defence, or almost Denial, most of them without any Blows at all, and all of them with very few, and made himself Master of three Parts of *Holland* in two Months time; for which Sir *W. T.* K. *C.* II's Ambassador (then in *Holland*) tells us the Reason was, That the *Dutch* then not suspecting such a Thing, had no Field Army sufficient to encounter their Enemies, or succour any Town: That walled Towns will not defend the Men within, unless the Hearts of the Men will defend their Walls: That no Garrison will make any resolute Defence without the Prospect or Hopes at least of Relief. 'Tis true, that the *French* King having then all *Flanders* on his Back, garrison'd with *Spanish* Troops (then his implacable Enemies) a powerful Army of the *German* Princes marching upon him down the *Rhine*, *Spain* and *England* (alarm'd by his Successes) preparing to attack him on all Quarters, was glad to vomit up all again, and return home with as much Precipitancy as he had invaded them, lest the Provisions and Retreat of his Army through *Flanders* should be cut off. But now the Case is otherwise, he has possessed himself of *Flanders*, extended his Dominion to the very Frontiers of *Holland*, *Spain* is all united to him, some *German* Princes (then his Enemies) are now become his Friends, others entered into a Neutrality with him; and should he now, by a fatal Battle (which God of his infinite Mercy forbid) break the *Dutch* Army which they have with infinite Charge and matchless Vigour, gathered up from *Denmark*, *Brandenburgh*, and other remote Countries of *Germany*, might he not enter the Heart of their Country? And whence then can their strong Cities and Towns depend upon Relief? May he not, as formerly, possess himself of their whole Country in less than one Campaign? It was the Opinion of that great Statesman Sir *W. T.* that *Holland* would make a stout Resistance in any Quarrel remote from their

own

own Doors; but that which enables them (their Wealth) to carry on a foreign War with Vigour, would, in a War at home, render them defenceleſs: Rich and populous Towns are not fit for Sieges, or were ever known to make any long and reſolute Defence. If this be our Caſe, if the whole Power of the Proteſtant Religion reſts now in a Manner in *England* and *Holland*; if the Deſtruction of *England*, as well as of our holy Religion, muſt inevitably follow the Loſs of *Holland*; if *Holland*, by one unfortunate Battle might happen to be loſt in one Campaign, or leſs, are we not in a moſt ſad and deplorable Condition? If we find ſome Men are without their Fears, have we not the greater Reaſon to fear for ourſelves, our Religion and our Country. What ſhall we then think of thoſe who tell us, it is too early yet for *England* to declare? The Enemy has raiſed his Armies, furniſhed his Magazines, and it is too early for us to think of raiſing a Man. The Enemy is before our Out-works, and 'tis too ſoon for us to prepare ourſelves to be on our guard: Will not thoſe Men tell us, when *Holland* is loſt, 'twill then be too late? To what Purpoſe (will they ſay) now do you think of raiſing Forces? Is not the *French* King Maſter of *Holland?* Poſſeſſed of all their Ports? Where will you land them? To what Uſe will you put them? Does not ſuch Language as this plainly ſhew the Intention of the Authors? Is it not plainly to deliver us blindfold, bound Hand and Foot into the Enemies Hand? Is not their Deſign now ſo viſible as not to be diſguiſed? Do not ſome of the Party begin to throw off the Maſk and tell us, it will not be well with us till our old Maſter returns, till the Government return to its natural Channel. And are not thoſe that were the very Tools and Inſtruments of Popery and arbitrary Power in former Reigns, and that owe their Lives to Acts of Indemnity in this, induſtriouſly repreſented by ſome as the Patriots of their Country; and by a ſtrange Kind of Paradox, thoſe that have been always hearty for the Church, and were for defending of it when others were for pulling it down; that were hearty for the King's Acceſſion to the Throne, and to his Perſon and Government ever ſince, are repreſented as Betrayers of us, as having ſold us to *France:* Would it not be a Piece of rare refined Policy, if *France*, ſhould hang up our greateſt Enemies, under the Notion of her deareſt Friends, and give Encouragement to her ancient Friends under the Notion of being her Enemies?

Let us therefore while it is yet in our Power (as we tender our Religion and our Country) uſe our utmoſt Endeavours, by all legal Ways, to aſſiſt his Majeſty and his Government, againſt all his and our Enemies, both at home and abroad; and in the Words of our Liturgy, let us offer up our moſt fervent Prayers to God Almighty, *Give Peace in our Time, O Lord! becauſe there is none other that fighteth for us, but only thou, O God!*

The Juſtice of our Cauſe in the preſent War, in Reſpect of what is peculiar to the *Engliſh*, in Matter of Civil Right. 1699.

THE Author foreſeeing that our late Peace was not like to continue long, and conſidering the great Advantage of a good Cauſe in all Differences, out of great Concern for the Good of his Country, has for ſome Years been endeavouring, in the beſt Manner he could, that ours might be made ſuch both in Reſpect of Religion and of civil Right, while the Peace continued.

As to Matters of Religion, he knew very well long ſince how indefenſible a Cauſe we have, and was endeavouring that that might be regularly brought to the Conſideration and Cognizance of a proper Judicature, that is, of a national Synod, or a Convocation of the Clergy.

He obſerv'd two great Miſchiefs in it: One that by how much the worſe our Cauſe is, ſo much the better is that of our Adverſaries againſt us; whereas was ours but rectified, as it ought to be, it would make that of our Adverſaries utterly indefenſible, and neceſſitate them to mend theirs too; and then that Part of the Difference would ceaſe: and beſides we ſhould by the ſame Means be freed from the other Miſchief too; which is ſo great, that it hath been the principal Occaſion of all the Confuſions and Scandals both of the former Civil-War, and of the late Revolution. For wicked, crafty and deſigning Men of no Religion, or any real Virtue, under Pretence of Concern for Religion, abuſed the People with moſt wicked contrived Lies and Calumnies, 'till, running themſelves into a deſperate Caſe, they run all into thoſe Exceſſes, which have been the greateſt Shame and Diſhonour to this Nation, that the ſubtile Spirits of *Achitophel* and *Balaam*, or the Devil himſelf could deviſe. But the Conſideration of theſe Matters of Religion, belonging properly to the Clergy, and ſuch as are in Authority, what is written for that Purpoſe is reſerved to be communicated to them, and but few others.

As to what is here publiſhed concerning civil Right, the Author, at the Time of the Peace concluded, had not ſo much as any Suſpicion of the ſecret Practices, which have ſince been brought to his Knowledge by ſuch Degrees and Means as ſeem to have been ordered by ſome ſpecial Divine Providence, without any Enquiry by him, except for his farther Satisfaction afterwards. But as he came to the Knowledge of them, he conſtantly gave Notice from firſt to laſt, of what he obſerved or underſtood, to ſuch in Authority as he thought moſt proper; and at laſt by a Petition and Demand of Right and Juſtice, as one of the Commons of *England*, on behalf of himſelf and the reſt, in a Letter to his Repreſentative in the laſt Houſe of Commons. And ſince there was ſo little Regard to either by thoſe Gentlemen, he conceives it ſo great an Injury to all the Commons of *England*, their Principals, as obligeth him in Duty to the God of Truths and Righteouſneſs, to his Prince, and to his Country, to acquaint them a little farther

farther with the Caſe, that they may conſider of farther ſpecial Inſtructions to their reſpective Repreſentatives.

It is what was at firſt intended only for Part of a general Preface to Things lately written for the Service of the Church and Kingdom of *England*; but upon further Conſideration is thought fit to be publiſhed alone, as followeth,

I Come now to the other Part of our Caſe concerning *Civil Right*, of which I have already declared my Thoughts, as I found, from firſt to laſt, as far as was proper for me to do. The Paper intitled, *The Fidelity of a loyal Subject*, was ſent to King *William* 10 *June*, before he went into *Holland*, and to diverſe of the Lords of the Privy-Council, and Members of Parliament. And all that Part of this Collection, intitled, *A Meſſage of Peace*, was ſent to thoſe Lords, and to the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, and ſome others, a little before King *William*'s Faſt. That concerning the Birth of the Prince of *Wales*, is Part of that, and was alſo ſold alone. And that in the third, intitled, *A Petition and Demand of Right*, &c. after it had been ſent to the Member to whom it was directed, with both our Names at length, and to the Speaker and other Members, was publickly ſold at the *Exchange* and *Weſtminſter*, &c.

In theſe and the reſt is ſufficient Matter of Fact ſet out, and ſuch as neither was, nor could be denied, and had it been queſtion'd, I was ready to have appeared, and declared upon what Ground I writ it. Taking that therefore for granted, I am to conſider the Juſtice of our Cauſe, in reſpect of the pretended Prince of *Wales*, as he is ſtiled, not only in the Addreſſes of the abuſed People, but in the Speech of King *William* to his laſt Parliament, wherein he abuſed not only him, but them, and himſelf too; and even in the Declaration of War, ſince his Death. For I meddle not with the common Cauſe of the Confederates; which, whatever it be, I think not much advantaged by that Addition.

That King *James* the Second was lawful Succeſſor of King *Charles* the Second, and rightful *King* of theſe three Kingdoms and the Territories thereunto belonging, is out of all Queſtion with all Men of Sobriety and Conſcience.

And that there were thoſe Things done by his Authority, which were great Violations of the Rights of the Subjects, is likewiſe out of all Queſtion.

But firſt, by whoſe Advice thoſe Things were done, which ought in the firſt Place to be enquired into (whether by Popiſh Counſels, or Proteſtant Treachery, and Conſpiracy with fugitive Rebels and Traitors) was never yet made any Queſtion; no ſmall Argument that Truth was not their Intereſt, who might have done it if they pleaſed.

And 2*dly*, that by the known Laws of this Land, the King in ſuch Caſes is not to be queſtioned, but his evil Counſellors, by Complaint and Remonſtrance to him: eſpecially not till he refuſe to do right, maintain and protect them againſt Right, and ſo make himſelf a Party with them againſt the true Conſtitution of the Government, is, if not aſſerted, yet admitted and ſuppoſed, in all the Proceedings in the late civil War, while any thing of Law was regarded. But the quite contrary in this Caſe has been done; the King driven and excluded from the Throne, and the Traytors received and harboured.

And *3dly*, whether to take up Arms againſt the King, upon any Pretence whatever, tho' doubtful with many, yet with many was out of all Doubt, that it was unlawful, by reaſon of the public Declarations of the Nobility, Gentry, Citizens, Burgeſſes, civil Officers, and of the loyal Clergy, according to three ſeveral Acts of Parliament; but to do it upon Pretence grounded upon Treachery, is without all doubt, not only unlawful, but abominable with all Men who have Senſe of Conſcience, or Religion, of Honour, Juſtice, or of common Honeſty. And yet this hath been done in this Caſe.

4thly, Of the Matters alledg'd againſt King *James* there was one concerning the Birth of the Prince of *Wales*, which had it been true, had been ſufficient to have juſtified all that was done againſt him: but being falſe, and not only falſe, but a contriv'd Calumny, is as great a Demonſtration of the Wickedneſs of them.

5thly, And this having been alledged by the Prince of *Orange* in his Declaration, Preferred to the Examination of a free Parliament; the Queſtion in effect was, Whether King *James* or himſelf was the Impoſtor? And his Neglect of that Examination, when it was in his Power, notwithſtanding all the Occaſions for it, was a manifeſt Injury to King *James*, and Evidence againſt himſelf.

6thly, All theſe Injuries to King *James*, by treacherous Counſels, by ſuch abominable Lies and Calumnies, by driving him out of his Kingdom upon ſuch falſe and wicked Pretences, and Refuſal of Juſtice in all theſe Particulars, all contrary to the Fidelity and Allegiance ſworn to him, and his lawful Succeſſors, was the Introduction to that which crown'd all; that which came in courſe to be read for the firſt Leſſon, while I was writing this, *Hoſ.* viii. 3, 4. Where God complains, Iſrael *hath caſt off the Thing that is good, the Enemy ſhall purſue him; they have ſet up Kings, but not by me; they have made Princes and I knew it not.* I mean, *the Act of Settlement.*

7thly, This Act is not only an Addition to all the precedent Injuries, but a further Proof and Confirmation of the Iniquity of them; for the Convention being conſcious, that all the other Pretences were as inſufficient in Law, as deficient in Truth, were forc'd to ſtrain their Wits, as well as their Conſciences, to find out ſome other more plauſible, which at laſt was a very lame one in the Bottom, only made more paſſable with the abuſed, prejudiced People, by new adopted Terms of Abdication and Vacancy of the Throne. For Abdication is a voluntary Act, without Intent to reaſſume, or return to what is forſaken. But King *James*, from the Experience he had of the Uſage of his Father, and of the Attempts againſt his Brother and himſelf, by deſperate Factions, had juſt Cauſe of Fear; and beſides, was perſuaded by the Prince, under Pretence of Kindneſs, to withdraw from the Fury of the People; and did actually return again as ſoon, and as far as he could.

8thly, To all theſe Injuries done to King *James*, that is no ſmall Addition, which is done to his Son, to exclude him, to attaint him, and to abjure him; and for no other Cauſe or Pretence, but his Education in a Religion different from this, which I have ſhewed to be ſo faulty before; and which brings forth ſuch Fruits as I am conſidering now; and which is ſo little regarded by ſuch as make it their Pretence, as to be uſed by them for no other Purpoſe. But as this is a great Addition to all theſe, ſo all theſe are to be taken into the Account of the Injuries done to the Son, as the Ground of them.

And

And now by all this, I think it very apparent to all who have any Senſe of Juſtice, or Honeſty in them, how monſtrouſly unjuſt a Cauſe this is among Men; but to underſtand more fully how wicked it is in the Sight of God, there is more yet to be conſidered.

It was not King *James* alone, and his Son, and Family, who were greatly injur'd by theſe Things, but alſo the People of this Nation, and of the three Kingdoms, tho' this moſt of any. Which, tho' it may ſeem ſtrange, by reaſon of their free Concurrence, yet it is nevertheleſs true, if they were abuſed and impoſed upon in it.

Two things there were, which were much cried up, and by which the People were moſt incenſed againſt the King; one that he and the Queen had agreed to impoſe a ſuppoſititious Child upon the Nation; the other, that the Biſhops were ſent to the *Tower* for that Purpoſe, that the Buſineſs might be the better managed in their Abſence. But the firſt was not only falſe, but a moſt deviliſh contrived Calumny, as I have ſufficiently ſhewed in my Papers, and could ſay more if there was Occaſion? and that it was contrived contrary to certain Knowledge. And the other not only an improbable Suggeſtion; for what could their Abſence avail, when ſo many others were preſent? But the very Depth of Satan, and a treacherous Practice, whereby the poor King himſelf was impoſed upon, contrary to his own Mind, that they might not be preſent at the Labour, and Witneſſes to it, and that the Belief of that Lie and Calumny might be thereby confirm'd. So that by both theſe they were moſt wickedly abuſed, and impoſed upon; and the *Engliſh* being naturally a plain, downright reſolute People, and abominating Tricks and Cheats, but eſpecially to be ſo abuſed as they were made believe, this made them ſo ready to receive him as their Deliverer, who was in Truth the Principal in the Abuſe and Impoſture put upon them. Their Concurrence therefore in Fact, in what they were themſelves abuſed, is not to be imputed to them as their reaſonable and deliberate Act.

But the Buſineſs was undoubtedly manag'd by Conſpiracy between ſome Fugitives at the *Hague*, upon *Monmouth*'s Defeat (who it is ſaid was betrayed into that Undertaking, by ſuch as made their Advantage of it) and their treacherous Correſpondents in King *James*'s Court: with whom many others of like looſe Principles ſtruck in afterward for Preferment, and compoſed the deſperate wicked Faction, which being hardened with the Succeſs of ſo great Wickedneſs, caſt off all Regard to Religion, Morality, and common Honeſty, and have run Things to ſuch Madneſs and Extravagancies. But their great Support being now remov'd, 'tis to be hoped we may come at laſt to more ſober Counſels; and that all theſe Injuries ſhall be righted as ſoon as may be. For, beſides the Indignities done to the royal Family, thoſe to the People are very conſiderable. For they have been injured in their Honour and Reputation, by the Abuſes put upon them; in their Religion, by the Scandals brought upon it; in their Eſtates, by the vaſt Expences they have been at, and all conſumed in foreign Parts, to the Advantage of our pretended Friends, but ſecret Corrivals, and in the vaſt Debts contracted in their Peace, by an unjuſt and wicked Occaſion of an endleſs War intailed upon theſe Nations; and in their Souls, by manyfold Sins and Wickedneſs, and ſtrong Temptations to greater; as if the Spirits of *Achitophel* and *Balaam* were come amongſt us. By the Miſchiefs to the Nation, as well as

to

to the royal Family, may be perceived what Intereſt has been promoted, and what Vipers we have had in our Bowels.

But ſince it hath pleaſed God to give us an *Engliſh* Heart again upon the Throne, and one ſo obliged by the Laws of Nature, of God, and of the Land, and ſenſible, I hope, of theſe great Obligations, we may hope to ſee the true *Engliſh* Spirit again revived in the People, with a juſt Reſentment of the Abuſes, and ſome Reparation for the Diſhonour and Injuries done unto them: and to learn, by dear-bought Experience to beware of ſuch Factions at home, and Foreigners abroad, to value thoſe who are true to the Principles they honeſtly own; and beware of thoſe who have either none at all, or ſuch as are uncertain what they are, are certainly very bad; and to ſee Truth and Righteouſneſs again reſtored amongſt us, after ſuch Experience of the unhappy Conſequences of wicked Policies, and the indirect Practices of Lies, Calumnies and all Iniquity.

And our Hopes may be not a little encouraged by the Eaſineſs of our Work, if it be duly conſidered: For as the Ways of Falſhood, Treachery and Iniquity, are always not only unhappy in the End, but indirect, rugged and dangerous in the Paſſage, ſo the Ways of Truth and Righteouſneſs are not only happy in the End, but direct, plain, eaſy and pleaſant Paths. We need nothing but true *Engliſh* Spirits, among the Commons, and true Chriſtian Spirits among the Clergy, and a religious Obſervance of the Coronation Oath upon the Throne, and that it be indeed a Throne of Righteouſneſs, and not of Iniquity.

But it muſt be remembered that the true *Engliſh* Spirit is not only a Spirit of Honeſty and Generoſity, but a Spirit of true and ſincere Religion at the Bottom. And if we have ſuch a Spirit return again into St. *Stephen*'s Chapel, we ſhall not only have the Honour of the Nation reſtored by eminent Demonſtrations that it was only a prevalent Faction, by which all the Diſhonour and Miſchiefs have been brought upon us; but the Honour of God in the firſt Place reſtored in Truth and Sincerity in that ſacred Place, by proper Demonſtrations that it was not only a prevalent but an impious hypocritical Faction that did it. Of which we have had ſufficient divine Admonitions in the Anſwers to thoſe two formal Facts; that upon the Addreſs of that ſhort-liv'd Parliament, and that upon the princely Conſideration, and religious Diſpoſitions of King *Willian*, if they be well conſidered.

And it muſt be remembered alſo, that the true Chriſtian Spirit is a true *Engliſh* Spirit, in the Perfection of all its moſt excellent Qualities. And therefore unleſs the *Cranmerian*, temporizing, treacherous Spirit be caſt out of the *Jeruſalem* Chamber, or at leaſt out of *Hen.* VIIth's Chapel, the caſting out the factious, impious and hypocritical Spirit, out of the Commons alone, cannot bring our Work to its due Perfection; and if we have both thoſe true Spirits in Unity upon the Throne, we ſhall ſee thoſe curſed Roots of Perjury and all Wickedneſs planted in this Nation by *Hen.* VIII. and his Daughter utterly extirpated, and the kindly Plants of Truth, Righteouſneſs, and true Piety, abounding in the pleaſant Fruits of Peace and Happineſs, revived and flouriſh again amongſt us: which is the only Aim of all my Labours, which have been oppoſed with ſo much Wickedneſs and Madneſs, notwithſtanding the plain honeſt Deſign, and ſound, effectual Expedients propoſed in them.

Theſe

These Things having been laid before the Lower House of Convocation, and the House of Commons, it is fit they should be considered by the Clergy of the several Dioceses and Universities, and by the Commons of the several Counties, Cities and Boroughs, before those Assemblies meet again, or as soon as may be; and none but factious Spirits can be against it.

Some short Considerations relating to the settling of the Government; humbly offered to the Lords and Commons of *England*, now assembled at *Westminster*. 1689.

——— *Post est Occasio Calva.*

My Lords and Gentlemen,

YOU are assembled upon Matters of the highest Importance to *England*, and all Christendom; and the Result of your Thoughts in this Convention, will make a numerous Posterity happy or miserable. If therefore I have met with any thing that I think worthy of your Consideration, I should think myself wanting in that Duty which I owe to my Country and Mankind, if I should not lay it before you. If there be (as some say) certain Lineaments in the Face of Truth, with which one cannot be deceived, because they are not to be counterfeited; I hope the Considerations which I presume to offer you, will meet with your Approbation: That, bringing back our Constitution to its first and purest Original, refining it from some gross Abuses, and supplying its Defects, you may be the Joy of the present Age, and the Glory of Posterity.

First, 'TIS necessary to distinguish between Power itself, the Designation of the Persons governing, and the Form of Government. For,

1. All Power is from God as the Fountain and Original.

2. The Designation of the Persons, and the Form of Government, is either, First, immediately from God, as in the Case of *Saul* and *David*, and the Government of the *Jews*; or, Secondly, from the Community chusing some Form of Government, and subjecting themselves to it: But it must be noted, that tho' *Saul* and *David* had a divine Designation, yet the People assembled; and in a general Assembly, by their Votes, freely chose them: Which proves, that there can be no orderly or lasting Government, without Consent of the People tacit or expressed; and God himself would not put Men under a Governor without their Consent. And in Case of a Conquest, the People may be called Prisoners or Slaves (which is a State contrary to the Nature of Man) but they cannot be properly Subjects, till their Wills be brought to submit to the Government; so that Conquest may make way for Government, but it cannot constitute it.

Secondly, There is a supreme Power in every Community, essential to it and inseparable from it; by which, if it be not limited immediately by God, it can-

form

form itself into any Kind of Government. And in some extraordinary Occasions, when the Safety and Peace of the Publick necessarily require it, can supply the Defects, reform the Abuses, and re-establish the true Fundamentals of the Government; by purging, refining, and bringing Things back to their first Original: Which Power may be called, The supreme Power real.

Thirdly, When the Community has made Choice of some Form of Government and subjected themselves to it, having invested some Person or Persons with the supreme Power: The Power in those Persons may be called, The supreme Power personal.

Fourthly, If this Form be a mix'd Government of Monarchy, Aristocracy, and Democracy; and for the easy Execution of the Laws, the executive Power be lodged in a single Person, he has, A supreme Power personal, *quoad hoc.*

Fifthly, The supreme Power personal of *England*, is in King, Lords, and Commons; and so it was in Effect agreed to by King *Charles* the First, in his Answer to the nineteen Propositions; and resolved by the Convention of Lords and Commons in the Year 1660. And note, that the Acts of that Convention, though never confirmed by Parliament, have been taken for Law, and particularly by the Lord Chief Justice *Hales*.

Sixthly, The supreme Power personal of *England* fails three Ways.

1. It is dissolved: for two essential Parts fail. 1. A King. 2. A House of Commons, which cannot be called according to the Constitution, the King being gone, and the Freedom of Election being destroyed by the King's Incroachments.

2. The King has forfeited his Power several Ways. Subjection to the Bishop of *Rome* is the Subjection against which our Laws cry loudest: And even *Barclay* (that monarchical Politician) acknowledges, That if a King alienate his Kingdom, or subject it to another, he forfeits it. And *Grotius* asserts, That if a King really attempt to deliver up, or subject his Kingdom, he may be therein resisted: And that, if the King have Part of the supreme Power, and the People or Senate the other Part, the King invading that Part which is not his, a just Force may be opposed, and he may lose his Part of the Empire: *Grotius de Bello, &c. cap.* 72. But that the King has subjected the Kingdom to the Pope; needs no Proof; that he has usurped an absolute Power superior to all Laws, made the People's Share in the legislative Power impertinent and useless, and thereby invaded their just Rights, none can deny. It were in vain to multiply Instances of his Forfeitures: And, if we consider the Power exercised by him of late, it will most evidently appear to all who understand the *English* Constitution, that it admits of no such King, nor any such Power.

3. The King has deserted,

1. By incapacitating himself by a Religion inconsistent with the Fundamentals of our Government.

2. By forsaking the Power the Constitution allowed him, and usurping a foreign one: So that, though the Person remained, the King was gone long ago.

3. By personal Withdrawing.

Seventhly, the supreme Power real remains in the Community; and they may act by their original Power: And though every particular Person is, notwithstanding

withſtanding ſuch Diſſolution, Forfeiture, or Deſertion, ſubject to the Laws which were made by the ſupreme Power perſonal, when in being; yet the Community's Power is not bound by them, but is paramount all Laws made by the ſupreme Power perſonal; and has a full Right to take ſuch Meaſures for ſettling the Government, as they ſhall think moſt ſure and effectual for the laſting Security and Peace of the Nation. For we muſt note, that it was the Community of *England*, which firſt gave Being to both King and Parliament, and to all the other Parts of our Conſtitution.

Eighthly, The moſt renowned Politician obſerves, That thoſe Kingdoms and Republics ſubſiſt longeſt, that are often renewed, or brought back to their firſt Beginnings; which is an Obſervation of ſelf-evident Truth, and implies, that the ſupreme Power real has a Right to renew, or bring back. And the moſt ingenious *Lawſon* obſerves (in his *Politica*) That the Community of *England*, in the late Times, had the greateſt Advantage that they or their Anceſtors had had for many Ages for this Purpoſe; though God hid it from their Eyes: But the wonderful Concurrence of ſuch a Series of Providences, as we now ſee and admire, gives Ground to hope, that the Veil is removed, and the Nation will now ſee the Things that concern their Peace.

Ninthly, The Acts done and executed by the ſupreme Power perſonal (when in being) have ſo modelled the Parts and Perſons of the Community, that the original Conſtitution is the beſt, juſteſt, and the moſt deſirable. The Royal Family affords a Perſon that both Heaven and Earth point out for King; there are Lords, whoſe Nobility is not affected by the Diſſolution of the Government, and are the ſubject Matter of a Houſe of Lords; and there are Places, which by Cuſtom or Charter have Right to chuſe Repreſentatives of the Commons.

Tenthly, There are inextricable Difficulties in all other Methods. For,

1. There is no Demiſe of the King, neither civil nor natural.

2. There is conſequently no Deſcent.

3. The Community only has a Right to take Advantage of the King's Forfeiture or Deſertion.

4. Whatever other Power may be imagined in the two Houſes, as Houſes of Parliament, it cannot juſtify itſelf to the Reaſon of any, who underſtand the Bottom of our Conſtitution.

5. By this Method all Popiſh Succeſſors may be excluded; and the Government ſecured, in caſe all the Proteſtants of the Family die without Iſſue; and this by the very Conſtitution of *England*. And the Queſtion can never ariſe about the Force or the Lawfulneſs of a Bill of Excluſion.

6. The Convention will not be obliged to take Oaths, *&c.*

Eleventhly, If theſe Things be granted, and the Community be at Liberty to act as above, it will certainly be moſt adviſeable, not only for the Security and Welfare of the Nation, but (if rightly underſtood) for the Intereſt of their Royal Highneſſes, to limit the Crown as follows: ——— To the Prince of *Orange* during his Life (yet with all poſſible Honour and Reſpect to the Princeſs, whoſe Intereſts and Inclinations are inſeparably the ſame with his) Remainder to the Princeſs of *Orange*, and the Heirs of her Body; Remainder to the Princeſs of *Denmark*, and the Heirs of her Body; Remainder to the Heirs

of the Body of the Prince of *Orange*; Remainder as an Act of Parliament ſhall appoint.

This will have theſe Conveniences among others.

1. Huſband and Wife are but one Perſon in Law, and her Huſband's Honour is hers.

2. It puts the preſent kingly Power into the beſt Hand in the World; which (without Flattery) is agreed on by all Men.

3. It aſſerts the aboveſaid Power in the Community.

4. It will be ſome Acknowledgment to the Prince for what he has done for the Nation: And it is worthy Obſervation, that before the Theocracy of the *Jews* ceaſed, the Manner of the Divine Deſignation of their Judges, was by God's giving the People ſome Deliverance by the Hand of the Perſon, to whoſe Government they ought to ſubmit; and this even in that time of extraordinary Revelations. Thus *Othniel*, *Gideon*, *Jephthah*, *Samſon* and others, were inveſted by Heaven with the ſupreme Authority: And though *Joſhua* had an immediate Command from God to ſucceed *Moſes*, and an Anointing to that Purpoſe, by the laying on of *Moſes*'s Hands; yet the Foundation of the People's Submiſſion to him was laid in *Jordan*. And I challenge the beſt Hiſtorians to give an Inſtance (ſince that Theocracy ceaſed) of a Deſignation of any Perſon to any Government, more viſibly divine than that which we now admire. If the Hand of Providence (miraculouſly and timely diſpoſing natural Things, in every Circumſtance to the beſt Advantage) ſhould have any Influence upon Men's Minds; moſt certainly, we ought not here to be inſenſible, If the Voice of the People be the Voice of God, it never ſpoke louder. If a Nation of various Opinions, Intereſts and Factions, from a turbulent and fluctuating State, falls into a ſerene and quiet Calm, and Men's Minds are ſtrangely united on a ſudden, it ſhews from whence they are influenced. In a Word, if the Hand of God is to be ſeen in human Affairs, and his Voice to be heard upon Earth; we cannot any where (ſince the ceaſing of Miracles) find a clearer and more remarkable Inſtance, than is to be obſerved in the preſent Revolution. If one examines the Poſture of foreign Affairs, making Way for the Prince's Expedition by ſome ſudden Events and Occurrences, which no human Wiſdom or Power could have brought about; if one obſerves that divine Influence which has directed all his Counſels, and crowned his Undertakings, notwithſtanding ſuch innumerable Dangers and Difficulties, with conſtant Honour and Succeſs; if one conſiders how happily and wonderfully both Perſons and Things are changed in a little time, and without Blood: It looks like ſo many Marks of God's Favour, by which he thinks fit to point him out to us in this extraordinary Conjuncture.

I will trouble you but with one Conſideration more; which is, that the two Things moſt neceſſary in this Affair, are Unanimity and Diſpatch: For without both of theſe, your Counſels will have little Effect. In moſt Things it is good to be long in reſolving; but in ſome, it is fatal not to conclude immediately. And Preſence of Mind is as great a Virtue, as Raſhneſs is a Vice. For the Turns of Fortune are ſometimes ſo quick, that if Advantage be not taken in the critical Hour, it is for ever loſt. But, I hope, your Lordſhips and all thoſe Gentlemen, who compoſe this auguſt Aſſembly, will proceed with ſo much

much Zeal and Harmony, that the Reſult of your preſent Conſultations may be a laſting and grateful Monument to Poſterity, of your Integrity, Courage and Conduct.

A Letter directed to the Right Honourable the Earl of *Perth*, Governor to the Prince. 1700.

Die Lunæ, 17 Februarii, 1700.

Upon Reading this Day a Letter communicated to the Houſe by his Majeſty's Command, dated 18th February 1701, *and directed*, To the Right Honourable the Earl of *Perth*, Governor to the Prince, Theſe, *It is Ordered by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament aſſembled, That the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of* England *do give Order, That the ſaid Letter be forthwith printed and publiſhed.*

Matthew Johnſon, *Cleric' Parliamentor'*

Friday 18th of February, 1701.

My Dſt. Br.

SINCE I promiſed to put in Writing what we had not Time to talk fully of, I am ſet down to it in the Morning, that my Letter may be ready for the Meſſenger, if any call.

I told you all that I had heard at *Verſailles*, and the favourable Audience I had of Madam *de Maintenon*, for which I beg it of you to return my moſt humble Thanks to the Queen, and beg of her to be ſo good as to thank Madam *de Maintenon*, and know from her what can be done in that Matter. It will be a great Charity in the Queen.

I told you amongſt other Things the great Fleet the King intends to put out this Summer, the Orders being given, and the Money ready, the Stores full, and every one concerned active in their Stations. There is no doubt but this Fleet will be Maſter of the Sea for ſome Time, if not for all the Summer; becauſe the *Dutch* dare not ſtir till the *Engliſh* be ready, and they have long Debates yet before they can be in a Condition to act, if they have the Will; and it is a Queſtion if they will have it at all.

The King never had ſo favourable a Conjuncture, if he can perſuade this King that his Affairs are really in the Circumſtances they are in; but there is the Difficulty.

The King and Queen have more Authority with the King, and with Madam *de Maintenon*, than any other in the World can have; but that's not all, there ſhould be ſome one acceptable to the Miniſters, who ſhould lay before them theſe Proofs, their Majeſties cannot enter into the Detail of, and explain the Reaſons, make Plans and Memoirs by their Majeſty's Approbation, to con-

vince them of the Neceſſity, and to ſhew the Eaſineſs of Reſtoring the King, the Glory it brings to their King, and the Advantage to Religion.

How this will be done, their Majeſties are wiſe enough to conſider, and I think it is not a Subject fit for me to enter upon, but their Friends in general, who know not the Half of what I know in this Matter, think that it will not be well done by a Proteſtant Miniſter, lazy in his Temper, Enemy to *France* by his Inclination, tainted with Commonwealth Principles, and againſt the King's returning by any other Power than that of the People of *England*, upon Capitulation and Terms, who is ſuſpected of giving Aim to the Compounders, if not worſe.

That Mr. *Carrell* is qualified no Man doubts, but in Society with the other, theſe who muſt be inſtrumental will not truſt him as he ought, ſo that ſo long as the other is within Diſtance of penetrating the Affairs, they will never think themſelves ſecure.

And yet the King has no ſuch Game to play as by theſe very Perſons, who are thus diffident, namely, the true Church of *England* Party, the Catholics, and the Earl of *Arran*, and I ſhall ſay ſomething as to every one of them. The King cannot but be ſenſible that the true Church of *England*-Party, and their principal Head now the Biſhop of *Norwich*, has been ſilent of a long time, and their Majeſties may remember what Weight the Court of *France* laid upon their joining the King (I mean the non-ſwearing Clergy) in caſe of a Landing.

Therefore all Arts ſhould be tried without Delay to get them to enter into Correſpondence again, and every Impediment ought to be removed, I ſay without Exception, and though ſometimes it is of hard Digeſtion for Sovereigns who ought to be obeyed without Reſerve, to yield to the Humours of Subjects, yet Prudence ſhould teach them, when they cannot, without hurting their Affairs, do what they would, to do what they can; and remember the Fable of the Dog, who loſt the Subſtance for the Shadow.

Aſſurances from the Non-ſwearers, the ſoundeſt and venerableſt Part of the *Engliſh* Church, would be of great Uſe at this Time, to perſuade *France* to undertake this great Affair; for beſides their own Example at a Landing, and their preaching and writing to the People, that their Religion was in no Danger, it is moſt certain they know better than any others can, what the Church of *England* in general would do for the King's Service, and they being to run all the Hazard, would be better believed at the Court of *France* than any other, as I found by Experience.

As to the Catholics, and others aſſociate with them, unfortunately for the King, they were thought to have too much Inclination for me, and ſo have been reckoned as uſeleſs to the King, but I muſt beg Leave to ſay, that Undertaking was the beſt Feather in his Wing, and was moſt juſtly thought ſo by him, and by the Court of *France* too, even to that Degree, they pretended if this and the other Article concerning the Clergy, could be made appear, they would concur with the King to invade *England*. They conſiſted of ſeven Regiments of Horſe and Dragoons, their Arms, Trumpets, Kettle-Drums, Standards, *&c.* were all ready, and are yet in Surety, their Men were all liſted, and their Officers choſen, and they had twenty Horſes to a Troop, which

Troops

Troops lying at a Diſtance in a Horſe-Country, twenty Horſes would ſoon have mounted the reſt.

Thoſe who could not divine the Greatneſs and the Uſe of the Undertaking, blamed the Raſhneſs of it, and even ſome Churchmen have not been diſapproven for endeavouring undutifully (becauſe contrary to the King's written Orders) to break the Deſign; but I deſire you now for all this to believe, that you have not ſuch another Argument to uſe to the Court of *France* as this, and if you could make it appear, as it might have been done ſome Years ago, I ſhould have very good Hopes of this Summer's Work. Nay, let the King have what other Hopes, or even Promiſes you pleaſe from the Court of *France*, this is to be encouraged, and if poſſible, to be put in the Circumſtances it was in, for if ever there be a Landing in *England* to Purpoſe, it muſt be before they can be armed, and they cannot be armed before the Parliament come to a Reſolution concerning the War, and conſidering the few Troops in *England*, ſuppoſe theſe Men to be no better than Militia, what a Diverſion would it be.

It is not neceſſary for me to ſay any more of this Article, till I know whether their Majeſties have as good an Opinion of this Undertaking as I have. If ſo, I ſhall ſhew what I think to be done in it, if otherwiſe I ſhall ſave the Pains.

As to the Earl of *Arran*, it would be of great Uſe to have an Underſtanding with him. He will have none where —— can pry; his All is at Stake, and he ought to be wary with whom he ventures to deal.

I think it better for the King's Service, that the Court-Party prevailed in the Manner they have done in the Parliament of *Scotland*, than that the Country-Party ſhould have got their Will. Oppoſition ſwells the Waters to a Flood, and ſo long as the Country-Party is not diſcouraged, they gain more Gound in the Kingdom than they loſe in Government. So that the Diſaffection to the Government will increaſe, and one may judge of the Nation in general, which is of another Temper than this pretended Parliament, or rather Preſbyterian Rabble, ill repreſenting the Nation. For ſince even in it, there is ſuch a Struggle againſt the Government, what would there be in a free Parliament, which the P. of O. durſt never hazard to call.

The Nation then, at leaſt a great Part of it, being diſaffected to this Government, it is of the laſt Conſequence that E. *Arran* may know what to do in Caſe of an Invaſion of *England*, or in Caſe he and his Friends be obliged for Self-preſervation to riſe in their own Defence.

The Army, who are and ever were well-affected, are to be gained by Money, and a little goes a great Way with them.

The diſbanded Troops would be engaged, and the Officers are well-inclined.

The Places of Strength would be ſecured, and ſuch as can be put in Defence (without Expences) fortified.

To do all this, at leaſt ſuch a Part of them as can be begun with, a ſmall Sum will ſerve, and he ought to have Hopes of it, and of the Command.

Theſe being only Heads to be diſcourſed of, and much to be ſaid of every Part, it is not to be thought that this Letter can carry a final Concluſion; for

it

it may be upon Diſcourſe, I might change my Mind, or be more confirmed in, and ſee further.

This makes me inſiſt again to you, upon two Things, as appearing to me abſolutely neceſſary to put Things upon a right Foot.

The Firſt is the removing of all Impediments out of the Way, and ſending all ſuſpected Perſons to *Champaign* or *Burgundy*, according to their Gouſt.

And the ſecond is of the laſt Uſe, both to their Majeſties and the Prince, which is the eſtabliſhing of ſuch a Number, under no Qualification, to talk of their Affairs in their Majeſty's Preſence, with whom we can freely converſe and propoſe what may be for their Majeſties Service.

As for the firſt, It will be for the King's Reputation, both at the Court of *Rome*, *France*, and with all his true Friends in *England*, for many Reaſons———

As for the ſecond, It is according to Scripture, *In the Multitude of Counſellors there is Safety.*

Nothing is ſo dangerous as firſt to determine what one will do, and then hear Reaſons againſt it, and imitate the deaf Adder, who hearkens not to the Voice of the Charmer, let him charm never ſo ſweetly. Reaſons againſt a Reſolution taken, offend, and the more Force they have, they offend the more; whilſt before the Reſolution be taken, Reaſon has its Effect, and the Determinations are not the Effects of Humour and Faction, but of Prudence and Juſtice.

If in any thing I fail, I'll ſwear it's Want of Underſtanding, and not of Will. And I beg, that their Majeſties may be perſuaded, that it is not Humour nor Vanity, but their Service I have in my View, who am,

My Dſt. Br.

Moſt humbly yours.

There are no Letters from *England*, I expect and am promiſed———

I forgot to tell you, that the Conjuncture ought to be improven ſo long as the Court of *France* have the ill Opinion of the Pr. of *Orange*'s Treachery diſcovered lately in their Hands.

Superſcription.

For the Right Honourable the Earl of Perth, *Governor to the Prince,*
Theſe.

The

The moſt chriſtian King's Letter to the States General of the United Provinces, upon his recalling the Count *d' Avaux*, his Ambaſſador extraordinary at the *Hague*; together with the ſaid Ambaſſador's Memorial; both preſented by him to the State the $\frac{15}{25}$ *July*: and the Anſwer of the States General to the ſaid Memorial, delivered to the Ambaſſador the $\frac{21}{1}$ $\frac{July}{Auguſt}$, 1701.

The moſt chriſtian King's Letter to the States General.

Moſt dear great Friends, Allies, and Confederates,

WE have thought fit to recal the Count *d'Avaux*, our Ambaſſador extraordinary to you, ſeeing the little Fruit thoſe Conferences have produced which you had deſired of us, and which you have ſince often interrupted. We are not the leſs inclined to the eſtabliſhing of the Peace. As he will further declare our Intentions to you before his Departure: Nothing remains for us, but to aſſure you, that it ſtill depends on you to receive Marks of our antient Friendſhip for your Republic, and of our Deſire to give you Proofs thereof on all Occaſions: So we pray God, that he may have you, moſt dear great Friends, Allies, and Confederates, in his holy keeping. Given at *Verſailles* the 18th of *July*, 1701.

To our moſt dear great Friends, Allies, and Confederates, the States General of the united Provinces of the *Netherlands*.

Your good Friend, Ally, and Confederate,

Lewis.

Colbert.

Count *d'Avaux*'s Memorial.

THE underwritten Count *d'Avaux*, Ambaſſador extraordinary from the moſt chriſtian King, being arrived at the *Hague* in *February* laſt, had Reaſon to believe, that the Orders given him by his Majeſty, would ſufficiently make known the Deſire his Majeſty always had to maintain the Peace, and that your Lordſhips would make uſe of his favourable Diſpoſitions, after having earneſtly deſired that his Majeſty would permit, that Propoſals ſhould be offered

offered in ſettled Conferences, concerning the Securities which you might reaſonably deſire, and that an Agreement ſhould be made at the ſame Time, about the Means of preventing a new War. This Step and your Lordſhips true Intereſt, ought equally to perſuade, that the deſired Conferences would have had a happy Iſſue; and the moſt chriſtain King declaring, that on his Part he would not omit any Thing to preſerve the public Tranquility, it ſeemed, that your Lordſhips firſt Alarms would have been happily calmed; that your Confidence in his Majeſty's Affections would have removed thoſe vain Fears, which his Grandſon's Acceſſion to the *Spaniſh* Throne had inſpired you with. The Count *d'Avaux* hoped therefore, that after a ſhort Embaſſy he ſhould ſoon return to the King his Maſter, with the Satisfaction of having been employed in preventing the new Troubles *Europe* was threatned with. This his Hope was confirmed when your Lordſhips, acknowledging the lawful Right of the King of *Spain*, wrote a Letter to that Prince, to congratulate with him on his Acceſſion to the Crown; it appeared by this Reſolution, worthy of your Prudence, that if you perſiſted in demanding Securities for yourſelves, you were ſenſible at leaſt of the Injuſtice of foreign Pretenſions, and would for ever avoid the dangerous Trouble of intermixing the ſame with your own Intereſts. So the moſt chriſtian King paſſing over your Lordſhips long Silence, in Relation to the Catholic King's Acceſſion to the Crown, every Thing ſeemed to be in a good Diſpoſition towards the eſtabliſhing of the Peace, when the Propoſals made by your Lordſhips, and thoſe of the Envoy of the King of *England*, gave Occaſion to judge, that War, rather than Peace would be the Conſequence of the ſtrict Union between that Prince and your Lordſhips, which appeared by the Conformity of thoſe Propoſals. You have ſince proteſted, that your exceſſive Demands were the Effect of a juſt Fear grounded on the King's Power, that they ought not to be looked upon as a Mark of your Confidence in your own Strength. But if this Fear, ſo lively expreſſed once, in the Letter your Lordſhips wrote to the King of *Great Britain* during the Seſſion of Parliament, was real, if in repreſenting thoſe Dangers you were willing to appear encompaſſed with on every Side, you had no other End than to prevent them, the Means of doing it were in your own Hands, there was no need of bringing ſo great a Number of Troops into the Field; of buying foreign Aſſiſtances at a dear Rate; of laying your Provinces under Water; in a Word, of making all the extraordinary Preparations that might be neceſſary for the greateſt War. Your Lordſhips had yourſelves deſired the Conferences, as a Means of ſecuring the Peace, and it depended on you to render thoſe Conferences uſeful; the King's Intention was never to prolong them by vain Difficulties, and to take an Advantage from thoſe Delays to prepare for War, under a falſe Appearance of Peace. His Majeſty, though ſtrictly united with the King his Grandſon, has not formed any incident for the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador's Admiſſion to the Conferences, and has not made uſe of any Pretence to delay the Effect thereof; they were begun to treat of the Intereſts of your Lordſhips only. It depended on you to bring them to a ſpeedy Concluſion, to find therein the Safety of your Provinces, the Advantage of your Commerce, and a perpetual Security in the moſt chriſtian King's Friendſhip: But inſtead of purſuing the ſame with your ſerious Endeavours, your Lordſhips have again delayed the Concluſion thereof,

by

by desiring that the King of *England*'s Envoy should be admited to confer with the under written Ambassador, and with your Deputies: You ought not to imagine that the true Motive of this new Demand can have escaped the Penetration of his most Christian Majesty. If his Majesty opposed it for some time, if he offered to your Lordships, that the Negociation begun at the *Hague* for the establishing of the Peace, should be carried on under his Eye, he acted by the same Principle which guides his whole Conduct, the sincere Desire of removing all the Obstacles which those who are Enemies to the Peace are continually laying in the Way: He foresaw the little Advantage of the Conferences at the *Hague*; he judged that the Difficulty concerning the Admission of the *English* Envoy would no sooner be cleared, but some other Incident would industriously be formed, which might more effectually serve to perplex the Negociation. 'Tis true, he could not well imagine that it would be an easy Matter to persuade your Lordships to insist upon the pretended Satisfaction to be given to the Emperor, to take upon you to support the Interests of that Prince, and to confound them with those of your Republic, to set up your selves for Arbitrators between the Houses of *France* and *Austria*, to determine that *Philip* IV. had a Right and a Power to alter as he pleased all the Constitutions of his Kingdoms; that *Charles* II. on the contrary had no Authority to recal those same Heirs, and to restore by his Will the fundamental Laws of the Crown of *Spain*. Indeed it was hardly to be believed, that so wise a Republic should in Favour of the House of *Austria*, against *France*, resolve to break those Treaties which you have looked upon as the Confirmation, and one may say, the Seal of your Sovereignty; that you would engage yourselves at the Expence of your Provinces, the Commerce of your Subjects, and your Wealth, to support foreign Interests, when a few Months before you had made a quite contrary Step in acknowledging the King of *Spain:* But it seems, that those Considerations which formerly would have been of Weight with your Republic, have given Place to newer Maxims.

The underwritten Ambassador should abuse the Confidence which the King his Master is pleased to honour him with, should he write to him, that any Success were to be expected from the Conferences. His Majesty has too discerning a Judgment to believe it, after the Declarations which the King of *England*'s Envoy has made on the Part, as he says, of the King his Master to the said Ambassador. Your Lordships are informed of the Manner in which this Envoy has signified to him, that the King of *Great Britain* would never depart from the Interests of the Emperor; that he would not enter into any Proposals of an Accommodation, unless Satisfaction were given to that Prince. The Ties between your Lordships and the King of *England*, are too strict, and your Lordships have too well made known, that they blindly submit to the Sentiments of that Prince, that they will follow the Measures which he shall think most convenient, to leave Room to doubt that they have already taken a Resolution to make a like Declaration to the most Christian King. You have already done it, by declaring, that your Deputies could not go on with the Conferences, without the Intervention of the *English* Envoy. Does he exclude himself, they are presently suspended. So it would be to no Purpose for the most Christian King's Ambassador, sent only for the Sake of these Conferences, to make any longer stay at the *Hague*. If he has not the Satisfaction of having

fulfilled his Majesty's Intentions in establishing a durable Peace between him and the united Provinces, he will have that at least of having made known that his Majesty is willing to contribute all that depends on him to prevent the Interrupting of the public Peace. That his Majesty has taken up Arms only for the Defence of the King his Grandson; that if he had had a Design of making new Conquests he might easily have put it in Execution, his Forces upon the Frontiers of your Republic afforded him the Means to have, without any Difficulty, made his Advantage of the weak Condition you were then in. Your Lordships will not be unwilling this should be spoken of, since you yourselves have published it every where; and this Truth which is evident from your own Testimony, ought to make you sensible, that it has always depended on you to find in his Majesty's Friendship that Security which you thought you had lost, when you saw the King his Grandson advanced to the Crown of *Spain*. If these Reflections, which you have yet time to make, can not prevent the War, the most Christian King has Reason to hope that God, recompensing the Care his Majesty has taken to maintain the Tranquility of Christendom, will continue to pour down upon the Justice of his Cause, the same Blessings which his divine Providence has heaped upon him during the Course of his glorious Reign. That those who will dare to attack him, will be made to know by the Events, that it is neither his Weakness, nor his Distrust of his own Strength which hitherto with-held his Arms, that they will see that he could have revenged the Affronts put upon his Flags at Sea, have prevented his Subjects being seized and treated as Enemies by the *English* and *Dutch* Ships, have hindered the said Ships from coming to sound the Ports of this Kingdom. That it was in his Power to have possessed himself of Places that were yet without Defence, and to have procured to himself very considerable Advantages for the carrying on of a War, which he foresaw from the Conduct of the neighbouring Powers; that if he has passed over these Affronts, neglected the Advantage he might have drawn from the known Superiority of his Forces, he has done it only to avoid giving the least Occasion to say, that he has acted contrary to the exact Observation of the Treaties of *Ryswick*.

The under-written Ambassador wishes, that your Lordships being convinced, by his Majesty's Conduct, of the Sincerity of his Intentions, would, while it is yet time, take such Resolutions as may be conformable to your true Interest; and though his Departure hinders him from having the Glory of employing his Endeavours therein, he shall always have a Concern for the Happiness of your Republic, after having, during so many Years, executed the King's Orders near your Lordships. Done at the *Hague* the 26th of *July*, 1701.

The Count d'Avaux.

The

The Anſwer of the High and Mighty Lords, the States General of the united Provinces to the Memorial preſented to their High and Mightineſſes, by Monſieur d'Avaux, *Ambaſſador extraordinary from his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, the 26th of* July, 1701. *Extracted from the Regiſter of the Reſolutions of the High and Mighty Lords the States-General of the united Provinces of the* Low Countries.

Monday, Auguſt 1, 1701.

THE Report of the Sieurs *Van Eſſen* and others, Commiſſioners of their High and Mightineſſes for foreign Affairs, being heard, who by Virtue of their commiſſorial Reſolution of the 26th of *July* laſt, have examined the Memorial of the Count *d'Avaux*, Ambaſſador extraordinary from his Majeſty the moſt Chriſtian King, containing the Reaſons why it would be to no purpoſe for him to ſtay any longer at the *Hague*; as alſo his ſaid Majeſty's Letter, by which he has thought fit to recal the ſaid Count *d'Avaux*, mentioned more at large in the Acts of the ſaid 26th of *July*; and the ſame being debated: It has been thought good and decreed, that the following Anſwer ſhall be returned to the Count *d'Avaux* upon his ſaid Memorial.

That their High and Mightineſſes do ſtill think themſelves very much obliged to his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty for his Goodneſs in ſending hither the ſaid Count *d'Avaux*, with the Character of his Ambaſſador extraordinary; that they were in Hopes, and wiſhed, that in the Conferences held with him, ſufficient Expedients could have been found out to have obtained the End and the Aim that was propoſed by the ſaid Conferences, which is, the Preſervation of the general Peace, and a reaſonable Security for this State: As alſo that the ſaid Count *d'Avaux* might have remained here till they had attained the ſaid wholſome End. That therefore their High and Mightineſſes could not without Concern receive the News, that his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty had thought fit to recal him, before Affairs were concluded, and brought to a happy and ſo much deſired End. The rather, becauſe it ſeems as if it ſhould be attributed to their Conduct, that the Negociation had no better Succeſs, and that the Conferences could not be uſefully continued. That their High and Mightineſſes nevertheleſs are very certain, that both before and during the Negociation they did all that lay in their Power, and all that in Reaſon could be expected from 'em, to make known the Sincerity of their Inclinations for the Peace, and that they were willing to contribute as much as in them lay to the bringing of the Negociation to a good and happy Concluſion, becauſe they well underſtand that nothing can be more for the Intereſt of their Republic, than the Preſervation of the Peace, and that their People may enjoy the Fruits thereof with a reaſonable Security: But that they ought to attribute it to the Misfortune of the Times, that in this Affair they could not perſuade his Majeſty of the Sincerity of their Sentiments; that they ſtill perſiſt therein, and that they hope that at length they ſhall be yet ſo happy as to convince him. That when after the Death of the laſt deceaſed King of *Spain*, his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, inſtead of keeping the Treaty made for the Partition of the Succeſſion, thought good to accept the Will of the ſaid deceaſed King, and to impart to

High and Mightineſſes the Reaſons which had inclined him to do ſo, their High and Mightineſſes forthwith made known to his ſaid Majeſty the Reaſons why they could not take any Reſolution in an Affair of ſo great a Conſequence without having more time; and that afterwards, ſo ſoon as the Conſtitution of their Government did permit, they offered to enter into a Conference with the Count *de Briora*, at that time Ambaſſador extraordinary from his Majeſty to them, or with any other whom it ſhould pleaſe his ſaid Majeſty to authorize, that they might jointly find out the neceſſary Means for the maintaining and preſerving of the general Peace, and the eſtabliſhing of their particular Security. That they made the ſaid Offer upon the Aſſurances which his ſaid Majeſty was before pleaſed to give 'em, that he had no other Intention than to maintain the Peace and public Tranquility, and that he would give them a reaſonable Security. That afterwards his ſaid Majeſty having thought fit to ſend hither the Count *d' Avaux*, with the Character of his Ambaſſador extraordinary, their High and Mightineſſes, as ſoon as he arrived, and had notified to them his Arrival, immediately appointed Deputies to enter into Conference, and to agree with him upon the Manner how the Negociation might be carried on with moſt Benefit and leaſt Delay: And becauſe at the ſame time their High and Mightineſſes ſaw by the ſaid Count *d' Avaux*'s Memorials, that his moſt Chriſtain Majeſty with great Earneſtneſs deſired that the new King of *Spain* ſhould be acknowledged, they took a Reſolution to acknowledge him, and teſtify their Deſire to entertain and cultivate a ſincere and good Correſpondence with him; declaring at the ſame time, that they were ready to purſue the Negociation with their moſt chriſtian and catholic Majeſties, with the Intervention of his Majeſty of *Great Britain*, to treat together of the moſt proper Means for the Preſervation of the general Peace and Tranquility, and the eſtabliſhing of their particular Security; and that in ſuch a Manner, together with the Intervention of ſuch other Princes and Potentates as ſhould be thought moſt uſeful and neceſſary for obtaining the wholeſome Ends propoſed. That their High and Mightineſſes made this Recognition after the Overture of the Conferences, in the firſt Place to give an eſſential Mark of their Love for the Peace, and after that, in Conſideration that the End of the Negociation might be attained as well after as before they ſhould have acknowledged the King of *Spain*. That theſe Reaſons among others having been the true Motives of acknowledging the King of *Spain*, they conſequently have done no Prejudice to the Intervention of his Majeſty of *Great Britain*, as one of the contracting Parties in the Treaty of Partition, nor to that of other Princes and Potentates concerned in the Preſervation of the general Peace. Moreover, that by this Proceeding they have not taken any Cognizance of the Juſtice or Injuſtice of the Pretenſions of a third Party, nor have ſeparated their Intereſts in reſpect of the general Peace from the Intereſt of thoſe who are equally concerned with them, as ſeems to be inferred in the ſame Memorial. That their High and Mightineſſes having acknowledged his ſaid catholic Majeſty, in hopes that for that Reaſon the Negociation would have been ſo much the leſs delayed, they repreſented to the ſaid Count *d'Avaux*, in the firſt Conferences, that ſince by the Acceptation of the Will of the deceaſed King of *Spain*, his moſt chriſtian Majeſty had departed from the Treaty of Partition, wherein their High and Mightineſſes thought to have found their Security, as well in reſpect of the general Peace as their own private Safety, and ſince his moſt chriſtian Majeſty had

repreſented,

repreſented to them, that by means of the ſaid Will, as well as by the Way of the Treaty of Partition, the End expected from the ſaid Treaty might be attained; they expected from the ſaid Count *d'Avaux*, and requeſted him, that he would make Overtures and Propoſals, by which they might ſee how the public Peace and Repoſe would be now ſecured, and their particular Safety warranted. But the ſaid Count *d'Avaux* refuſing more than once to explain himſelf upon this Head, inſiſted, that the Propoſals that were to be made, ſhould be given in by their High and Mightineſſes. That their High and Mightineſſes having conſulted thereupon with his Majeſty the King of *Great Britain*, they ſettled the Propoſals, which the Deputies put into the Hands of the ſaid Count *d'Avaux*, at the ſame Time that Mr. *Stanhope* Envoy from his Majeſty of *Great Britain*, delivered his Propoſals to him. That their High Mightineſſes are extremely ſurprized to ſee that it ſhould be alledged, 'That thoſe Propoſals ſhould give 'Occaſion to judge, that War rather than Peace would be the Conſequence of 'of the ſtrict Union between his Majeſty of *Great Britain* and their High and 'Mightineſſes:' That they cannot apprehend what Ground there is to ſuch an Inference. That their High and Mightineſſes never knew otherwiſe, than that his Majeſty of *Great Britain* has given upon all Occaſions ſufficient Proofs of his Love for the Peace: That they are ſtrongly tied to his ſaid Majeſty by ſtrict Alliances contracted ſeveral Years ago, for their mutual Security and Defence; that his ſaid Majeſty moreover was one of the principal Parties in the Treaty of Partition; that they declared before they ſettled and gave in their Propoſals, that they thought it neceſſary to act in Concert with his ſaid Majeſty in this Negociation, as well for the Reaſon alledged, as becauſe of the Relation his ſaid Majeſty has with their Republic. That no Reflection was ever made thereupon, and therefore they muſt repeat it again, that they cannot apprehend upon what Ground it can be ſaid, 'That War rather than Peace would be the Conſequence 'of the Union between this Prince and them, in this Affair.' That their High and Mightineſſes are very ſorry, that his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty having received their Propoſals, thought it not fit to anſwer them: That they have often heard, that their Propoſals were taxed with being exceſſive, but that it was never made out as yet wherein this Exceſs conſiſted, which might have ſerved for Matter to the Negociation. That the Preſervation of the general Peace, and the eſtabliſhing of the particular Security of this State, were the Foundation upon which the whole Negociation reſted: That it is evident, that the public Peace cannot be preſerved, without Satisfaction given to the Emperor, whoſe Pretenſions are ſo well known, that in the Treaty of Partition it was regulated, with the Approbation of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, after what Manner the ſame ſhould be ſatisfied: That his ſaid Majeſty having departed from the Treaty of Partition, their High and Mightineſſes demanded a reaſonable Satisfaction for his Imperial Majeſty, and that the ſame Time be agreed upon with him, the whole in general Terms: That there is nothing that can be called exceſſive in this Article of their Demand; and as to what they have demanded for their particular Security, which they declared more at large, that they are well perſuaded that every unbyaſſed Perſon will judge, that what they have demanded is not ſufficient even to give them a Security like to what they had before the Deceaſe of the laſt King of *Spain*, or ſhould have obtained by the Treaty of Partition. That if Fear had any Part in the Affair, their High and Mighti-

neſſes believe they had juſt Grounds of Apprehenſion; that their Reaſons moreover were grounded, not only upon their particular Sentiments, but alſo upon the Sentiments of their Friends and Allies, who made no Scruple to ſend them the Aſſiſtance which they were bound to do in caſe of Neceſſity, by Virtue of their defenſive Alliances: Beſides that the Ground of their Fears appeared ſufficiently from what is ſaid toward the End of the ſaid Memorial, where their Weakneſs is declared at large. That if it had been in their Power to have freed themſelves from this Perplexity, without betaking themſelves to their Arms, without ſeeking new Alliances with thoſe from whom they expected Aſſiſtance in caſe of Neceſſity, and without drowning their Country, certainly they had done it: That they ſhould not ſcruple to refer themſelves to the Knowledge which the ſaid Count *d'Avaux* has of the Conſtitution of their Government, whether it would not be very eaſy to convince him, and even whether he be not of Opinion, that all which they have done to put themſelves in a Condition of Defence, that they have done it only becauſe they were entirely convinced of their Danger, That they ſincerely declare that they deſire nothing more than to be able to be free themſelves from it with ſome Security, the ſooner the better. That with this Proſpect their High and Mightineſſes demanded Conferences, to the End that the Peace being ſecured, their Dangers might alſo ceaſe. That if it had depended upon them to render the Conferences uſeful, certainly they ere now would have had a happy Succeſs: That they are heartily ſorry for the Difficulties which obſtructed them. That they freely acknowledge that the moſt Chriſtian King did not form any Incident for the Admiſſion of the King of *Spain*'s Ambaſſador to the Conferences, neither ſhould their High and Mightineſſes have oppoſed it, having declared more than once that they were content the ſaid Ambaſſador ſhould be admitted to them. And as for what concerned the Admiſſion of the Envoy of his Majeſty of *Great Britain*, and the Delays of the Negociation occaſioned thereby, that their High and Mightineſſes have ſhewed before, that from the Beginning they always looked upon the Intervention of his Majeſty of *Great Britain* in the Negociation, and the Admiſſion of his Miniſter to the Conferences, to be neceſſary. That without Doubt the ſaid Count *d'Avaux* muſt remember that at the Beginning there was no Diſpute about it, unleſs it were in reſpect of Rank and Place to be obſerved in the Conferences, which was regulated without any Conteſt, ſo ſoon as the Parties had given each other the Satisfaction that was required; ſo that when the Propoſals were delivered into the Hands of the Count *d'Avaux*, the Envoy of *England* was preſent at the Conference, and delivered his without any Difficulty. That their High and Mightineſſes were in Hopes that this Matter would never have given Occaſion to any Scruples, ſince his Majeſty of *Great Britain* being ſo highly concerned in the Succeſs of this Negociation, in reſpect to the Treaty of Partition, the general Peace, and the particular Security of his Kingdoms, he could not be excluded out of the Negociation. That the Difficulties which afterwards occurred upon this Subject, did not proceed from their High and Mightineſſes, but had their Spring from hence, that the ſaid Count *d'Avaux* in his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's Name, began to oppoſe the Admiſſion of the *Engliſh* Envoy to the following Conferences, upon the ſame Foot as before; that this is the Reaſon why the Conferences have been ſuſpended for a long time,

to

to the great Grief of their High and Mightineſſes, who in this Negociation could not any ways ſeparate themſelves from *England*. So that as the Cauſe of this Delay cannot be attributed to their High and Mightineſſes, and it being ſo juſt and reaſonable that the Envoy of his Majeſty of *Great Britain* ſhould not be excluded from the Conferences, they believe they have ſufficiently anſwered every thing that is alledged in this Memorial upon that Head. That they ought to acknowledge alſo, that his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty had Reaſon to expect, that they would inſiſt upon Satisfaction to be given to the Emperor, ſince that Point was the firſt Article of their Demands; but that their High and Mightineſſes do not remember that they ever gave the leaſt Occaſion to preſume, that they went about to make themſelves Arbitrators between the Houſes of *France* and *Auſtria*, and to decide whether or no the two laſt Kings of *Spain*, *Philip* IV. and *Charles* II. had a Right to alter the Conſtitution and fundamental Laws of the Crown of *Spain*. That they beſeech his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty to call to Mind and conſider, how that before the Deceaſe of the laſt King of *Spain*, the State of his Health having been for ſome time very languiſhing, his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, as well as his Majeſty the King of *Great Britain*, and their High and Mightineſſes judged it neceſſary to prevent the Misfortunes which they had Reaſon to expect after the Death of that Prince without Iſſue, ſince the Overture of the Succeſſion would infallibly occaſion a new War, if his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty maintained his Pretenſions, thoſe of the Dauphine, and his Poſterity, to all the *Spaniſh* Succeſſion; and that the Emperor would alſo make good his Pretenſions, thoſe of the King of the *Romans*, of the Archduke his ſecond Son, or of his other Children, to the ſaid Succeſſion: That theſe Reaſons inclined his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, his Majeſty of *Great Britain*, and their High and Mightineſſes to conclude the Treaty ſo well known, concerning the Succeſſion of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy. That as their High and Mightineſſes as to themſelves, when they entered into the ſaid Treaty, never preſumed to make themſelves Arbitrators of the Differences between ſuch great Princes as the Emperor and the King of *France*, but only endeavoured to contribute to an Agreement between the Parties concerned, to the preſerving of the Peace, and preventing a new War, by a Regulation of the ſaid Succeſſion, wherein his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty then concurred with them, and wherein they flattered themſelves that the Emperor would alſo have concurred in like Manner; they neither deſire nor aim at any thing, more than that a Way may be found out to procure the Emperor a reaſonable Satisfaction, in regard of his Pretenſions, to which at that time ſo much Conſideration was had: That ſince this cannot be effected upon the Foot of the Treaty of Partition, other Ways may be found out, that the Peace may be preſerved, and a new War prevented. That in this their High and Mightineſſes cannot be charged with maintaining foreign Intereſts, ſince they only inſiſt upon the ſame Principles now that the Caſe is in being, which his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty himſelf judged to be juſt and neceſſary, before the Caſe had happened. Nor can it any more be imputed to them, that they have made any Step contrary to their Proceeding, in acknowledging the King of *Spain*, ſince that Proceeding does not hinder but that reaſonable Satisfaction may be given to the Emperor. That they acknowledged the King of *Spain*, to remove, as much as it was poſſible, all Obſtacles that might retard the Negocia-

tion

tion for the general Peace, and their particular Security; ſeeing, that according to their Opinion, neither the general Peace can ſubſiſt without giving the Emperor Satisfaction, nor their particular Security without the general Peace, as they have formerly alledged. That if the Prudence of their High and Mightineſſes be ſo great as is attributed to them, his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty ought to be fully convinced, that they will do nothing to the Prejudice of their Provinces, of their Trade and of their Wealth, but what they are perſuaded is entirely neceſſary for their Preſervation. That they are certain they have done nothing by which it may be ſaid, 'They have broken thoſe Treaties, which ſhould be 'as it were the Confirmation and Seal of their Sovereignty:' That they do not well underſtand what is meant by this: That their Provinces have been always accounted free and ſovereign Provinces: That their Anceſtors have defended their Liberties againſt the Violence of Foreigners, at the Expence of their Eſtates and their Lives, and that they are bound and reſolved to do the ſame: But they live in Hopes that nobody will queſtion their Liberty and their Sovereignty, and much leſs moleſt them in the Enjoyment thereof: That they never ſought, nor do now ſeek to enlarge their Limits; but that they are only employed in defending their Rights and their Poſſeſſions, and in endeavouring the Preſervation of the Peace and Tranquillity with and between their Neighbours: That theſe are the true Principles and real Maxims of their Republic, wherein they acknowledge no Change or Alteration. That their High and Mightineſſes are much concerned the ſaid Count *d'Avaux* expects ſo little Succeſs from the Conferences, that he durſt not write about it to the King his Maſter, by reaſon of the Declaration which Mr. *Stanhope* made to him touching the Satisfaction to be given to the Emperor. That they cannot deny but that both his Majeſty of *Great Britain* and themſelves are of Opinion, that it would be juſt that the Emperor's Satisfaction ſhould be treated of as one of the Means that ought to be made Uſe of for the Preſervation of the general Peace, and their particular Security. That this is no new Propoſition; that it was advanced in the Propoſals delivered to the Count *d'Avaux*, as well in the Name of his Majeſty of *Great Britain*, as of their High and Mightineſſes, who have expreſly demanded, that the Emperor ſhould be invited into the Negociation, that the Satisfaction to be given him might be there agreed upon, which is the ſame thing they now demand. That in like manner their High and Mightineſſes cannot acknowledge that they blindly ſubmit to the Sentiments of his *Britannick* Majeſty, as they are ſaid to do; but that they have a great Deference for his Advice, becauſe they are fully perſuaded, that his Majeſty is very much inclined to the maintaining of the Peace and public Tranquillity; that they are abſolutely convinced by an infinite Number of Proofs, that his Majeſty ſeeks nothing more than the Welfare of their Republic, and very much rely upon his Prudence and Experience; beſides that they have ſuch ſtrict Ties with that Prince, as King of *Great Britain*, that they cannot ſeparate from him. That if the Conferences muſt be ſuſpended by reaſon of the ſaid Mr. *Stanhope*'s Declaration, and becauſe of the Conformity of their High and Mightineſſes Sentiments with thoſe of his Majeſty of *Great Britain* in this Affair, they ſhall look upon it as a very great Misfortune; but if his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty had thought good to continue the Conferences, and to ſuffer the Emperor's Satisfaction to be there treated of,

they

they ſhould have hoped that in the end Matters might have come to a good and wholeſome Concluſion; and that the ſaid Count *d'Avaux* might have departed with the Satisfaction of terminating an Affair of the greateſt Importance, wherein he has already taken ſo much Pains. That nevertheleſs their High and Mightineſſes live in Hopes that the ſaid Count *d'Avaux*, having ſeen during his Reſidence here, the Sincerity of their Sentiments for the Peace, and their Reſpect and Eſteem for his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty and his Friendſhip, will upon his Return remove all thoſe evil Impreſſions that may have been made upon his ſaid Majeſty, to the Prejudice of their Conduct. That their High and Mightineſſes can truly declare, that they know not of any Cauſe of Jealouſy, they may have given to his ſaid Majeſty ſince the Concluſion of the laſt Peace: That 'tis true they have been forced to arm in their own Defence, but they did not begin to do it till after they ſaw their Barriers in the *Spaniſh Low-Countries*, which had coſt them ſo much Pains and ſo much Money, which are ſo neceſſary for them, and which his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty himſelf thought formerly ſo important to their Republic, poſſeſſed by his Majeſty's Forces; till their Forces, which to remove all Occaſion of Jealouſy, they had recalled, were detained there; and till they had ſeen what great Preparations of War were making in thoſe Parts. That their High and Mightineſſes cannot deny but that beſides the great Preparations which gave them Umbrage, they could not but be very jealous of the ſtrict Union between *France* and *Spain*, and the Effects which they ſee do daily reſult from the ſame, notwithſtanding they had entered into the Treaty of Partition for this Reaſon among others, To prevent the giving of any Jealouſy, by the uniting of too many Dominions. That their High and Mightineſſes formerly declared, That their Opinion of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty was, that whether he began a War or continued the Peace, he would not regulate his Actions according to his Power, but according to Reaſon and Equity; which is ſtill their Opinion, ſince otherwiſe none of his Neighbours could ever be ſecure. That their High and Mightineſſes know the Value of his Majeſty's Friendſhip, for which Reaſon they have always ſought it, and deſire nothing more earneſtly than to preſerve it by all poſſible Means, together with the general Peace, and a reaſonable Security for their State: That if notwithſtanding all their Care, and all the Pains which they have taken to this Effect, they muſt undergo a War againſt their Wills, and contrary to their Inclinations, they cannot charge themſelves with omitting any thing they ought to have done to avoid it; and this will be their Comfort in their Misfortune; with Hopes that God, through his divine Goodneſs, will afford them his Almighty Aſſiſtance. That their High and Mightineſſes cannot forbear ſaying, that they are much concerned to find themſelves accuſed, as if their Men of War, in Conjunction with the *Engliſh*, had affronted his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's Flag, ſeized his Subjects, ſounded his Ports, and fired upon the *French* Veſſels. That their High and Migtineſſes having for his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty a very great Reſpect, they have always endeavoured with all the Circumſpection imaginable to preſerve to themſelves the Honour of his Friendſhip: That if by Accident, or otherwiſe, any of their Subjects may have done any thing to the Prejudice of his ſaid Majeſty or any of his Subjects, they are ready to make all due Reparation, and to give his ſaid Majeſty all the Satisfaction that he can reaſonably deſire. That

though they have no Knowledge of what the *Engliſh* Veſſels may have done in that Particular, nevertheleſs they make no Queſtion but that his Majeſty of *Great Britain* is in the ſame Diſpoſition as their High and Mightineſſes to give his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty reaſonable Satisfaction, in caſe his *Engliſh* Subjects had done any Wrong to the Subjects of *France*. That ſo far as theſe Things may concern their High and Mightineſſes, they never received any Information of any thing done, that could deſerve the Name of an Affront, unleſs the ſame be applied to an Accident that came to their Knowledge, not by Way of a formal Complaint, but indirectly, which happened between one of their Men of War and two *French* Ships, not far from *Genoa*, in the Month of *April* laſt: That the Truth of the Fact, as far as they can learn, is, that a Man of War belonging to this State, called the *Sun*, being Convoy to certain Merchantmen in the *Mediterranean*, and being ſeparated by bad Weather from the Ships under his Protection, and being left alone for ſome Days had Sight off of *Monaco* of a Bark coaſting along the Shore, not knowing of what Nation ſhe was: That the Captain, to the end he might ſpeak with her Crew, and enquire about the Ships that were parted from him, gave the uſual Signal by firing a Gun; upon which the ſaid Bark making the beſt of her Way, he ſent out his Shallop after her: But the Bark's Crew quitted their Veſſel, betook themſelves to their Shallop, and eſcaped aſhore, leaving only two Men aboard, who gave an Account, that it was a *French* Bark, and that their Companions had made their Eſcape, believing that the States Man of War had been a *Turkiſh* Ship. But after the Captain had ſhewed them their Miſtake, the Bark was releaſed; but that a Gun laden with Ball was nevertheleſs fired from the City of *Monaco*. That two Days after the ſame Captain met a little Frigate, and endeavoured to ſpeak with the Ship's Crew for the ſame Reaſon; to which end making up to her, he put out white Colours, and fired a Gun for a Signal, but the Frigate retired under the Walls of *Monaco*, from whence ſeveral Guns were fired upon the Man of War, though for what Reaſon the Captain could never tell. That this Relation containing all their High and Mightineſſes could learn to this Hour of the Matter, ſo inconſiderable an Action, which it ſeems was a Miſtake, ought not in the Opinion of their High and Mightineſſes to be looked on as an Affront offered to his ſaid Majeſty's Flag. That except this, they declare that they do not know that their Men of War ever did any thing that ſo much as reſembled an Affront put upon his ſaid Majeſty's Flag, or the ſeizing his Subjects, ſounding his Ports, or firing upon the *French* Veſſels. That their High and Mightineſſes never having been informed of any ſuch thing, they cannot believe that his Majeſty can have conceived or can retain any Diſpleaſure againſt the Republic for the inconſiderable and accidental Meeting of the forementioned Barks. That as for what remains, their High and Mightineſſes have taken, and always will take Care, religiouſly to obſerve their Treaties, particularly their Treaties with his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty; and ſhall at all Times take thoſe Reſolutions, by which they may preſerve the Honour of his Friendſhip and Affection; and as much as it depends on them, facilitate the general Peace; ſo as they may find their particular Security therein. That it being ſaid more than once in the ſaid Memorial, That their High and Mightineſſes have ſtill Time to reſolve, it would be a Satisfaction to them that the ſaid Count *d'Avaux* ſhould remain here

ſome

ſome time longer, to the end they might have an Opportunity to continue the Conferences for a general Peace and for their private Security, and to bring them to a happy Concluſion: That therefore their High and Mightineſſes before they take their Leaves of the ſaid Count *d'Avaux*, and before they deliver to him their recredential Letter in Anſwer to his ſaid Majeſty's Letter, have taken this Reſolution to ſerve for an Anſwer to his Memorial: And ſo the Extract of the preſent Reſolution ſhall be delivered him by the Agent *Roſenboom*.

Signed,

W. VAN HAREN.

It agrees with the ſaid Regiſter,

F. FAGEL.

A Memorial from his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, preſented by the Count *de Briord*, his Ambaſſador Extraordinary to the States General of the United Provinces, at the *Hague*, *December* 4, 1700. Containing his Reaſons for accepting the late King of *Spain*'s Will, in Favour of the Duke of *Anjou*.

IF the States General ſeem at preſent to be ſuprized, at the King's accepting the Will of the late King of *Spain*, they will in a little Time thank his Majeſty for preferring on this Occaſion the Peace of the Public, to the Advantage of his own Crown. If they take Time to examine, with their uſual Prudence, the infinite Troubles which the Treaty of Partition would produce, that ſame Prudence will oblige them to deſiſt from the Demand, contained in the Memorial which they have put into the Hands of his Majeſty's Ambaſſador. They will confeſs, that the Misfortunes of obtaining it, will be common to all *Europe*; and certainly they will be of Opinion, that there is nothing can be a greater Contradiction, than to abandon the Deſign of the Treaty, for the Sake of adhering to the Terms of it.

For we muſt of Neceſſity at this Conjuncture diſtinguiſh betwixt the one and the other. The Deſign and the Terms were united whilſt the King of *Spain* lived; but the laſt Will of that Prince, and his Death, make ſuch a Difference betwixt them, that the Deſign is abſolutely deſtroyed if the Terms ſtand. The former maintains a general Peace, the latter cauſes an univerſal War. This Obſervation alone makes a true Deciſion, as to what Choice we are to make, in order to conform ourſelves to the principal Object of the Treaty, as explained by the firſt Articles of it, *viz.* 'To maintain the general 'Peace of *Europe*, to preſerve the public Repoſe, and to avoid a new War, by

'an Accommodation of thoſe Diſputes and Differences that may happen upon 'the Subject of the *Spaniſh* Succeſſion, or by the Umbrage of too many Do-'minions being united under one and the ſame Prince.' It was upon ſuch Motives that the King took, with his Allies, the neceſſary Meaſures for preventing a War, which the *Spaniſh* Succeſſion ſeemed unavoidably to threaten.

It was not his Majeſty's Deſign to acquire by a Treaty the Kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily*, the Province of *Guipuſcoa*, and the Duchy of *Lorrain*; his Allies had no Right to thoſe Dominions, and perhaps he might have obtained more conſiderable Advantages by his Arms, if he had deſigned to make uſe of them on the Occaſion of the King of *Spain*'s Death. But his principal End being to maintain the Peace, he treated upon that Foundation alone. He ſuffered the Dauphin to content himſelf with the Share allotted him, in lieu of all his Right to the whole Succeſſion of the Kingdoms of *Spain*. But it happens that the Meaſures then taken, with a Deſign to preſerve the public Peace, produce a quite contrary Effect, and that they engage *Europe* in a new War: If it become neceſſary for preſerving the Peace, to uſe Means different from thoſe that were propoſed for that End. If this new Way occaſion no Prejudice to the Potentates in Alliance with his Majeſty, all the Diſadvantage falls upon himſelf; and if he is willing to ſacrifice his own Intereſts to the general Good of Chriſtendom, it not only depends upon his Majeſty to do it, but he has likewiſe Ground to believe, that his Allies will commend his Moderation, and his Love to Peace, rather than complain of a Change, which the public Welfare requires, and that they will thank him for a Reſolution, which it was impoſſible for him to defer, without expoſing himſelf at the ſame Time to long and bloody Wars, which his Majeſty, in Concert with them, was willing to prevent.

The firſt Appearances of it were already plain enough. The *Spaniards*, being zealous to preſerve their Monarchy entire, made Preparations on all Sides for a Defence. The *Milaneſe*, the Kingdom of *Naples* and *Sicily*, the Provinces, the Places comprehended in the Partition, all of them put themſelves in a Condition, to maintain their Union with the Body of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy. The Nation demanded only a King whom they might lawfully own: And though the Inclinations of all the Dominions of the Crown of *Spain*, did univerſally carry them to deſire a Prince of *France*, the Subjects of that Monarchy would have been loyal to any other Prince appointed by the Will of the late Catholic King, excluſive of the Dauphin's Sons.

They were left at no Uncertainty, but as to the Acceptation, for the late King having at laſt done Juſtice to the true Heirs, their Refuſal would have authorized *Spain* to ſubmit themſelves to the Archduke. No body in all Likelihood will doubt but the Emperor would have accepted the Will. The Succeſſion of *Spain* for his ſecond Son, was the main Deſign of his long Negociations at *Madrid*. His Treaties in the Empire were for that ſame End. He did not refuſe to ſign the Partition but in Hopes of that. It will be hard to perſuade any Man to believe, that when he was juſt ready to reap the Fruits of ſo much Labour, he would be willing to loſe them, and reſt contented with the ſame Offers that he had conſtantly rejected.

Thus

Thus the Archduke becoming King of *Spain* by the Conſent of the whole Nation, there muſt be a Neceſſity, in order to execute the Treaty, to conquer the Kingdoms and Dominions reſerved for the Share of the Dauphin. There would be no Room left to alledge the Injury done to the lawful Heirs, for the *Spaniards* had owned their Right. There muſt be a Neceſſity of attacking a Prince declared Succeſſor of all the Dominions depending on the Monarchy.

His new Subjects being accuſtomed to Loyalty toward their Sovereigns, being informed of the Refuſal of the true Heirs, would be as zealous for him as they had always been for their preceeding Kings. The States-General being informed by the King of all his Steps for the Execution of the Treaty, know that his Majeſty did openly ſolicit the Princes of *Europe* to enter into the ſame, and that he never attempted the Loyalty of the Subjects of the late Catholic King, by any ſecret Methods. He had not any Intelligence, neither in the Kingdoms of *Sicily* or *Naples*, nor in any of the Dominions comprehended in the Share of the Dauphin. The favourable Opportunity was the only Way to attack them. But War being once commenced, after having refuſed the Juſtice which the late Catholic King would have done to the Princes of *France*, it would have been hard to have put an End to it. A King in Poſſeſſion of all the *Spaniſh* Monarchy, without any Conditions, would have been reduced to great Extremities before he had parted with the Kingdoms of *Sicily* and *Naples*, the Province of *Guipuſcoa*, the Duchy of *Milan*, and the other Countries and Places of which the Share of the Dauphin was to have been compoſed.

It is to no Purpoſe to enquire what the Conſequences of that War might have been. It was unavoidable; and this Certainty is ſufficient to ſhew that the ſage Precautions taken for maintaining an inviolable Peace in *Europe*, were perfectly overturned by the very Methods, that were judged only proper for entertaining it, acknowledging the Inconveniencies of a War, the Uncertainties, the Misfortunes which it draws after it; had he accepted the Treaty, and renounced the Will, he muſt have obliged the Archduke to deſiſt from his Right, and to content himſelf with the Share ſtipulated for him.

It was certainly in the Emperor's Power to have done ſo, but his former Refuſals, puſhed on to the Extremity, will they ſuffer any Man to believe, that that was his Reſolution, even though he had pretended to it? Would the public Peace have been any further aſcertained by it? The Duke of *Savoy*, he was no way engaged in any Treaty, and he is called to the Succeſſion by this Will, failing the Princes of *France* and the Archduke: What Offer conſiderable enough could there have been made to him, to prevent his attempting to have his new Rights made valid, or to ballance the Advantages that he might reaſonably hope for from them.

It muſt not be ſaid, that the Confederate Powers would have ſubſtituted him to the Archduke; that is not the Caſe, ſince it is ſuppoſed that the Emperor would have accepted the Treaty, which the Exchange propoſed to him, and which is infinitely below what Futurity offered him; and would not his particular Intereſt have obliged him to make the Will valid in favour of that Prince who ſhould thus conform himſelf to it?

In

In fine, the Diſpoſition made by his Catholic Majeſty did ſtill produce new Troubles in the Choice of a Prince to ſubſtitute in the Room of the Archduke.

Since the States-General inſiſt upon that ſecret Article of the Treaty, they muſt have probably conſidered what Prince was in a Condition to ſubject the *Spaniards* to his Obedience, and would have been willing, againſt the Mind of the Nation, to aſcend the Throne of *Spain*, and maintain the Remainders of the diſmembered Monarchy, againſt the Enterprizes of the Archduke, authorized by the Will of the late King, and againſt thoſe of the Duke of *Savoy*, concerned to maintain that laſt Will. It does no way appear that ſo many Differences could have been eaſily accommodated, without giving the leaſt Trouble to the general Peace. On the contrary, there is nothing to be foreſeen but an univerſal War. Therefore there's a Neceſſity, in order to preſerve the Peace, to make uſe of Methods different from thoſe that were propoſed at the Signing the Treaty of Partition.

The moſt natural, that which is moſt agreeable for maintaining the general Peace, and the only juſt Method, conſiſts in the Reſolution taken by the King to accept the Will of the late Catholic King. If any Prince have a Right to oppoſe the Diſpoſitions of that Will, there needs no more but to read them, to be convinced that this Right belongs only to the Dauphin. But ſince he is willing to deſiſt from his Pretenſions in favour of his Son, the Will is executed without Trouble, without Effuſion of Blood, and the People of *Spain* receive with Peace a Prince whom his Birth, the Will of the late King, and the unanimous Deſire of all the Dominions belonging to the Monarchy call to the Crown.

If any Potentate ſhould undertake to attack ſo many Rights, they would juſtly be branded with the odious Name of Diſturber of the public Repoſe, and begin an unjuſt War, without any Appearance of Succeſs. Then if this War ſhould appear unjuſt, when undertaken by Potentates, who think it their Intereſt to traverſe the Advantages of a Prince of *France*, would it be conſiſtent with the King's Equity, and with his tender Affection to the King of *Spain*, to turn his Arms againſt a Nation, for no other Reaſon but becauſe they offered their new King, his Majeſty's Grandſon, the Crown of one of the moſt potent Monarchies of *Europe*, and begged of him as the greateſt of Favours to accept it. The high Dignity of Kings does not excuſe them from conſidering whether the Wars they undertake be juſt. Then what Reaſons could his Majeſty (who is known to be a juſt Prince) offer for reſuming Arms, to divide a Monarchy which is ſettled entirely upon the lawful Heir.

There was a Deſign to deprive him of his Rights. The Emperor looking upon himſelf to be aſſured of the Intentions of the late King of *Spain*, flattered himſelf with Hopes of enjoying the whole Succeſſion. Juſtice, Honour, the Intereſt of the Crown, and paternal Affection, equally obliged the King to maintain with his Power the Rights of the Dauphin. His former Succeſs was ſufficient to ſhew what was to be feared from the Efforts of his Arms. The King of *England*, and the States-General, were equally deſirous to prevent the War. The King conſented to it. The Dauphin was very willing to abandon the greateſt Part of his Rights, on Condition of having the Dominions allotted to his Share aſcertained to him. The equal Deſire on all Hands to maintain

the

the Peace, produc'd the Treaty; and thus it was, that by ſage Precautions taken during the Life of a Prince, whoſe frequent and dangerous Diſtempers, foretold an approaching Death; it was believed, that Juſtice was done in part to the true Heirs, and that at the ſame Time a ſolid Foundation was laid for a Peace in *Europe*.

The Diſputes raiſed, as to the Validity of the Renunciation of the late Queen, ſerved for a Motive to this Accommodation. In Effect, it had been of no Uſe if the Nullity of that Renunciation had been acknowledged as fully, during the late Catholic King's Life, as it is declared by his Will.

In ſhort, it was neceſſary, that the King ſhould explain himſelf poſitively, whether he would accept the Will, ſuch as it is, in Favour of his Grandſon, or whether he abſolutely rejected it. There was no Medium, no Expedient or Change to be propoſed. His Majeſty accepting the Will, the Rights of the whole Succeſſion paſs uncontrovertibly to the King of *Spain*, he is not at Liberty to ſeparate them, to accept one Part of the Succeſſion and reject the other.

The rejecting of the Will tranſported all the Rights to the Arch-Duke; nor could the true Heirs in that Caſe have had lawful Reaſon to complain of any Injuſtice done them. By Conſequence, be it how it will, had his Majeſty been minded to maintain the Conditions of the Treaty, he muſt have been obliged to attack a living Prince, Poſſeſſor of the Crown of *Spain*; and it is certain that the Meaſures he had taken with the Allies, related only to the Diviſion of the Succeſſion of a Prince whoſe Death appeared to be very near.

Since the War muſt have been unavoidable, and that it would have been unjuſt if the King had fix'd his Reſolution to keep preciſely to the Terms of the Treaty of Partition: The States-General have no Reaſon to complain that his Majeſty hath prevented it by accepting the Will, except that Reſolution occaſion them ſome Prejudice; but hitherto there's none to be perceived. The only View they had in entering into that Treaty, and their ſole End was to aſcertain the general Peace. We owe them the Juſtice to declare, that they ſtipulated no particular Advantage to themſelves, no Province, no Place, no Sea-Port depending on the Monarchy of *Spain*, either in the old or new World, no Article for facilitating their Commerce. They, properly ſpeaking, acted the Part of diſintereſted Mediators betwixt the King and the Emperor, they were willing to pacify the Troubles which the reciprocal Differences about the Succeſſion ſeem'd likely to produce in a little Time: If the Emperor had been influenced with the ſame Deſire of maintaining the Peace, and had ſigned the Treaty, the Engagements then entered into betwixt the Parties only intereſted in the Succeſſion, would have been different, but there was no Treaty except with the Mediators: and the States being inform'd of all the King's Steps with relation to the Treaty, know how uſeleſs all the Inſtances made at *Vienna* in his Name were. They know alſo that the Emperor being perſuaded that the Arch-Duke would be called to the whole Succeſſion of the Kingdoms of *Spain*, would not engage in the Partition of the Dominions of the Monarchy, but in ſo far as it might have contributed to extend his Authority in *Italy*. Let them complain then of the Emperor and his continued Refuſals. If they be troubled at his Majeſty's accepting the Will, which, tho' he has Ground to believe from the Memorial they have put into the Hands of his Ambaſſador, yet he is willing

ling to ſuſpend his Judgment, until ſuch Time as they make more ſerious Reflections upon this great Event. He knows the Wiſdom of the Republick's Councils. All Things being well examined, the States-General will perhaps find, that ſo many conſiderable Dominions being added to *France*, according to the Diſpoſition of the Treaty might have given juſt Jealouſy of her Power, and if it depended upon them to make Choice, the Reaſons appear ſtrong that they ſhould prefer to the Execution of the Treaty, according to the Terms, the preſent State of the Monarchy of *Spain* governed by a Prince of *France*, without the diſmembering of its Dominions. The People of *England*, and *Holland*, were already prejudiced, and endeavouring to prevent the Deciſions of the Government on this Occaſion: Their Complaints of the uniting the Kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily* to the Crown of *France*, did openly diſcover their Fears concerning the Trade of the *Mediterranean*.

Tho' the King of *Spain* be a Prince of *France*, his high Birth, his Education and Pattern, inſtruct him what he owes to the Welfare of his Subjects, and the Intereſt of his Crown. Thoſe Conſiderations will always have the chief Place in his Mind, they will incline him to augment the Splendor of his Monarchy, and farther, the tender Affection of the King to his Catholic Majeſty, would certainly be the ſtrongeſt Barrier, and the moſt ſolid Aſſurance that *Europe*, could deſire. If his Majeſty's Intention to maintain the Peace would allow the leaſt Jealouſy of his Deſigns, there was much more Reaſon to take Umbrage at the reuniting of too many Dominions under one and the ſame Prince, if the Treaty could have been executed.

Thoſe Reflections will probably convince the States-General, that Juſtice, the Benefits of Peace, and the very Deſign of the Treaty would not allow the King to take other Reſolutious than that of accepting the Will of the late King of *Spain*; that it ſuits the particular Intereſts of the Republick of *Holland*, and that it is agreeable to thoſe of all *Europe*; the Misfortunes then would be general, were it poſſible that his Majeſty, after this Declaration, could have any Regard to the Inſtances contained in their laſt Memorial, and in Truth he is perſuaded that they never had any Deſign to obtain the Effect of it. They are too clear-ſighted to have formed Vows ſo contrary to their Light, and to the true Intereſt of their Republick, yet if they were capable of forgetting them ſo far as to wiſh effectually, that his Majeſty would execute the Conditions of the Treaty, they would have ſhewed the certain Means of effecting the Partition without a War, to the general Satisfaction of all *Europe*. They ſhould at leaſt have named the Princes that were ready to join in it, the Troops for being Guarantees of the Articles of it: They ſhould have mention'd thoſe that the Republick of *Holland* was to furniſh by Sea, or Land. But their Memorial contained no ſuch Thing. The Lords the States propoſe only to grant the Emperor the Term of two Months, according to the ſecret Article of the Treaty: Have they already forgot, that he hath had ſeven Months Time to deliberate in? That his Anſwers to the different Inſtances made to him contain'd an abſolute Refuſal to ſign the Partition? Let them examine, what would be the Fruit of that new Propoſal? The Emperor refuſed the Partition upon the ſingle Hopes that the King of *Spain* would call the Arch-Duke to the Succeſſion. This Hope was vain, and the Effects have verified it to be ſo. In the meantime,

time, if that was capable of ſuſpending the Emperor's Reſolutions, what would not the Certainty do, which he has at preſent to procure the whole Succeſſion of *Spain* to the Arch-Duke: For, in ſhort the Delay of two Months, propoſed on this Occaſion by the States, would with Reaſon have been looked upon by the *Spaniards* as the King's rejecting the Will of his Catholic Majeſty. There was no Reaſon to demand of them to wait for an Anſwer ſo long, and beſides this Anſwer, according to the Terms of the Treaty, could be no other than a Refuſal. Thus the Regency of *Spain* ſhould have been obliged, in Conformity to the Intentions of the late Catholic King to devolve the Crown upon the Arch-Duke, and the Emperor ſhould obtain by this Delay (which my Lords the States propoſe) what he hath ſought after with ſo much Labour; and thus under the ſpecious Pretext of executing the Treaty, they would aſcertain for ever the Grandeur and Power of the Houſe of *Auſtria*.

His Majeſty is willing to believe that this was not their Deſign, they know too well that it is their Intereſt to merit, by their good Conduct the Honour of his Affection, and the Continuation of his good Will. He aſſures himſelf that they will reflect more than they have done upon the Teſtimonies which he gives of his Application to the Maintenance of the public Peace: and upon the Sacrifice which he is willing to make on that Account of conſiderable Dominions that were to be united to his Crown, that they will change their Complaints into Thanks, and congratulate the King of *Spain* as ſoon as poſſible upon his Acceſſion to the Crown, and that they will endeavour to merit of the King the Good-Will and Protection that they and their Anceſtors have received of his Majeſty and his Predeceſſors.

DEAREST great Friends, Allies and Confederates, the Peace of *Europe* is ſo firmly eſtabliſhed by the juſt Diſpoſal which the late King of *Spain*, our deareſt and well-beloved Brother hath made of his Kingdoms and Dominions, in Favour of our deareſt and well-beloved Grandſon *Philip* V. now K. of *Spain*, that we doubt not of your being glad at his Acceſſion to the Throne. We have already made known unto him the true Affection which we bear you, and ſince we are perſuaded that his Sentiments will be agreeable to ours, the ſtrict Correſpondence which ſhall henceforward be maintained betwixt our Crown and that of *Spain*, will give us new Opportunities, of ſhewing you how much we intereſt ourſelves in what concerns you, and the ſincere Friendſhip that we entertain for you; the Count *De Briord*, our Ambaſſador Extraordinary, will give you new Aſſurances of it; and in the mean time, we pray God, that he may take you into his holy Protection.

Wrote at *Verſailles*, *Nov.* 29, 1700. *Signed*, LOUIS.

I The Subſcriber, Ambaſſador extraordinary of *France*, having received Orders from my Maſter to give your Lordſhips the Letter that his Majeſty hath wrote to you, to notify the Acceſſion of K. *Philip* V. his Grandſon to the Monarchy of *Spain*, and to communicate to you at the ſame time the juſt Motives that obliged him to accept the Will of the late King of *Spain*, which are contained in the Memorial join'd to the King's Letter. The ſaid Ambaſſador hath cauſed the Letter and Memorial to be delivered to M. *de Haren*, Preſident for

this Week. I wiſh your Lordſhips may make all the Reflections upon it ſuitable to the preſent State of Affairs, and to the Good and Advantage of this Republick, which may and ought to rely upon the Aſſurances, which he hath Order from the King his Maſter to give your Lordſhips of the Continuation of his Friendſhip, and of his Majeſty's ſincere Deſire to maintain the Alliance and good Correſpondence which he hath with this State. The ſaid Ambaſſador is perſuaded that your Lordſhips will correſpond with the favourable Intentions of the King his Maſter.

At the *Hague*, *Decemb.* 4, 1700. *Signed* BRIORD.

The King of *France*'s Memorial delivered to the States-General by Monſieur *D'Avaux*, upon the taking Poſſeſſion of the Towns in *Flanders*. 1701.

The Memorial delivered to the States-General, by the Count D'Avaux.

THE Proceedings of the King my Maſter ever ſince the Death of the King of *Spain*, have manifeſted the ſincere Deſire which his Majeſty hath of preſerving the publick Repoſe, and of keeping up a perfect Amity with my Lords the States-General. If they have been alarm'd at the Reſolution which he has taken of accepting the Will of that Prince, his Majeſty, upon enquiring into the Grounds of their Fear, has forgot nothing that might remove it. He has inform'd them, as his Allies, of the juſt Reaſons he had of looking upon the laſt Will of his late Catholic Majeſty, as the Fouudation of the Peace of *Europe*. The ſtrongeſt Aſſurances of his Affection for them have been added to the Declaration he has given them of his Intentions: But theſe very Aſſurances tho' renewed upon all Occaſions, have not been able to overcome the Silence of my Lords

Memoir preſente aux E. Gen. par le Comte *D'Avaux*.

LES Demarches du Roy depuis la mort du Roy d'Eſpagne, ont fait connoitre le veritable deſir que Sa Majeſté a de conſerver le repos public, & d'Entretenir une parfaitte intelligence avec Mſrs. les Etats Generaux. S'ils ont eſté alarmez de la Reſolution qu' elle a pris d'accepter le teſtament de ce Prince; Sa Majeſte examinant les Motifs de leur crainte, n'a rien oublié pour la diſſiper. Elle les à informé comme ſes alliez des juſtes raiſons qu'elle avoit de conſiderer les dernieres diſpoſitions de feu Roy Catolique comme le fondement de la paix de l'Europe. Les plus fortes Aſſurances de ſon Affection pour eux, ont eſté jointes a l'Explication qu'elle leur a donne de ſes Intentions; mais ces meſmes Aſſurances renouvelles en toute, occaſions, n'ont pu vaincre le Silence de Meſſieurs les Etats Generaux n'y les determiner a repondre a la lettre que Sa Majeſté leur avoit eſcrite pour leur donner part de l'avenement du Roy ſon petit fils au Throne d'Eſpagne. Il

Lords the States-General, nor to prevail upon them to return an Anſwer to the Letter which his Majeſty wrote to them to acquaint them of the King his Grandſon's Acceſſion to the Crown of *Spain*.

It is needleſs to remind them of the firſt Demand they made to his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty. In ſhort, his Patience has been ſo great as to let them ſay and believe, that the Condition of his Forces would not permit him to begin a new War. His Majeſty, wholly taken up with the Care of preventing it, has not been diverted from this his Care by ſuch Diſcourſes: And his conſtant Deſire of maintaining the Peace has inclined him graciouſly to receive the two laſt Memorials, ſent to his Majeſty in the Name of the Republick. And whereas theſe Memorials have given him Hopes that the States-General would effectually agree with him about the Methods of ſecucuring their Repoſe, he has diſpatched the Count *D'Avaux* to hear at the *Hague* the Propoſals they ſhall make to him.

But tho' the King has quietly taken notice of the extreme Jealouſy which the Government of the United Provinces have openly ſhewed of the Sincerity of his Majeſty's Intentions; he cannot tell how to diſapprove of the Jealouſy which the Catholic King has of them, being ſo reaſonably founded on their Conduct ever ſince his Acceſſion to the *Spaniſh* Crown. The Memorials of his Ambaſſador, and the Letter of that Prince remaining without an Anſwer, the conſtant Refuſal of the States-General to own him as King of *Spain*, and this Reſolution ſhewn, upon even the leaſt Occaſions (the Particulars of which 'tis needleſs to repeat) can never eſtabliſh a [mutual] Confidence.

Il eſt inutile de rapeller la Primiere Demande qu'ils ont faitte a Sa Majeſté. Enfin ſa Patience a eſté juſques aupoint de faire dire & delaiſſer croire que l'eſtat de ſes forces, ne luy permettoit pas de Commencer une nouvelle guerre. Sa Majeſté uniquement occupée du Soin de la prevenir n'apas eſté detourné de ce meſme ſon par de tels diſcours; & ſan attention continuelle au maintien de la paix, luy a fait recevoir encore avec plaiſir, les deux derniers memoires remis a Sa Majeſté au nom de la Republique Comme ils luy donnoient lieu de croire que Mſrs. les Etats Generaux vouloient Effectivement convenir avec elle des Moyens d'aſſurer leur repos, Elle a fait partir le Comte d'Avaux, pour ecouter a la Haye les propoſitions qu'ils auraient a luy faire.

Mais en meſme Temps que le Roy a veu tranquilement l'extreme defiance que le gouvernement de Provinces unies a fait ouvertement paroitre des ſinceres intentions de ſa Majeſté, elle n'á pu de ſaprouver celle du Roy Catolique juſtement fondée ſur le Conduit qu'ils ont tenue depuis ſon avennement a la Couronne d'Eſpagne. Les Memoires de ſon Ambaſſadeur & la lettre de ce Prince demeurez ſans reſponſe, le refus Conſtant des Eſtats Generaux de le reconnoitre en qualité de Roy d'Eſpagne, Cette Reſolution Marquée juſques dans les moindres occaſions dont le detail ſeroit inutile, ne pouvoient etablir la Confiance.

The Prudence and Wiſdom of their Government does hardly allow any Credit to be given to the Reports that are ſpread abroad of a Project on foot of offering to acknowledge that Prince, upon Condition that he diſmembering the *Low Countries* from the Monarchy of *Spain*, would yield them up to the Archduke *Charles*. There is little Likelihood that they ſhould imagine that the King of *Spain*, the moſt Chriſtian King's Grandſon, ſhould at the Beginning of his Reign buy Peace of them at ſuch a Price. But though theſe Reports ſhould be abſolutely falſe; though it were true that no extraordinary Proviſion of Arms and Ammunition, nor any other Preparation for War, was made in *Holland*; nay, though there were no Negociation on foot, for entering into new Alliances; yet it were impoſſible that the King of *Spain* ſhould with any Patience ſee the Towns of the *Low Countries* filled with thoſe Troops, whoſe Maſters will not acknowledge him as the lawful Sovereign of thoſe very Places.

La ſageſſe de leur gouvernement permet difficilement d'ajouter foy aux bruits repandus d'un projet formé d'offrir au Prince de la reconnoitre, a condition que ſeperant les pays bas de la Monarchie d'Eſpagne il les cederoit a l' Archiduc Charles. Il y apeu d' apparence qu'ils ayent cru que le Roy d'Eſpagne petit fils du Roy, voulut au commencement de ſon regne acheter d'eux la paix a ce prix: Mais quand ces bruits ſeroient abſolument faux; quand il le ſeroit qu'on fit aucun amas extraordinaire d'armes et de munition, aucun preparatif en Hollande pour la guerre; quand meſme il n'y auroit nulle negociation pour de nouvelles alliances, il eſtoit impoſſible que le Roy d' Eſpagne viſt ſans peine les places des pays bas remplies de troupes dont les maitres ne veulent pas le reconnoitre pour Souverain legitime de ces meſmes places.

The Refuſal of my Lords the States-General, has therefore obliged him to apply himſelf to his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, and to deſire of him thoſe Supplies which he has given him: But his Majeſty declares, that after he has taken thoſe Precautions, which are abſolutely neceſſary to eſtabliſh the lawful Authority of the King his Grandſon, he is entirely diſpoſed to agree immediately upon ſuch Terms as may ſecure the Peace.

Le refus de Meſſieurs les Etats Generaux l'a donc oblige de s'adreſſer au Roy et de luy demander les ſecours que ſa Majeſté vient de luy donner; mais Elle declare qu' apres avoir pris les precautions abſolument neceſſaires pour eſtablir l' autorité legitime du Roy ſon petit Fils. Elle eſt entierement diſpoſée a convenir inceſſament des moyens d' aſſurer la paix.

The public Tranquility therefore depends upon my Lords the States-General, which will be ſoon confirmed, and rendered laſting, if it is true that they ſo earneſtly deſire it, as they teſtify in the laſt Memorial which the Earl of *Mancheſter*, the Ambaſſador of

Ainſy la tranquilité publique depend de Mrs. les Etats Generaux; Elle ſera bien toſt affermie pour long temps, s'il eſt vray qu'ils la deſirent auſſy ardamment qu'ils le temoignent dans le dernier memoire que le Comte de Mancheſter Ambaſſadeur du Roy d'Angleterre a remis de

of the King of *England*, has delivered in their Behalf. If the Treaty of *Ryſwick*, hitherto punctually obſerved, is not ſufficient to remove from them all Occaſion of Alarms, both with reſpect to their Security, and their Trade, the King deſires that they would make new Propoſals to him, but withal ſuch as are equitable, and ſuch as his Majeſty may fairly allow of. The Time is precious, and my Lords the States-General, if they are heartily deſirous of Peace, ought to beware of giving any Occaſion to believe, that under a pretended Appearance of a Negociation, their real Intention is to obtain the Delays which are neceſſary to prepare themſelves for a War. The Conſtitution of their Government, the waiting for the Anſwers of the King of *England*, can be no Hindrance to their explaining themſelves. They muſt needs be informed of the Intentions of that Prince, they muſt needs know, that he is inclined to maintain the Peace, ſince they communicate to his Ambaſſador the Meaſures which they take to obtain it.

His Majeſty being perſuaded that they are ſuch as are conformable to the Intereſt which they have in contributing to the public Repoſe, aſſures himſelf likewiſe, that they will immediately declare themſelves in ſuch a manner, that all Occaſion of Jealouſy being removed, he may continue to ſhew them upon all Occaſions the Tokens of that real Eſteem and Affection which he has always born to their Republick.

de leur part. Si le traitté de Ryſwick Ponctuellement obſervé juſqu' a preſent, ne ſuffit pas pour leur oſter tout ſujet d' allarmes & ſur leur ſureté & ſur leur Commerce, ſe Roy veut bien qu'ils luy faſſent de Nouvelles Propoſitions ; Mais equitables & telles que ſa Majeſté les puiſſes admettre. Le Temps eſt precieux et Meſſieurs les Etats Generaux doivent eviter s'ils veulent ſincerement la paix, de laiſſer croire que ſous une feinte apparence de negotiation, leur veritable intention ne ſoit que d'obtenir les delays neceſſaires pour ſe preparer a la guerre. La Conſtitution de leur Gouvernement, l' attente des reſponſes du Roy d' Angleterre, ne les Emperche plus de s'expliquer : ils doivent eſtre inſtruits des intentions de ce Prince, ils doivent ſçavoir qu'il eſt porté a maintenir la paix puis qu'ils confient a ſon Ambaſſadeur les reſolutions qu'ils prennent pour y parvenir.

La Majeſté perſuadee qu'elles ſont conformes al' Intereſt qu'ils ont de contribuer au repos publit, s' aſſeure auſſy que bientoſt ils s'expliqueront de maniere que tout ſujet de deffiance venant a ceſſer, Elle pourra continuer a leur donner en touttes occaſions des marques de l' eſtime et de l' affection veritable qu'elle a Toujours conſervée pour leur Republique.

Some

Some Reflections by Way of Anſwer to a Memorial of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, preſented to the States by the Count *de Briord*, Ambaſſador of *France*, on Occaſion of the Elevation of the Duke *d'Anjou* to the Crown of *Spain*, contrary to the Treaty of Partition lately concluded betwixt *France*, *England*, and *Holland*. 1701.

THE ſaid Ambaſſador acquaints the States, 'That the chief and main 'End of the Treaty of Partition was to preſerve the Peace of *Europe*, 'and to prevent the uniting too many Kingdoms and States to one and the 'ſame Crown (meaning that of *France*). That the late King and Subjects of '*Spain* being unwilling to have their Kingdom diſmembered, the late King 'by his laſt Will hath declared the Duke *d'Anjou* his univerſal Heir; by rea-'ſon whereof, the Treaty of Partition becomes impracticable, for that it will 'tend to the Effuſion of Blood, and therefore deſtroys the Deſign of the 'Treaty, which was the Preſervation of the Peace of *Europe*; and upon theſe 'Conſiderations rejects the ſame.

Anſw. By the Treaty of Partition, both *France* and the Emperor were to be ſatisfied in Part, as to their Pretenſions to the Dominions of *Spain*, the ſame being divided betwixt them. But why the *French* King can think the Emperor will better bear the utter Excluſion of the Houſe of *Auſtria* from its primitive Right, and the Archduke, that of the Partition, than the *French* King would (had the Will favoured the Archduke) have ſuffered the Denial of thoſe Dominions and States ſtipulated for *France* in the Partition. How this Expedient tends to the Preſervation of the Peace of *Europe*, paſſeth my Invention: But I am apt to believe the contrary is maintained by Way of Parallel.

I ſhould be glad to be convinced by Reaſon, how the *French* King will more ſpare the Effuſion of Blood, by maintaining all the Dominions of *Spain* againſt his own ſolemn Act, and the united Powers of *Europe*, than the ſuppoſed Difficulties he was to have met with from the Archduke in enterpriſing the ſtipulated States (which already ſeem by Nature to be ſeparated from *Spain*) in Conjunction with the united Force of *England* and *Holland*, without whoſe Conſent, *Spain* would be ſo far from ſuccouring them, it could ſcarce receive Intelligence of their being attacked.

It appears plainly that *France* was ſo far from being ſurpriſed at theſe Difficulties, upon entering into the Treaty, and particularly as to the ſhedding of Blood, That the *French* King muſt in a Manner confeſs himſelf guilty of wilful Murder; elſe why doth he, by the Fourteenth Article of the Treaty, provide in caſe of Oppoſition made by the States agreed to belong to the Dauphin, that

that the united Powers of *France*, *England* and *Holland* ſhould mutually aſſiſt one another by Force of Arms to enterprize the ſame.

What do the *French* mean by theſe Words, (*viz. The Deſign and Terms were united while the King of* Spain *lived*:) except his Intent by the Treaty was only to make Advantage of it during the King of *Spain*'s Life, by loudly proclaiming in the Ears of his Catholic Majeſty, and the Council of *Spain*, That the Monarchy was diſmembered? What were his vehement preſſing other Potentates to enter Guarantiès of the Treaty, but to amuſe *Spain*, and force them to think of new Reſolutions, for preſerving the Monarchy entire? The Archduke hath no Fleets to diſpute the Power of thoſe Princes engaged in the Partition; therefore we may conclude, it was not Choice but Neceſſity drove *Spain* to apply themſelves to a Prince of *France*, where Treaties have no Sanctuary, nor Ambition any Bounds.

His Chriſtian Majeſty is for carrying on the Banter yet further; he would have the States believe, Though the Terms or Letter of the Treaty are broken, yet the Condition remains (as to the Umbrage of too many States devolving upon one and the ſame Crown, by the Acceſſion of the Duke *D'Anjou* to that of *Spain*) and therefore to keep the Ballance of *Europe* even.

Anſ. Now in this Point, I think the Monſieur is kinder to *Europe* than he deſigned; for he gives us ſome figurative Reſemblance of the Terms or Notion of a diſtinct titular Kingſhip of *Spain*: By his former Paragraphs, he deſtroyed both Terms and Deſign of the Treaty. But I ſhall not be well ſatisfied till he quits his Deſignings; whilſt the Ballance of *Europe* is to be ſecured by a Shadow only, the *French* enjoy the Subſtance, Deſign, and Spirit too; not of the Treaty of Partition, but what is worſe, the Union of two Crowns, *viz. France* and *Spain*. I ſhall take but little Pains to prove the Suggeſtion, I am apt to believe the Ambaſſador's own Words imply one and the ſame thing, which are as follows, *viz.*

'The tender Affection of the King to his Catholic Majeſty, would certainly 'be the ſtrongeſt Barrier, and the moſt ſolid Aſſurance that *Europe* could deſire.' In another Part of the Memorial his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty tells the States, 'We have already made known unto him (meaning the Catholic King) the true 'Affection which we bear you; and ſince we are perſuaded, that his Sentiments 'will be agreeable to ours, the ſtrict Correſpondence which ſhall henceforwards 'be maintained betwixt our Crown and that of *Spain*, will give us new Op'portunities of ſhewing you, how much we intereſt ourſelves in what concerns 'you.'

The *French* King now begins to change his Style; now the Cards are dealed, he hath no more Occaſion to ſhuffle them; henceforwards we ſhall hear nothing but of the irreſiſtible Power of the two Crowns to menace and diſturb the States of *Europe*; and this he doth not forbear telling you in another Part of the ſame Memorial, *viz.*

'If any Potentate ſhould undertake to attack ſo many Rights, they would 'juſtly be branded with the odious Name of Diſturbers of the public Repoſe, 'and begin an unjuſt War without any Appearance of Succeſs.'

His moſt Chriſtian Majeſty will very ſuddenly apply himſelf to *Europe* in the Doctrine of Paſſive Obedience: The great Correſpondence he pretends ſhall

be

be maintained betwixt the two Crowns, is what *Europe* moſt feared, and well hoped had been prevented, by the Treaty of Partition. But what Artifice muſt the *French* King uſe to perſuade the Potentates of *Europe*, That the tender Affection of his Chriſtian Majeſty to his Catholic Majeſty, will be the ſtrongeſt Barrier and ſolemn Aſſurance that *Europe* can deſire: In this, I confeſs myſelf to be much at a Stand, unleſs he means the Potentates of *Europe* are to have no Peace, but through the Interceſſion of his Catholic Majeſty to that of *France*. If this muſt be the Event from the unhappy Conjunctions of the two Crowns (or rather evil Planets, I may ſay, from the Effects) the Price of this Peace, I fear, will coſt nothing leſs than the Extirpation of the Proteſtant Religion, Loſs of Trade, and the entire Subjection of *Europe*. Now in caſe this Olive-Branch will produce no better Fruit to *Europe*, I think, without Diſpute, we ought to ſtock up the very Root from whence it ſprings: But to this End it will be held neceſſary to untye this *Gordian* Knot, it is very improbable it will diſſolve of itſelf; or at leaſt imprudent for *Europe* to ſtay to expect that Iſſue, we muſt uſe Means, the preſent Expedient propoſed is that of Love, The Charms of the Archdutcheſs.

Object. Now this is preſumed will be but a Cure in part; this may lull the Emperor aſleep for a while: But this excludes the Proteſtant Intereſt of *Europe*. By this Alliance, you only give *Rome* leiſure to enterprize upon the Proteſtant Intereſt her damnable Practices: Then inſtead of expecting the Armies of the Emperor to divert upon the *Rhine* and in *Italy*, the Storm that may threaten us, we may hear of them entertaining the Proteſtant Princes of *Germany:* We muſt likewiſe expect at the ſame time, *St. Germains* will be Trump in *England*, and *Madrid* in *Holland*; ſo that this Remedy ſeems as bad as the Diſeaſe itſelf. So that we are not to let the Emperor's Spirits ſink for Want of Succours, our only Recourſe at preſent ſeems to be, to the Sword of the Archduke in Conjunction with the Powers of *Europe*, to cut this ſtrong Bond made up by the Myſtery of Iniquity.

If any object, That all Attempts upon *Spain* are to be ſuſpended, leſt by that Means you open a Door to the *French* Troops to poſſeſs themſelves of all the ſtrong Holds, and ſo conſequently render the Enterprize upon *Spain* impracticable. I ſhall prove this Argument of no Weight.

For, to me there ſeems little Difference, whether the *French* Troops are already entered, or will do when there is Occaſion; if we fear Oppoſition, we may then as well lay down our Army, and cry *Peccavi:* If the Enemy once knows we dare not ſtrike, we muſt expect to meet with greater Provocations ſtill, (both Knocks and Kicks). But it is hard we want greater to illuminate our Underſtandings, or Senſe to diſcover the Danger we are in, if by ſo notorious an Act of Perfidy, the *French* King at an Inſtant ſwallows up the greateſt Monarchy in *Europe* as one ſingle Bait: Methinks we ſhould not think it long, ere we may expect it to come to our own Turn; for, as I take it, the Queſtion will ſhortly be, who muſt be firſt devoured? And though it is agreed on all Hands, that *France* and *Spain* united are very potent, yet we are not to think them omnipotent nor omnipreſent; ſo that it matters not whether the Seat of War be in *New Spain*, or *Old Spain*, or in *France* itſelf; for, as long as the Force

Force is joint, they must be contested by the like or greater Force of the united Powers of *Europe*.

And further, the *French* King's Jugglings are such, that he spares not to abuse his neareſt Kinsman and Ally, the Duke of *Savoy*, at the same Time he would have him put an ineſtimable Value upon his new Right, (as he terms it) which is a Claim in Remainder to the Dominions of *Spain*, after two Princes of *France*, and the Archduke, and their Issue. He forbears not telling you, that *France* hath the entire Execution of the Will; and though the two Princes of *France* die without Issue, is it to be thought that the *French* King, who now only in regard to the Peace of *Europe*, suffers the Duke *D'Anjou* to anticipate the Right of the Dauphin and Duke of *Burgundy*: I say, will he not then use the same Argument, and tell them how inconsistent it is with his Justice to suffer such a Breach upon his own House? Is it likely, when the *French* are in actual Possession, they will surrender at Discretion, after they have contested with the Force of *Europe*. If the Archduke can use no other Process but that of his Sword, can the Duke of *Savoy* think himself in a better Posture to prosecute his Title when he is bound Hand and Foot? When the *French* are once possessed of *Milan*, can he think himself more at Liberty than a Man that is kept Prisoner in his own House, when all the Doors are made fast upon him? So that we may necessarily conclude, the Care the Duke of *Savoy* ought to have of his present Estate, will very much imbitter the pleasurable Thoughts the *French* King would have him conceive in that of his contingent Succession, when *French* Troops are to become his only Guaranties for Livery of Seizin.

Now I would not be so understood, as to precipitate the *English* Nation into such a War, as to bear the whole Burden; the Case is now different from the last War, when it was in the very Bowels of the Kingdom. The Emperor and States as they seem most concerned, we may hope will be content, the *English* Quota's be such as have regard to the Defence of the Seas, and the Transportation of such Forces, whether for *Spain* or *France*, as the Nation can maintain by its own Product, without embezzling the Coin: This will answer the Intent of a flying Camp to a very great Degree, and whilst you alarm the whole Coasts of *Spain* and *France* (wherein if you take Footing you will secure Costs at last: But if not, if the *French* will be diverted to their Prejudice, the Advantage will be equal to the Confederate Armies:) You will maintain your Trade with Triumph, while the Seat of War becomes in a Manner universal in all *Europe*; besides you likewise open your Magazines and Storehouses, and carry your *English* Product to the best Market. So that when *France* shall see, that it is not only the Honour and Justice, but Profit likewise of the *English* Nation to protect and assist its Allies against such manifest Perjury: They must not look upon their present Gain all clear Profit; Futurity will bring them to another Reckoning, and perhaps their Misfortunes may then best inform them, what Value they ought, and are to put upon their Treaties.

The Tranſlation of the States-General's Letter to his Majeſty the Thirteenth of *May*, 1701.

Die Veneris 9 Maij, 1701.

IT is Ordered by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament aſſembled, That The Tranſlation of the States-General's Letter to his Majeſty, the 13th of *May*, 1701, *read this Day in the Houſe, ſhall be forthwith printed and publiſhed.*

Matthew Johnſon, *Cleric' Parliamentor'*

SIR,

SINCE the Proteſtation we made to your Majeſty, in our laſt Letter of the 23d of *April*, not to enter into any Negociation with *France*, but in Concert with *England*; we have judged it proper to aſk Count *D'Avaux*, Ambaſſador Extraordinary from his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, if he was inclined and authorized to enter again upon the Negociation, in the manner it was begun, jointly with the Miniſter of your Majeſty, as your Majeſty will ſee by our Reſolution of the 2d of this Month, here encloſed: Count *D'Avaux* having ſent it to his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, after the Return of his Expreſs, preſented a Memorial, of which we likewiſe add a Copy to this Letter. We immediately communicated it to Mr. *Stanhope*, your Majeſty's Envoy Extraordinary, and after having conſulted with him about it, we found ſome Things obſcure in the ſaid Memorial, which made us doubt of the true Meaning of it; therefore we thought it neceſſary to acquaint the ſaid Count *D'Avaux* with the Letter we had the Honour to write to your Majeſty the 23d of *April* laſt paſt; and that we were engaged not to take any Meaſures in the Negociations, but in Concert with your Majeſty. Count *D'Avaux* made Anſwer to our Deputies, that he was come hither to treat about the Means of preſerving the general Peace, and eſtabliſhing our particular Safety; that if we would concert thereupon with your Majeſty, he had nothing to object againſt it; and that he was content that your Majeſty's Envoy ſhould aſſiſt at the Conferences which are to be held upon that Subject: But that he was not at all authorized to enter into Negociation with him about the Concerns of *England*, which were to be treated elſewhere: To which our Deputies repreſented, that in the Preſervation of the general Peace, in which your Majeſty is equally concerned with us, our Safety could no ways be ſeparated from that of *England*; that the Intereſt therein was common to both the two Nations; and that in the preſent Negociation, your Majeſty could not, without doing you wrong, be looked upon otherwiſe than as a principal Party, as well as we. But notwithſtanding the many Inſtances, and all the Reaſons our Deputies could alledge, Count *D'Avaux* perſiſted in his aforeſaid Anſwer, ſaying, that he had no other Orders; that he would ſend our Reſolu-

tion

tion (of which your Majesty will find herewith a Copy) to the Court of *France*, without giving the least Hopes of receiving an Answer agreeable to our Sense of Matters. Upon the Report which was made to us of this Matter, we judged by this Means the Interests of *England* would be separated from those of our Republick, whereas we think them inseparable: And since it is evident that they are so, we could draw no other Conclusion from this Proceeding, than that *France* had a Mind to put an End to these Conferences, and to grant none of the Securities demanded, and which are so necessary for the Preservation of your Majesty's Kingdoms, and of our State. We are obliged to make all this known to your Majesty, and do again protest, that our Interests being the same with those of your Majesty, in this present Negociation, and not to be separated one from the other, we will not suffer them by any Means to be divided. At the same Time, Sir, we cannot but represent to your Majesty the great Need we have of being assisted, without Loss of Time, if we will prevent the Ruin that threatens us, and the evident Danger we are in. Your Majesty knows perfectly well the State of our Affairs, and will easily judge, if it is possible, in the Condition we are, to resist the Forces of *France*, so much superior to ours: Which was the Reason of our earnest Request to your Majesty to perform the Treaty made, with the Approbation of the Parliament, in the Year 1678, between King *Charles* the Second (of glorious Memory) and this State. We do now repeat our most pressing Instances, that we have speedily the Succours stipulated, and the entire Effect of the said Treaty. We hope your Majesty will seriously consider the State we are in, especially after the positive Assurances your Majesty has given us, that your Parliament had resolved to interest themselves with Vigour for our Preservation, and to assist us in our present Necessity, by furnishing the Succours agreed on. We will acquaint your Majesty with the Posture *France* puts itself in, and your Majesty will thereby judge, whether our Fear, which animates our Demands, is ill grounded. *France* not being satisfied with having taken Possession of all the Places that belonged to *Spain* in the *Netherlands*, does daily put into them, and causes actually to march thither very formidable Forces. They are drawing a Line from the *Schelde* near *Antwerp*, to the *Maes*; and beginning another Line, as we are informed, from *Antwerp* to *Ostend*. They send to the Places which are nearest to our Frontiers a very great Number of Cannon. They erect, with all Diligence, a great many Magazines in *Flanders*, *Brabant*, *Geldres* and at *Namur*, which they fill with all Sorts of Ammunition and Provision for War, besides the vast Quantities of Forage they lay up every where. They build Forts under the Cannon of our Towns. Moreover they have endeavoured, and do still endeavour without ceasing, to separate the Princes our Friends from our Interest, and to engage them in their Alliance, or at least to a Neutrality. In fine, our Friends are made useless to us by the Intrigues and Divisions in the Empire, and those of *France* augmented, so that we are surrounded on all Sides, except by Sea. You see, Sir, without any Disguise, the true State and Condition to which we are reduced, without the Addition of any thing but what is Matter of Fact. This makes us hope, that as your Majesty knows perfectly well our Affairs, you will agree with us, that our Condition at present is worse than it was during the last War, and worse than if we were actually in War, since they build Forts under

the Cannon of our ſtrong Places, and make Lines along our Frontiers and that we cannot hinder them as we could do if we were in War. Theſe Reaſons oblige us to put ourſelves into a defenſive Condition, more than if we were actually attacked: To put our Country under Water: And even to cut our Dykes to ſecure our Frontiers. We find ourſelves forced to make Uſe of theſe Means, and whatever elſe we could have done in an open War, inſomuch that our Subjects ſuffer already more than they did in the laſt War. Hitherto the Winter has been ſome Sort of a ſmall Security to us: That Seaſon is now paſt, and we do expect every Moment to be invaded and over-run, unleſs we are ſpeedily ſuccoured. We do promiſe it ourſelves from you, Sir, eſpecially ſince it has pleaſed your Majeſty to aſſure us, that your Parliament had taken favourable Reſolutions in our Behalf. And as our Neceſſity is very preſſing, ſo we beſeech your Majeſty to conſider well the Extremity we are in, and the Impoſſibility we are under of avoiding the total Ruin and Overthrow of our State, if we are left in this Condition. Sir, we believe the Intereſt of *England* ſo cloſely united to ours, that we will expoſe ourſelves to all Events, rather than ſuffer them to be ſeparated, or to take any other Meaſures than in concert with your Majeſty. It is very needleſs to repreſent to your Majeſty, that the Preſervation of your own Kingdoms ſhould engage you to prevent our Ruin, ſeeing we think their Loſs is inſeparable from ours. The Reaſons, Sir, are better known to you than to us, as well as the fatal Conſequences they will be expoſed to, in leaving us in this Condition; which perſuades us, that by your Majeſty's great Prudence, and the good Intentions of your Parliament, you will direct all Things ſo, as to let *Europe* ſee, that nothing is more conducive to its Safety than the Alliances with *England*, and your Friendſhip for us: We expect without Delay the Succours and the Performance of the aforementioned Treaty, and pray to God,

S I R,

To preſerve your Majeſty's ſacred Perſon in a long State of Health, and your Dominions in a flouriſhing Condition.

At the Hague, the 13th of May, 1701.

Your Majeſties

Very humble Servants,

The States-General of the United Provinces.

IS Wichers.

By Order of the States,

J. Fagel.

A

A true List of the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses of this present Parliament, appointed by Proclamation to meet at *Westminster*, on *Thursday* the 6th of *February*, 1700-1.

(*Note*, Those who have this Mark [*] before them, were not Members of the last Parliament.)

Bedfordshire 4.
The Rt. Hon. the Lord Edward Russel
Sir William Gostwick, Kt. and Bar.
Town of Bedford.
William Spencer, Esq;
* Samuel Rolt, Esq;

Berks 9.
Sir Humphry Foster, Bar.
Richard Neville, Esq;
Borough of New Windsor.
The Rt. Hon. John Lord Visc. Fitzharding
Richard Topham, Esq;
Borough of Reading.
Sir Owen Buckingham, Kt.
* Francis Knowles, Esq;
Borough of Wallingford.
* William Jennings, Esq;
* Thomas Randa, Esq;
Borough of Abingdon.
Symon Harcourt, Esq;

Bucks 14.
The Rt. Hon. William Lord Cheyne, Viscount Newhaven.
The Hon. Goodwin Wharton, Esq;
Town of Buckingham.
Sir Richard Temple, Bar.
Sir Edmund Denton, Bar.
Borough of Chipping Wicomb.
Charles Godfrey, Esq;
* Fleetwood Dormer, Esq;
Borough of Aylesbury.
* Sir Thomas Lee, Bar.
The Hon. James Herbert, Esq;
Borough of Agmondesham.
The Rt. Hon. William Lord Cheyne, Viscount Newhaven
Sir John Garrard, dead
Borough of Wendover.
John Backwell, Esq;
* Richard Hambden, Esq;
Borough of Great Marlow.
Sir James Etherege, Kt.
James Chase, Esq;

Cambridgeshire 6.
The Rt. Hon. John Lord Cutts
Sir Rushout Cullen, Bar.
University of Cambridge.
The Hon. Henry Boyle, Esq;
Anthony Hammond, Esq;
Town of Cambridge.
Sir John Cotton, Bar.
Sir Henry Pickering, Bar.

Cheshire 4.
Sir John Manwaring, Bar.
Sir Robert Cotton, Bar.
City of Chester.
* Sir Henry Bunbury, Bar.
Peter Shackerly, Esq;

Cornwall 44.
The Rt. Hon. Hugh Boscowen, Esq;
John Speccot, Esq;
Borough of Dunhivid, alias Lancester.
The Rt. Hon. Henry Ld. Hyde
William Carey, Esq;
Borough of Leskard.
William Bridges, Esq;
Henry Darrel, Esq;
Borough of Lestwithiel.
* Sir John Molsworth, Bar.
* John Buller of Keverel, Esq;
Borough of Truro.
Henry Vincent, Esq;
Hugh Fortescue, Esq;
Borough of Bodmin.
The Hon. Russel Robarts, Esq;
John Hoblyn, Esq;
Borough of Helston.
Charles Godolphin, Esq;
Sidney Godolphin, Esq;
Borough of Saltash.
Alexander Pendarvis, Esq;
Francis Buller, Esq;

Bo-

Borough of Camelford.
Dennis Glynn, Eſq;
Henry Manaton, Eſq;
Borough of Portwigham, alias Weſtlow.
James Kendall, Eſq;
John Mountſtevens, Eſq;
Borough of Crampound.
Sir William Scawen, Kt.
Francis Scobell, Eſq;
Borough of Eaſtlow.
Sir Henry Seymour, Kt.
* —— Godolphin, Eſq;
Borough of Penryn.
Alex. Pendarvis, Eſq;
Samuel Trefuſis, Eſq;
Borough of Tregony.
Francis Robarts, Eſq;
Hugh Forteſcue, Eſq;
Borough of Boſſiney.
The Hon. Francis Robarts, Eſq;
John Tregagle, Eſq;
Borough of St. Ives.
James Praed, Eſq;
* Benjamin Overton, Eſq;
Borough of Foway.
The Hon. John Granville, Eſq;
* —— Williams, Eſq;
Borough of St. German.
John Specott, Eſq;
Daniel Eliot, Eſq;
Borough of St. Michael.
* Anthony Row, Eſq;
* William Beau, Eſq;
Borough of Newport.
* John Prideaux, Eſq;
—— Stratford, Eſq;
Borough of St. Mawes.
Sir Joſeph Tredenham, Kt.
John Tredenham, Eſq;
Borough of Callington.
Sir William Coryton, Bart.
* Robert Roll, Eſq;

Cumberland 6.
* Richard Muſgrave, Eſq;
* Gilfrid Lawſon, Eſq;
City of Carliſle.
* Philip Howard, Eſq;
James Lowther, Eſq;
Borough of Cockermouth.
William Seymor, Eſq;
George Fletcher, Eſq;

Derbyſhire 4.
The Rt. Hon. William Lord Marquis of Hartington.
The Rt. Hon. John Lord Roos
Town of Derby.
The Rt. Hon. Ld. James Cavendiſh
* Sir Charles Pye, Bart.

Devonſhire 26.
Francis Roll, Eſq;
* William Courtenay, Eſq;
City of Exeter.
Sir Edward Seymour, Bar.
Sir Bartholomew Shower, Kt.
Borough of Totneſs.
Francis Gwynne, Eſq;
Thomas Colſon, Eſq;
Borough of Plymouth.
Charles Trelawney, Eſq;
Henry Trelawney, Eſq;
Town of Oakhampton.
William Harris, Eſq;
Thomas Northmore, Eſq;
Borough of Barnſtaple.
Nicholas Hooper, Serj. at Law
Arthur Champneys, Eſq;
Borough of Plimpton.
Courtney Croker, Eſq;
Martin Rider, Eſq;
Borough of Honiton.
Sir Walter Young, Bar.
Sir William Drake, Bar.

Borough of Taviſtock.
The Rt. Hon. Ld. Robert Ruſſel
The Rt. Hon. Ld. Edward Ruſſel
Borough of Aſhburton.
William Stawell, Eſq;
Richard Duke, Eſq;
Borough of Clifton Dartmouth and Hardnes.
Double Return.
* William Ball, Eſq;
* Thomas Vernon, Eſq;
Frederick Herne, Eſq;
* Nathaniel Herne, Eſq;
Borough of Beralſton.
Sir Rowland Gwyne, Kt.
* Peter King, Eſq;
Borough of Tiverton.
The Right Hon. Charles Lord Spencer
Thomas Bere, Eſq;

Dorſetſhire 20.
Tho. Strangeways, Eſq;
Thomas Freke, Eſq;
Town of Poole.
Sir William Phipperd, Kt.
William Jolliff, Eſq;
Borough of Dorcheſter.
Thomas Trenchard, Eſq;
Nathaniel Napier, Eſq;
Borough of Lyme Regis.
Robert Henley, Eſq;
* Joſeph Paice, Eſq;
Borough of Weymouth.
The Hon. Hen. Thynn, Eſq;
* Charles Churchill, Eſq;
Borough of Melcomb-Regis.
* The Hon. Maurice Aſhley, Eſq;
Michael Harvey, Eſq;
Borough of Bridport.
* William Gulſon, Eſq;
Alexander Pitfield, Eſq;

Bo-

Borough of Shafton, alias Shaftſbury,
Edward Nicholas, Eſq;
Thomas Chaffine, Eſq;
Borough of Wareham.
Thomas Earle, Eſq;
George Pitt, Eſq;
Borough of Corfe-Caſtle.
Richard Frowns, Eſq;
John Banks, Eſq;

Durham 4.
Lyonell Vane, Eſq;
William Lampton, Eſq;
City of Durham.
The Hon. Charles Mountague, Eſq;
Thomas Conyers, Eſq;

Eſſex 8.
Sir Charles Barington, Bt.
* Sir Francis Maſſam, Kt.
Borough of Colcheſter.
Sir Thomas Cooke, Kt.
Sir Iſaac Rebow, Kt.
Borough of Malden.
Irby Mountague, Eſq;
* William Fitch, Eſq;
Borough of Harwich.
Sir Thomas Davall, Kt.
* Dennis Lyddell, Eſq;

Glouceſterſhire 8.
John Howe, Eſq;
Sir Richard Cocks, Bar.
City of Glouceſter.
William Selwin, Eſq;
* John Bridgman, Eſq;
Borough of Cirenceſter.
* The Hon. James Thynne, Eſq;
Charles Cox, Eſq,
Borough of Tewkeſbury.
Richard Dowdſwell, Eſq;
* Edmond Bray, Eſq;

Herefordſhire 8.
* Sir John Williams, Bar.
Henry Gorges, Eſq;
City of Hereford.
The Hon. James Bridges, Eſq;
Thomas Foley, Eſq;
Borough of Lempſter.
The Right Hon. Thomas Lord Coningſby.
* John Dutton Colt, Eſq;
Borough of Weobly.
* John Birch, Eſq;
Henry Cornwall, Eſq;

Hertfordſhire 6.
Thomas Halſey, Eſq;
Ralph Freeman, Eſq;
Borough of St. Albans.
George Churchill, Eſq;
* Joſhua Lomax, Eſq;
Borough of Hertford.
* Thomas Filmer, Eſq; Dead.
* Charles Cæſar, Eſq;

Huntingdonſhire 4.
John Proby, Eſq;
* John Dreyden, Eſq;
Borough of Huntingdon.
The Hon. Francis Wortley, alias Montague, Eſq;
* The Hon. Charles Boyle, Eſq;

Kent 10.
* Sir Thomas Hales, Bar.
* Thomas Meredith, Eſq;
City of Canterbury.
George Sayer, Eſq;
Henry Lee, Eſq;
City of Rocheſter.
The Right Hon. Sir Joſeph Williamſon, Kt.
Sir Cloudſley Shovel, Kt.
Borough of Maidſtone.
Sir R. Marſham, Kt. and Br.
Thomas Bliſs, Eſq;
Borough of Queenborough.
Robert Crawford, Eſq;
Thomas King, Eſq;

Lancaſhire 14.

Borough of Lancaſter.
Robert Heyſham, Eſq;
Roger Kirby, Eſq;
Borough of Preſton in Amounderneſs.
* Edward Rigby, Eſq;
Henry Aſhurſt, Eſq;
Borough of Newtown.
Thomas Brotherton, Eſq;
Thomas Leigh, Eſq;
Borough of Wigan.
Sir Roger Bradſhaw, Kt.
Orlando Bridgman, Eſq;
Borough of Cilthero.
Chriſtopher Liſter, Eſq;
Thomas Stringer, Eſq;
Borough of Liverpoole.
Sir William Norris, Bar.
William Clayton, Eſq;

Leiceſterſhire, 4.
The Hon. John Verney, Eſq;
John Wilkins, Eſq;
Town of Leiceſter.
Sir William Villers, Bar.
Lawrence Carter, Eſq;

Lincolnſhire, 12.
Sir John Thorold, Bar.
The Hon. Charles Dymoke of Scrivelſby, Eſq;
City of Lincoln.
Sir John Bowls, Bar.
* Sir Thomas Meres, Kt.

Borough

Borough of Boſton.
* Sir William York, Bar.
Edmund Boulter, Eſq;
Borough of Great Grimſby.
* William Coatſworth, Eſq;
Thomas Vinor, Eſq;
Town of Stampford.
The Hon. William Cecil, Eſq;
The Hon. Charles Bertie, Eſq;
Borough of Grantham.
Sir William Ellis, Bar.
The Hon. Tho. Mannors, Eſq;

Middleſex 8.
Warwick Lake, Eſq:
* Hugh Smithſon, Eſq;
City of Weſtminſter.
The Rt. Hon. James Vernon, Eſq; Principal Secretary of State.
* Thomas Croſs, Eſq;
City of London.
Sir Robert Clayton, Kt.
Sir William Aſhurſt, Kt.
* Sir William Withers, Kt.
* Gilbert Heathcot, Eſq;

Monmouthſhire, 3.
* John Morgan of Tredegar, Eſq;
Sir John Williams, Bar.
Borough of Monmouth.
* John Morgan, Eſq;

Norfolk, 12.
Sir Jacob Aſtley, Kt. and Bar.
* The Hon. Roger Townſend, Eſq;
City of Norwich.
Robert Davy, Eſq;
Thomas Blofield, Eſq;

Town of Lyn-Regis.
Sir John Turner, Kt.
Sir Charles Turner, Kt.
Town of Great Yarmouth.
George England, Eſq;
* Samuel Fuller, Eſq;
Borough of Thetford.
Sir Joſeph Williamſon, Kt.
* Edmund Soams, Eſq;
Borough of Caſtleriſing.
Thomas Howard, Eſq;
* Robert Walpole, Eſq;

Northamptonſhire, 9.
Sir Juſtinian Iſham, Bar.
John Parkhurſt, Eſq;
City of Peterborough.
The Hon. Francis Wortley, alias Mountague, Eſq;
* Gilbert Dolbyn, Eſq;
Town of Northampton.
Chriſtopher Mountague, Eſq;
* William Thurſby, Eſq;
Town of Brackley.
The Hon. Charles Egerton, Eſq;
* The Hon. Harry Mordant, Eſq;
Borough of Higham Ferrars.
Thomas Ekins, Eſq;

Northumberland, 8.
* The Hon. William Howard, Eſq;
William Forſter, Eſq;
Town of Newcaſtle upon Tyne.
* Sir Henry Liddell, Bar.
William Carr, Eſq;
Borough of Morpeth.
* The Hon. William Howard, Eſq;
Sir Henry Bellaſyſe, Kt.

Town of Berwick upon Tweed.
* The Hon. Ralph Grey, Eſq;
Samuel Ogle, Eſq;

Nottinghamſhire, 8.
Sir Thomas Willoughby, Bar.
Gervaſe Eyre, Eſq;
Town of Nottingham.
William Pierepoint, Eſq;
——Gregory, Eſq;
Borough of Eaſt-Retford.
John Thornhaugh, Eſq;
* Thomas White, *jun.* Eſq;
Town of Newark upon Trent.
* Sir George Markham, Bar.
John Raynor, Eſq;

Oxon, 9.
Sir Edward Norreys, Kt.
Sir Robert Jenkinſon, Bar.
Univerſity of Oxon.
Sir Chriſtopher Muſgrave, Bar.
* The Hon. Heneage Finch, Eſq;
City of Oxon.
* Francis Norreys, Eſq;
Thomas Rowney, Eſq;
Borough of New Woodſtock.
Sir Thomas Littleton, Bar.
The Hon. James Bertie, Eſq;
Borough of Banbury.
A double Return.
* The Hon. Charles North, Eſq;
* John Dormer, Eſq;

Rutlandſhire

Rutlandſhire 2.
Sir Thomas Mackworth, Kt.
Richard Halford, Eſq;

Salop 12.
*Sir Humphrey Briggs, Bt.
Robert Lloyd, Eſq;
Town of Salop.
John Kynaſton, Eſq;
Richard Mitton, Eſq;
Borough of Bruges, alias Bridgnorth.
Sir Edward Acton, Bar.
Roger Pope, Eſq;
Borough of Ludlow.
* Sir Thomas Powis, Kt.
* William Gower, Eſq;
Borough of Great Wenlock.
Sir William Foreſter, Kt.
George Weld, Eſq;
Town of Biſhop's Caſtle.
* George Walcot, Eſq;
Charles Maſon, Eſq;

Somerſetſhire 18.
* Sir John Trevilian, Bar.
John Hunt, Eſq;
City of Briſtol.
Robert Yate, Eſq;
* Sir William Daines, Kt.
City of Bath.
William Blathwayt, Eſq;
Alexander Popham, Eſq;
City of Wells.
William Coward, Serjeant at Law.
Henry Portman, Eſq;
Borough of Taunton.
Edward Clarke, Eſq;
Henry Portman, Eſq;
Borough of Bridgwater.
* Robert Balſh, Eſq;
* John Gilbert, Eſq;
Borough of Minehead.
Sir Jacob Banks, Kt.
Alexander Lutterel, Eſq;
Borough of Ilceſter.
* Sir Philip Sydenham,
* James Anderton, Eſq;
Borough of Milburn-Port.
Sir Thomas Travell, Kt.
* Sir Richard Newman, Bar.

Southampton 26.
Thomas Jervoiſe de Herriard, Eſq;
* William Chandler, Eſq;
City of Wincheſter.
The Right Hon. the Lord William Powlett.
* George Rodney Bridges, Eſq;
Town of Southampton.
Roger Mompeſſon, Eſq;
* Mitford Crow, Eſq;
Town of Portſmouth.
Thomas Erle, Eſq;
Sir George Rooke, Kt.
Borough of Yarmouth.
Henry Holmes, Eſq;
Anthony Morgan, Eſq;
Borough of Petersfield.
* Ralph Bucknell, Eſq;
* Richard Marks, Eſq;
Borough of Newport, alias Medena.
The Rt. Hon. John Lord Cutts.
* Samuel Shepherd, ſen. Eſq;
Borough of Stockbridge.
Anthony Sturt, Eſq;
John Pitt, Eſq;
Borough of Newtown.
James Worſley of Pylewell, Eſq;
Thomas Hobſon, Eſq;
Borough of Chriſt-Church.
The Rt. Hon. Edward Lord Viſ. Cornbury.
William Ettricke, Eſq;
Borough of Lymington.
Thomas Dore, Eſq;
* Paul Burrard, Eſq;
Borough of Whitchurch.
The Rt. Hon. the Lord James Ruſſel.
Richard Woollaſton, Eſq;
Borough of Andover.
The Rt. Hon. John Smith, Eſq;
* Francis Shepherd, Eſq;

Staffordſhire 10.
The Hon. Henry Pagett, Eſq;
Edward Baggott, Eſq;
City of Litchfield.
Richard Dyot, Eſq;
* William Walmeſley, Eſq;
Borough of Stafford.
Thomas Foley, jun. of Whitley, Eſq;
* John Chetwind of Ingſtree, Eſq;
Borough of Newcaſtle under Line.
Sir John Leveſon Gower, Bar.
* ——Cotton, Eſq;
Borough of Tamworth.
Sir Henry Gough, Bar.
Thomas Guy, Eſq;

Suffolk 16.
The Right Hon. the Lord Dyſert.
Sir Samuel Barnadiſton,
Borough of Ipſwich.
* Sir Charles Duncombe, Kt.
* Joſeph Martin, Eſq;
Borough of Dunwich.
* Sir Charles Blois, Bar.
* ——Kemp, Eſq;

Borough of Orford.
* Sir Edward Turner, Bar.
* Sir Edmund Bacon, Bar.
Borough of Aldborough.
Sir Henry Johnſon, Kt.
William Johnſon, Eſq;
Borough of Sudbury.
* Sir Gervaſe Elways, Bar.
* Sir John Cordell, Bar.
Borough of Eye.
The Hon. Spencer Compton, Eſq;
Sir Joſeph Jekyll, Kt.
Borough of St. Edmondſbury.
Sir Robert Davers, Kt.
John Harvey, Eſq;

Surrey 14.
Sir Richard Onſlow, Bar.
John Weſton, Eſq;
Borough of Southwark.
Charles Cox, Eſq;
John Cholmley, Eſq;
Borough of Blechingly.
Sir Edward Greſham, Bar.
* John Ward, Eſq;
Borough of Ryegate.
* Sir John Parſons, Kt.
Stephen Harvey, Eſq;
Borough of Guilford.
Morgan Randyl, Eſq;
* Denzil Onſlow, Eſq;
Borough of Gatton.
Thomas Turgis, Eſq;
Maurice Thompſon, Eſq;
Borough of Haſlemere.
Sir Theophilus Oglethorp, Kt.
* George Woodroff, Eſq;

Suſſex 20.
* Henry Lumley, Eſq;
John Miller, Eſq;
City of Chicheſter.
* Sir Thomas May, Kt.
* William Elſon, Eſq;
Borough of Horſham.
Henry Yates, Eſq;
* Henry Cooper, Eſq;
Borough of Midhurſt.
John Lewkener, Eſq;
* Lawrence Alcock, Eſq;
Borough of Lewis.
* Sir Thomas Trevor, Kt.
Thomas Pelham, Eſq;
Borough of New Shoreham.
Charles Sergiſon, Eſq;
* Nathaniel Gould, Eſq;
Borough of Bramber.
* Thomas Owen, Eſq;
William Stringer, Eſq;
Borough of Steyning.
Sir John Fagg, dead.
Sir Edward Hungerford, Kt. of the *Bath.*
Borough of Eaſt Grimſted,
* Matthew Prior, Eſq;
John Conyers, Eſq;
Borough of Arundel.
John Cooke, Eſq;
* Edmund Dummer, Eſq;

Warwickſhire 6.
Sir John Mordaunt, Bar.
Sir Charles Shuckburgh, Bar.
City of Coventry.
Sir Chriſtopher Hales, Bar.
* Thomas Hopkins, Eſq;
Borough of Warwick.
* The Hon. Francis Grevill, Eſq;
Sir Tho. Wagſtaff, Kt.

Weſtmorland 4.
Sir Chriſtopher Muſgrave, Bar.
* Henry Graham, Eſq;
Borough of Apulby.
The Hon. Gervaſe Peirepoint, Eſq;
* Wharton Dunche, Eſq;

Wiltſhire 34.
Sir G. Hungerford, Bar.
* Richard Howe, Eſq;
City of New Sarum.
* Sir Tho. Mompeſſon, Kt.
Robert Eyre, Eſq;
Borough of Wilton.
John Gauntlet, Eſq;
* Thomas Phipps, Eſq;
Borough of Downeton.
Carew Rawleigh, Eſq;
John Eyre, Eſq;
Borough of Hindon.
Sir James Howe, Bar.
Reynolds Calthorp, Eſq;
Borough of Heyterſbury.
William Aſhe, Eſq;
Edward Aſhe, Eſq;
Borough of Weſtbury.
The Hon. R. Bertie, Eſq;
Richard Lewis, Eſq;
Borough of Calne.
* Walter Long, Eſq;
* Walter Hungerford, Eſq;
Borough of Devizes.
Sir Francis Child, Kt.
* Francis Merryweather, Eſq;
Borough of Chippenham.
* The Right. Hon. the Lord Mordant.
Walter White, Eſq;
Borough of Malmſbury.
Edward Pauncefort, Eſq;
* S. Shepherd, *jun.* Eſq;
Borough of Cricklade,
Sir Stephen Fox, Kt.
* Edmund Dunche, Eſq;
Borough of Great Bedwin.
Francis Stonehouſe, Eſq;
Charles Devenant, Eſq;

Borough

Borough of Lugerſhall.
*Edmund Webb, *ſen.* Eſq;
John Webb, *jun.* Eſq;
Borough of Old Sarum.
Charles Mompeſſon, Eſq;
William Harvey, Eſq;
Borough of Wootten Baſſett,
* H. St. John, *jun.* Eſq;
Henry Pynnill, Eſq;
Borough of Marlborough.
The Rt. Hon. R. Earl of Ranelagh.
* John Jefferys, Eſq;

Worceſterſhire 9.
Sir J. Packington, Kt.
William Walſh, Eſq;
City of Worceſter.
Samuel Swift, Eſq;
* Thomas Wild, Eſq;
Borough of Droitwich.
T. Foley, *ſen.* Eſq;
Charles Cocks, Eſq;
Borough of Eveſham.
* Sir James Ruſhout, Bar.
John Rudge, Eſq;
Borough of Bewdly.
Selway Winington, Eſq;

Yorkſhire 30.
The Rt. Hon. Thomas Lord Fairfax.
* Sir John Kay, Bar.
City of York.
Sir W. Robinſon, Bar.
* Ed. Thompſon, Eſq;
Town of Kingſton upon Hull.
Sir William St. Quintin, Bar.
* William Maſter, Eſq;
Borough of Knareſborough.
Robert Byerly, Eſq;
Chriſtopher Stockdale, Eſq;
Borough of Scarborough.
The Right Honourable Arthur Lord Viſcount Irwin.
Sir Charles Hotham, Bar.
Borough of Rippon.
John Aiſleby, Eſq;
Jonathan Jennings, Eſq;
Borough of Richmond.
Thomas York, Eſq;
James Darcy, Eſq;
Borough of Hevdon.
* Sir Robert Bedingfield, Kt.
Anthony Duncombe, Eſq;
Borough of Boroughbrigg.
The Right Honourable Sir Henry Goodrick, Bar.
Sir Brian Stapleton, Bar.
Borough of Malton.
* Sir William Strickland, Bar.
William Palmes, Eſq;
Borough of Thirſk.
Sir Godfrey Copley, Bar.
Sir Thomas Frankland, Bar.
Borough of Aldborough.
* Robert Muncton, Eſq;
* Cyrill Arthington, Eſq;
Borough of Beverly.
Sir Michael Wharton, Kt.
Ralph Wharton, Eſq;
Borough of Northallerton.
Sir William Huſler, Kt.
Ralph Milbanck, Eſq;
Borough of Pontefract.
Sir John Bland, Bar.
John Bright, Eſq;

Barons of the Cinque-Ports, 16.

Port of Haſtings.
John Poultney, Eſq;
Peter Got, Eſq;
Town of Winchelſea.
The Hon. T. Newport, Eſq;
Robert Briſtow, Eſq;
Town of Rye.
* Sir Robert Auſtin, Bart.
Joſeph Offley, Eſq;
Town of New Rumney.
Sir Charles Sidley, Bar.
John Brewer, Eſq;
Port of Hyeth,
Sir Philip Boteler,
*——Boteler, Eſq;
Port of Dover.
*The Rt. Honourable. Sir Charles Hedges, Kt. Principal Secretary of State.
Matthew Aylmer, Eſq;
Port of Sandwich.
* Sir Henry Furneſe, Kt.
* John Taylor, Eſq;
Port of Seaford.
Sir William Thomas, Bar.
William Lownds, Eſq;

Wales 24.

Angleſey 2.
The Rt. Hon. Ld. Viſ. Bulkeley.
Borough of Beaumaris.
*Coningſby Williams, Eſq;
Brecon. 2.
Sir Rowland Gwynne, Kt.
Town of Brecon.
* Sir Jeffery Jefferys, Kt.
Cardigan 2.
* Sir Hu. Mackworth.
Town of Cardigan,
John Lewis of Coedmore, Eſq;
Carmarthen 2.
Sir Rice Rudd, Bar.
Town of Carmarthen.
Richard Vaughan, Eſq;
Carnarvan 2.
The Hon. T. Bulkeley, Eſq;
Town of Carnarvan.
Sir J. Wynne, Bart.

Denbigh 2.
Sir Rich. Middleton, Bart.
Town of Denbigh.
Edward Brereton, Esq;
Flint 2.
Sir John Conway, Bar.
Town of Flint.
Thomas Moyſtin, Esq;
Glamorgan 2.
Thomas Manſell of Britton-Ferry, Esq;
Town of Cardiffe,
Sir Edward Stradling, Bar.
Merioneth 1.
Hugh Nanny, Esq;
Montgomery 2.
Edward Vaughan, Esq;
Town of Montgomery,
*John Vaughan, Esq;
Pembroke 3.
Town of Haverford-Weſt.
*William Wheeler, Esq;
Town of Pembroke.
Sir John Philips, Bar.
Radnor 2.
Thomas Harley, Esq;
Town of Radnor.
Robert Harley, Esq;
In all 513.

The Hiſtory of the *Kentiſh* Petition. 1740.

The PREFACE.

'TWOUD be hard to ſuſpect him of Errors in Fact, who writes the Story of Yeſterday: A Hiſtorian of three Weeks muſt certainly be juſt, for had he never ſo much Mind to lye, it would be Nonſenſe to expect the World could be impos'd upon, every Body's Memory would be a living Witneſs againſt him, and the Effect would be only to expoſe himſelf.

Authors of Hiſtories generally apologize for their Quotations, plead their Induſtry in the Search after Truth, and excuſe themſelves by aſſerting the Faithfulneſs of their Collections. The Author of the following Sheets is not afraid to let the World know, that he is ſo ſure every thing that related is in this Account is litterally and poſitively true, that he challenges all the Wit and Malice the World abounds with, to confute the moſt trifling Circumſtance,

If Aggravations are omitted, and ſome very ill-natured Paſſages let go without Obſervations, thoſe Perſons who were guilty of them may obſerve that we have more Good-Nature than they have Manners; and they ought to acknowledge it, ſince a great many Rudeneſſes both againſt the King himſelf and the Gentlemen concerned have eſcap'd their ſcurrilous Mouths which are not here animadverted upon.

And leſt the World ſhould think this preſumptive, and that the Accuſation is only a Surmiſe, we will query what they think of that kind Remark of Mr. J. How, *finding the King's Letter to the Houſe, and the* Kentiſh *Petition to come both on a Day, and the Subſtance to be the ſame,* ' *that the King, and the* Dutch, *and the* ' Kentiſh *Men were all in a Plot againſt the Houſe of Commons.*'

I could have ſwell'd this Pamphlet to a large Volume if I ſhould pretend to collect all the Billingſgate *Language of a certain Houſe full of Men, againſt the King, the Lords, and the Gentlemen of* Kent; *but it is a fitter Subject for a Satyr than a Hiſtory: they have abus'd the Nation, and now are become a Banter to themſelves; and I leave them to conſider of it, and reform.*

I assure the World I am no Kentish *Man, nor was my Hand to the Petition: Tho' had I been acquainted with it, I would have gone a Hundred Miles to have signed it, and a hundred more to have had the Opportunity of serving my Country, at the Expence of an unjust Confinement for it.*

It may be fairly concluded, I am no Warwickshire *Man neither, with a Petition in my Pocket brought a hundred Miles, and afraid to deliver it.*

Nor my Name Sir Robert Clayton, *by which you may know that I did not promise the Members, who were then in Fear enough, to use my Interest to stifle a City Petition.*

Nor is my Name Legion, *I wish it were, for I should have been glad to be capable of speaking so much Truth, and so much to the Purpose as is contained in that unanswerable Paper.*

But I am an unconcerned Spectator, and have been an exact Observer of every Passage, have been an Eye and Ear-Witness of every most minute Article, and am sure that every thing related, is as exactly true as the Causes of it all are scandalous and burthensome to the Nation.

As to the Gentlemen of the House of Commons, I shall not pretend to enter into their Character, because I care not to enter into Captivity, nor come into the Clutches of that worst of Brutes, their Serjeant.

Literally speaking, no Member of the House of Commons can be a Jacobite, *because they have taken the Oaths to King* William. *But this may be observed, that the* Jacobites *in* England *are generally the only People who approve of their Proceedings, and applaud their Measures; and it is observable that at* Paris *and* St. Germans *the genteel Compliment of a Health in all* English *Company is,* a la Sante Monsieur Jack-How; *the Truth of which there are not a few very good Gentlemen in Town can attest, from whence I think I may draw this Observation, that either he is a Jacobite, or the Jacobites are a very good-natured People.*

Noscitur ex socio qui non Dignoscitur ex se.

The following Sheets contain an exact History of the Kentish *Petition, and of the Treatment the Gentlemen who presented it, met with both from the House, the Serjeant, and at last from their Country.*

The best way to come to a Conclusion, whether the Gentlemen Petitioners were well or ill us'd, is to review the Matter of Fact, all Panegyricks and Encomiums come short of the natural Reflections which flow from a true Account of that Proceeding, and the whole is collected in this Form, that all the World may judge by a true Light, and not be imposed upon by partial and imperfect Relations.

ON the 29th of *April*, 1701, the Quarter-Sessions for the County of *Kent*, began at *Maidstone*, where *William Colepeper*, of *Hollingbourn*, Esq; was chosen Chairman, tho' he was then absent, and with an unusual Respect the Bench of Justices proceeded to do Business, and kept the Chair for him, for several Hours, 'till he came.

The

The People of the County of *Kent*, as well as in moſt Parts of the Kingdom, had expreſſed great Diſſatisfaction at the ſlow Proceedings of the Parliament; and that the King was not aſſiſted, nor the Proteſtants abroad conſidered; and the Country-People began to ſay to one another in their Language, 'That they 'had ſowed their Corn, and the *French* were a coming to reap it:' And from hence it is allowed to proceed, that during the ſitting of the Seſſion, ſeveral of the principal Freeholders of the County applied themſelves to the Chairman aforeſaid, and told him, it was their Deſire that the Bench would conſider of making ſome Application to the Parliament, to acquaint them of the Apprehenſions of the People.

The Chairman replied, 'It was the proper Work of the Grand-Jury to pre-'ſent the Grievances of the Country, and therefore he referred them to the ſaid 'Grand-Jury who were then ſitting.'

The Grand-Jury being applied to, accepted the Propoſal, and addreſſing to the ſaid Mr. *Colepeper*, the Chairman acquainted him that they had approved of ſuch a Motion made as before, and deſired that the Bench would join with them; the Chairman told them he would acquaint the Juſtices of it, which he did, and they immediately approv'd of it alſo, and deſired the ſaid *William Colepeper*, Eſq; their Chairman, to draw a Petition.

Mr. *Colepeper* withdrew to compoſe it, and having drawn a Petition, it was read and approved, and immediately ordered to be carried to the Grand-Jury, being twenty-one in Number, who all unanimouſly ſigned it, and brought it into Court, deſiring all the Gentlemen on the Bench would do the ſame; whereupon the Chairman and three and twenty of the Juſtices ſigned it, and the Freeholders of the County crouded in ſo faſt, that the Parchment was filled up in leſs than five Hours Time; and many Thouſands of Hands might have been had to it, if the Juſtices had not declined it, refuſing to add any more Rolls of Parchment, as inſiſting more upon the Merits of the Petition, than the Number of Subſcribers. By all which it appears how fooliſh and groundleſs their Pretences are, who would ſuggeſt, that the Petition was a private Thing tranſacted by a few People; whereas 'tis plain 'twas the Act and Deed of the whole Country.

As ſoon as the Petition was ſigned, and there was no more room for any Hands, it was delivered by the Grand-Jury to the aforeſaid *William Colepeper* Eſq; Chairman of the Seſſion, and he was deſired to preſent it in their Names to the Parliament, which at their Requeſt he promiſed to do, and the reſt of the Gentlemen, viz. *Thomas Colepeper*, Eſq; *Juſtinian Champneys*, Eſq; *David Pollhill*, Eſq; and *William Hamilton*, Eſq; offered themſelves to go with him.

On *Tueſday* the 6th of *May* they came to Town with the Petition, and the next Day they went up to the Houſe, and applied themſelves to Sir *Thomas Hales*, in Order to deſire him to preſent it to the Houſe; he being one of the Repreſentatives of the County of *Kent*; Sir *Thomas* read the Petition, and telling them it was too late to preſent it that Day, it being after twelve o'Clock, deſir'd they would let him ſhow it Mr. *Pelham* of *Suſſex*, and Mr. *Colepeper* told him he was willing enough Mr. *Pelham* ſhould ſee the Petition, not doubting he would be a Friend to it, but that he was unwilling to part with it, being entruſted with it by his Country, adding, 'That he ſhould make but an indiffe-

'rent

'rent Figure in the Country, if the Petition ſhould be got out of his Hands and 'loſt.' Whereupon Sir *Thomas Hales* paſt his Word and Honour, that he would not ſhow it to any Perſon whatever, but to Mr. *Pelham*, and that he would return it to them immediately. But this Word and Honour ſo ſolemnly engaged, was as eaſily forgotten: For having got the Petition, he carried it into the Houſe, where he ſtayed an Hour and a Half, and then returning, he gave it to the Gentlemen; and told them he had ſhewn it to Sir *Edward Seymour* and ſeveral others.

This perfidious Action to that very Part of the Nation which he repreſented, deſerves ſome ſpecial Notice, and there is no queſtion but the People will remember it for him, and ſhow their Reſentment on proper Occaſions.

Mr. *Colepeper*, in the Name of the reſt, gave him an Anſwer ſuitable to the Action, and ſufficient to let him know their Surprize at ſo ungentleman-like Uſage, *viz.* 'That he had broke his Word, and ſerved his Country very 'ill.' But this being neither Place, nor Seaſon, for further Debates, he appointed to meet them in the Evening, and then after making them wait two Hours beyond his time, he adjourned them till next Morning in the *Court of Requeſt*, where he told them abſolutely, that he would not deliver the Petition.

Here it is very obſervable, that at the very time Sir *Thomas Hales* came out of the Houſe, and return'd the Petition in the Manner above-mentioned, Mr. *Meredith*, the other Repreſentative for the County came to them, and told them that their Petition had been expos'd in the Houſe, and that Mr. *How* was then making a Speech againſt it.

The Gentlemen finding themſelves thus betrayed by Sir *Thomas Hales*, conſulted together, about finding another more proper Perſon to deliver the Petition, and reſolved to apply themſelves to Mr. *Meredith*, the other Member for the County of *Kent*, and Mr. *Meredith* having agreed to deliver it, in Caſe Sir *Thomas Hales* ſhould refuſe, had appointed to meet them, with ſeveral other Gentlemen, Members of the Houſe, in Order to conſult about the Matter of the Petition, and the Manner of delivering it.

In the Morning the Houſe being met, Mr. *Meredith* came out and told them the Houſe was in ſuch a Ferment that none of the Gentlemen durſt appear for it, nor come to them, and he doubted would not venture ſo much as to ſpeak a Word in the Houſe for the Petition.

Nor were theſe all the Diſcouragements the Gentlemen met with in their preſenting the Petition, but ſeveral Members of the Houſe pretending Reſpect, and others that were really their Friends, and in concern for them, came out of the Houſe to them, and endeavoured to perſuade them not to expoſe themſelves to the Fury of the Houſe, by delivering the Petition, telling them that Mr. *How* in particular had ſaid, 'That if there were one hundred thou-, ſand Hands to the Petition, they ſhould be all made Examples of.' And Sir *Edward Seymour* added, 'That the whole County ſhould be double-taxed, and 'the Eſtates of thoſe who preſented it, be confiſcated to the Uſe of the War.'

Altho' theſe Menaces, together with the almoſt Omnipotent Power of the Houſe of Commons, had Circumſtances enough in them to ſhake the Reſolution of a whole County, yet they had not the Effects here which was expected, for the Gentlemen, far from being terrified at all this, unanimouſly declared their Reſolution to diſcharge the Truſt placed in them by their Country, and to

preſent

preſent it to the Houſe; and Mr. *William Colepeper* in particular alluding to the Words of *Luther*, to thoſe who diſſuaded him from going to the City of *Worms*, told them, 'That if every Tile upon the Chapple of Saint * *Stephen*'s was a 'Devil, he would preſent the Petition.' And all of them declared, 'That if none 'of the Gentlemen would do their Country ſo much Service as to preſent their 'Grievances to the Parliament in a legal Petition, they would knock at the 'Door of the Houſe and deliver it themſelves.' Mr. *Meredith*, finding the Gentlemen ſo reſolute, did conſent to carry in the Petition, which he perform'd with great Diſcretion and Fidelity.

The Petition being thus delivered, the Gentlemen attended, for Mr. Speaker further to intimidate them, had let fall ſome Speeches, 'That it was the Uſage 'of the Houſe when a Petition was brought in, the Perſons who preſented it 'ought to be ready without to juſtify the Matter of their Petition.' And the Gentlemen ſeeing no Reaſon to be aſhamed of theirs in particular, reſolved to abide the utmoſt which their and the Nation's Enemies could do to them.

Having waited about half an Hour, they were called in to the Bar of the Houſe, where Mr. Speaker, treating them in his uſual haughty Tone. This ſhort Dialogue paſſed between them.

Speaker. Gentlemen, is this your Petition? [*Holding up the Petition by one Corner.*]

Gentlemen. Yes, Mr. Speaker. [*Bowing very reſpectively*].

Speaker. And, Gentlemen, you own this Petition?

Gentlemen. Yes, Mr. Speaker.

Speaker. And, Gentlemen, your Hands are to this Petition?

Gentlemen. Yes, Mr. Speaker.

Speaker. [*Turning to one of the Clerks*] Carry it to them, and ſee if they will own their Hands. [*Which they ſeverally did.*]

Speaker. Withdraw, and expect the Order of the Houſe.

Whereupon they withdrew, and attended in the Lobby, and now began the ſecond Attack upon their Reſolutions for the Members, who came out repreſented with all the Terror imaginable the Fury of the Houſe; Impriſonment and the Ruin of their Fortunes and Families was the leaſt they had to expect; Impeachments, Laws *ex poſt Facto*, tacking them to Money-Bills, and all the arbitrary Methods which any arbitrary Parliament have ever made uſe of to ruin thoſe who have felt their magnipotent Indignation, were laid before them. When ſome who pretended Pity for the Misfortune of ſo many worthy Gentlemen, came out of the Houſe and told them they had yet a lucky Moment left them, by an immediate Submiſſion, to fly to the Clemency of the Houſe, that they were ſent out by Sir *Edward Seymour* and the reſt of the Gentlemen on that Side, to let them know that Mr. *How* was now ſpeaking, and would continue ſo for ſome time, to give them Opportunity to recollect themſelves, and by a timely Acknowledgment to ſave themſelves from Ruin.

The Gentlemen being at a loſs to know in what Particular they could have given the Houſe ſuch Offence, and being well aſſured they were in the Pro-

* The Houſe that the Commons did ſit in was formerly *St. Stephen's Chapple.*

Protection of the Law, and had not acted any thing but what the known Conſtitution of the Realm expreſly allowed, remained ſtill unſhaken, and boldly replied, 'They had nothing to ſay but what was in their Petition.'

But being further preſſed by Sir *Theophilus Oglethorpe*, and ſeveral other Gentlemen; and becauſe they would not ſhow any Diſreſpect to the Houſe, or ſeem to ſlight their Diſpleaſure, they conſider'd of an Anſwer to be given to the Propoſal of Submiſſion.

And becauſe whatever Anſwer they gave might be miſrepreſented to the Houſe, delivered by Word of Mouth, they reſolved to put it into Writing, and having conſulted a while they agreed to ſend in this civil Anſwer.

'We are humbly of Opinion, that it is our Right to petition this honourable 'Houſe, according to the Statute of 13 *Car.* II. As to the Matter of our Pe-'tition, we declare that we intend nothing offenſive to this honourable Houſe.'

This Writing being ſhewn to Sir *Theophilus Oglethorpe*, and ſeveral other Members, they began to ſmile, and imagined their Point gain'd, and told the Gentlemen they were glad they began to be ſenſible of their Danger; and if they would but add one Word more, *viz.* that they were ſorry for what they had done, they would undertake for the Clemency of the Houſe: This they unanimouſly refus'd, one of the Gentlemen with ſome Heat replying, 'We will have 'no ſorry.' Here the Members (or Conſpirators rather) would have had them put it, that they did it through Inadvertency. This they alſo refus'd, declaring they did it at the Requeſt of their Country, maturely and deliberately, were juſtified in dong it by the Laws of the Land, and they wou'd never recede from it.

So they delivered the Paper to Sir *Thomas Hales*, but whether he delivered it to the Houſe or no, he never had the Civility to inform them.

The Debate in the Houſe held five Hours, after which Notice was given them by the Meſſengers, that the Houſe had voted the Petition ſcandalous, inſolent, and ſeditious, [*vid.* the Votes] tending to deſtroy, *&c.* and ordered them to be taken into Cuſtody for the ſame; upon which the Gentlemen went and immediately ſurrendered themſelves to the Serjeant, though the Warrant was not made out for ſome Hours after.

The Serjeant only aſked them where he ſhould come to them at Dinner, which was agreed to be at the *Caſtle-Tavern* in *Fleet-ſtreet*, where they dined on *Thurſday*, *Friday*, and *Saturday*, and were hitherto very civilly treated by his Officers; and accompanied by great Numbers of Citizens and Gentlemen of the firſt Quality, and not a few of the Nobility; the Officers were ſeldom with them, went of Errands for them, and oftentimes were all abſent together; ſo that there was no Colour of Reaſon for the Serjeant to ſay, he feared a Reſcue, for they had all the Opportunities they could deſire, if they had had the leaſt Deſign to eſcape, and it was never heard of that they who could eſcape when they pleaſed, would expoſe their Friends to the Hazard of a Reſcue.

On *Friday* in the Evening, Mr. Serjeant began to treat with them, and repreſenting his abſolute Power, letting them know, that he had an unbounded Liberty of uſing them at Diſcretion, that he could confine them at Pleaſure, put them into Dungeons, lay them under Ground, keep them apart, remove

them daily, and keep all People from them, by making them close Prisoners. He thereby gave them to understand, that he expected a Consideration suitable to his Civility; upon this the Gentlemen offered him 100 Guineas, half in Hand, and the other when they should be discharged, though it should be next Day: The Serjeant neither accepted nor refused the Offer, nor expressed any Dislike as if he thought it too little, but appointed to come to them the next Day.

Saturday in the Evening Mr. *Thomas Colepeper*, having Notice that his Lady was very much frightened at his Confinement, desired Leave of the Messenger, in whose Custody he was, to let him go down to *Maidstone*, upon his Parole to return by *Monday* Night; which the Messenger tacitly granted.

The rest of the Gentlemen being met at the Tavern, expecting the Serjeant according to Appointment, and having waited till ten o'Clock, instead of coming himself, he sends Orders to the Messengers to separate the Gentlemen, and confine them in several Prisons, that very Night; which Order the Officers executed as rudely as the Serjeant could desire, saving that they obtained the Civility from the Officers to be confined two in one Place, and two in another; but were hurried away with such unmannerly Indecency, that they would not permit them to send for their Night-Gowns and Necessaries.

In this Manner Mr. *William Colepeper* and Mr. *Justinian Champneys* were carried to *Myatt*'s House, the Messenger, in *Fox-Court* in *Holborn*, where they had this hard Choice proposed to them at their Entrance, Whether they would lodge in the Cellar or in the Garret; and chusing the latter, they were thrust into a little Hole on the Top of the House, where they had all the Inconveniences of a nasty Prison, as base Lodging, foul Sheets, little Covering, and a cold Room; by which Means they both took such Cold as they have not yet recovered.

But Mr. Serjeant, lest they should not be treated ill enough, coming the next Morning to Mr. *Myat*'s House, was in a great Rage at him, and drawing his Sword cut him over the Head, for 'using the Gentlemen so civilly,' as he call'd it: Afterwards coming up into the Garret where Mr. *Colepeper* and Mr. *Justinian Champneys* were lodged, they asked him, What Order he had for using them thus? He replied, He had an Order from those who committed them. Being asked again, If there was any such Vote passed in the House? He said, No; but he had an Order. Mr. *Colepeper* reply'd, 'If it be not a Vote of the 'House, pray how is it an Order? Have the Majority of the House, one 'by one, come to you, and given you Direction to use us thus barbarously?' He reply'd, Yes, they had. For which scandalous Reflection, if false, his Masters the Members of the House of Commons, are exceedingly obliged to him. Mr. *Colepeper* told him, 'He believed he should live to see him hang'd:' And so they parted.

All this while Mr. *Polhill* and Mr. *Hamilton* were put into a Cellar, without the Favour of having their Choice, and had so vile a Lodging that they could scarce breathe; and were likewise in their Turn bullied by Mr. Serjeant the next Day; and when they asked him to shew them the Copy of their Commitment, he denied it; Mr. *Polhill* in particular replied, they asked him nothing but what by Law he ought to grant: He rudely replied, 'He cared not a

'Fart

'Fart for them, nor the Law neither.' And so left them; which Refusal of his he may hear of again perhaps in a way of legal Application.

On *Tuesday* he gave the House Notice, that the younger Mr. *Colepeper* had made his Escape, though he had a Letter from him that he would be in Town that very Day; and at the same time he made a Complaint that the other Gentlemen behaved themselves so disorderly, that he apprehended a Rescue; though the Gentlemen, to avoid any Suspicion, had voluntarily surrendered their Swords to the Messengers, without being required so to do.

This Complaint to the House was the Gentlemen's Deliverance, and the Serjeant's Disappointment, though not in Kindness to them neither, for ordering them to the *Gatehouse*, as a more ignominious Confinement, the Serjeant lost the extravagant Fees which he designed to extort from them; and the Humanity of Captain *Taylor*, the Keeper of the *Gatehouse*, made their Restraint easy to them; for this Keeper used them like Gentlemen, and the Reputation he has obtained by his Civility, will be as lasting as the Infamy of the Serjeant, the one leaves a grateful Acknowledgment in the Mouths of all Men, and will always be spoken of to his Advantage; and the other nauseous like the Person, is dishonourable both to his Memory, and to the House that employed him.

On *Wednesday*, *Thomas Colepeper*, Esq; the younger Brother, who had been in *Kent*, and who was just come up according to his Promise, rendered himself to the Speaker, and desired to be sent to his Brethren. Mr. Serjeant, who thought to make himself Amends upon him, laboured to have him continued in his Custody, and had not that Party in the House thought the *Gatehouse* a greater Punishment, possibly it had been so. But therein that infallible House were deceived, and he was delivered from the Hands of a Villain, by his Enemies themselves, who thought they had mortified him the more, to the infinite Regret of the Serjeant, and the general Satisfaction of his Fellow-Sufferers.

The same Morning that Mr. *Colepeper* surrendered himself, *The Legion Paper*, as it was called, was sent to the House; it was said it was delivered the Speaker by a Woman, but I have been informed since that it was a Mistake, and that it was delivered by the very Person who wrote it, guarded with about sixteen Gentlemen of Quality, who if any Notice had been taken of him, were ready to have carried him off by Force; it was reported, that Mr. *Thomas Colepeper* brought it out of *Kent*, and that all the Country were at his Heels to make it good, though it was really no such thing, and that Gentleman declared he knew nothing at all of it.

But be it as it will, that Paper struck such a Terror into the Party in the House, that from that time there was not a Word ever spoken in the House of proceeding against the *Kentish* Petitioners, and the Members of that Party began to drop off and get into the Country, for their Management began to be so disliked over the whole Nation, that their own Fears dictated to them they had run Things too far.

The Clashings with the Upper House about the Trial of the four Peers they had impeached, and the miserable Shifts they were driven to by the Lords, to avoid trying them, served but to make them more uneasy, and to hasten the Dispatch of the Money Bills in order to the Prorogation, which was on the 23d of *June*, 1701.

By the Prorogation, the *Kentiſh* Gentlemen were diſcharged; but to ſhew their Reſpect to the Civility of Captain *Taylor* their Keeper, they continued to lodge with him till they went into the Country.

The firſt Honour done them on Account of their Sufferings, was their being invited to a noble Entertainment at *Mercers-Hall* in *Cheapſide*, at the Charge of the Citizens of *London*, where above two hundred Gentlemen dined with them, together with ſeveral noble Lords and Members of Parliament.

Thurſday the 2d of *July*, they ſet out for *Kent*; the Citizens had offered to accompany them out of Town, but they declined it, deſiring to go privately.

And thoſe who pretend to charge them with affecting Popularity, would do well to remember, that they were fain to ſend their Coaches empty out of Town, and go by Water to meet them, to avoid the Reſpect which the Citizens would have ſhewn them.

But there was no ſhunning the Appearance of the Country, who ſhewed their Value for the Gentlemen, and the Cauſe for which they had ſuffered, in all the poſſible Terms of Reſpect and Affection.

The firſt Inſtance of this was at *Black-heath*, where Mr. *David Polhill*, one of the Gentlemen, was to ſeparate from the reſt, his Road lying near *Bromley* to his Houſe at *Ottford* in *Kent*. He was met at *Black-heath* by above five hundred Horſe, who received him into the midſt of them, and ſurrounded his Coach with ſuch Shouts, and Joy, as ſufficiently teſtified their Reſpect for him and their Satisfaction at his Return among them: Nor can I omit, that having to ſatisfy my Curioſity, drank among and diſcourſed with ſome of that Party, while they were waiting for Mr. *Polhill*: I never heard of any Gentleman more univerſally beloved by the Country, or more particularly diſtinguiſhed for Modeſty and Temper; and I believe I may affirm that it would be hard to find any Gentleman ſo near the City of *London*, who could have had ſuch an Appearance, of his own Tenants and Neighbours, to congratulate his Deliverance.

Mr. *Polhill* being come to the Corner of the Park Wall on *Black-heath*, ſtopt to take his Leave of his Brethren, and giving them a loud Huzza, wiſhed them a good Journey, and proceeded to *Ottford*.

All poſſible Demonſtrations of Joy concluded the Day, and it has not been known that the Country ever expreſſed more Satisfaction ſince the Coronation of King *William*, than at the return of this Gentleman.

The reſt of the Gentlemen proceeded to *Rocheſter*, were they were met by ſuch a Body of Horſe, that the principal Inns of the Town could not entertain them, ſome of whom had come twenty Miles to meet them.

The Mayor of *Rocheſter* paid his Reſpect to them, and complained that he had no Notice given him of their coming, otherwiſe he would have met them out of Town with a good Body of Horſe.

Here they reſted to refreſh themſelves and Horſes, and about ſix o'Clock ſet forward for *Maidſtone*; the People of *Maidſtone*, though it was Market-day, could not have Patience to wait at the Place where they generally go to meet the Judges, but a great many Horſemen met them on the Downs, and the Top of *Bexley-hill* four Miles from the Town.

At

At *Sandlin*, about two Miles from the Town, the Gentlemen of the Neighbourhood met them with their Coaches, and an innumerable Multitude of People on Horſeback, and on Foot, ſhouting and bidding them welcome.

After a ſhort Stay here to receive the Compliments of the Gentlemen, they proceeded (the Gentlemen's Coaches falling into the Rear) to the Park, the Seat of the Lady *Taylor*, who is married to Mr. *Thomas Colepeper*, where they were welcomed by the ſaid Lady *Taylor*, the old Lady *Colepeper* the Mother of the Gentleman, and ſeveral Ladies of Quality, the People ſhouting all the while, *A Colepeper*, *a Colepeper*, and the Poor ſtrowing the Ways with Greens and Flowers; and thus they proceeded into the Town, with ſuch univerſal Acclamations of the People, as the like was never ſeen in that Country ſince the Reſtoration of King *Charles* II.

The Night concluded with a great Bonfire, and the Healths of all the Gentlemen drank round it, to the great Mortification of the *Jacobites*, of whom there are but very few in thoſe Parts; and to the general Satisfaction of the Country.

Nor was this the only Appearance, for at *Beartſted*, about three Miles further, the Country was aſſembled, the Bells rung, and ſeveral hundreds of the People continued together all Night, with extraordinary Joy, expecting that the elder Mr. *Colepeper*, Mr. *Champneys*, and Mr. *Hamilton*, would have continued their Journey to *Holingbourn*, the antient Seat of the Family of the *Colepepers*; but the extraordinary Reception they found at *Maidſtone*, had detained them ſo long, that it was too late to go on; ſo they lay at *Maidſtone* that Night, and the next Day abundance of Gentlemen and Country People came particularly to pay their Reſpects to them, and bid them welcome into the Country.

And at the Time of the Aſſizes lately held at *Maidſtone*, the Grand-Jury, conſiſting of very eminent Gentlemen and Freeholders of the County, whereof twelve were Juſtices of the Peace, went in a Body to the Gentlemen, and publickly gave them Thanks for their Fidelity to the Country, in delivering their Petition to the Parliament.

In all theſe Expreſſions of the Country's Joy at the Return of theſe honeſt Gentlemen, it might be enquired, what they ſaid of the Parliament? becauſe it is ſo natural to curſe with one Hand, when we bleſs with the other, that it might be rationally expected; it is true, the Country being juſtly diſobliged at the ill Uſage of theſe Gentlemen, did not ſpare their Reflections, but I chuſe to paſs it over, becauſe it is not Parliaments in general, but the Conſpirators and Jacobite Party in a Parliament, that are at preſent the Nation's Burthen, and from whom ſhe groans to be redeemed.

The Concluſion.

HAD this Nation liſtened to the Calls of their own Reaſon, and to the Voice of Things, all this Confuſion of Councils had been prevented; had the People of *England* choſen Men of Honeſty, and of peaceable Principles, Men of Candor, diſengaged from Intereſt and Deſign, that had nothing before

before them but the Benefit of their Country, the Safety of Religion, and the Intereſt of *Europe*, all this had been avoided; they would never have impriſoned five honeſt Gentlemen, for coming to them with the Senſe of their Country in a peaceable Petition; they would never have had the Occaſion to repent of their refuſing to hearken to the Voice of the People: But it is too late to look back, the Nation has had the Misfortune to chuſe them, and our Peace, and Liberty, and the Proteſtant Intereſt in *Europe* is too much in their Hands.

All the Advice I can pretend to give my Fellow-Slaves and Countrymen is, that they would not be backward to let the Gentlemen know, that the Nation is ſenſible they are not doing their Duty; and withal, that to impoſe upon the Rights and Liberties of the *Engliſh* Nation, has always been fatal to the Perſons of thoſe who have attempted it, and their Examples ſtand as Buoys and Marks to warn Poſterity of the hidden Dangers which others have fallen into.

It has been fatal to Favourites, to Judges, to Lords, and to Kings, and will certainly be ſo even to Parliaments, if they deſcend to abuſe the People they repreſent.

The impriſoning theſe five Gentlemen had neither Reaſon, Law, Pretence, nor Policy in it.

It had no Reaſon in it, becauſe they had offended againſt no Law, either of Reaſon, or the Nature of the Thing.

It had no Law in it, becauſe they had no legal Power to commit any but their own Members.

And I am of the Opinion, they are convinced there was no Policy in it, for there is ſeldom much Policy in doing that publicly, which we know we ſhall be aſhamed of.

The not proceeding againſt them afterward, ſhewed they were either aſhamed or afraid; had they been in the Right, there could be no Reaſon to fear; and if in the Wrong, they had all the Reaſon in the World to be aſhamed.

To commit five Gentlemen to Cuſtody, for petitioning them to do what they really knew they ought to have done, it was the moſt prepoſterous Thing in Nature: To puniſh for humbly petitioning! it is Nonſenſe in itſelf. God himſelf permits the meaneſt and moſt deſpicable of his Creatures to remind him, as we may ſay, of their Wants, and petition for his Aid: The moſt contemptible Beggar is permitted to be importunate for Relief, and though the Law is againſt him, we are not affronted at it. But to reſent the Repreſentation of their Country, and impriſon Gentlemen who, at the Requeſt of the Freeholders of a County, came, under the expreſs Protection of an Act of Parliament, to deliver a Petition! it was the moſt ridiculous inconſiſtent Action that ever Parliament of *England* was guilty of; and, with Submiſſion, I think the beſt Action the ſame Houſe can do, at their next Meeting, is to vote that it ſhould be razed out of their Journals, and never be made a Precedent for the Time to come; upon which Condition, and no other, the Nation ought to forgive it them.

The Act of 13 *Carol.* II, to aſſert the Right of the Subjects Petitioning, is a ſufficient Authority for any one to quote, and thoſe that pretend to call this

an

an illegal Act, muſt firſt trample down the Authority of that Act of Parliament.

Let this Act juſtify me, in ſaying, that to impriſon *Engliſhmen* for petitioning, is illegal, and a Diſhonour to *Engliſh* Parliaments, *Legion* Article the 3d.

But ſay the lame Excuſers of this excentric Motion of the Houſe, this was a factious Thing contrived by a few private inſignificant People of no Value, and the Matter of it is ſaucy and impertinent.

Firſt, had it been a Petition of the meaneſt and moſt inconſiderable Perſon in *England*, and that ſingle by himſelf, provided he were a Freeholder of *England*, he had a legal Right to ſpeak his Mind, for that ſame Reaſon from whence the Commons in Parliament claim a Freedom of Speech, gives every Commoner a Freedom to ſpeak to the Houſe, ſince every Freeholder has an equal Concern in their Debates, and equal Power in deputing them to ſit there. But becauſe this Right unlimited might be tumultuous and uneaſy, therefore the Method how we ſhall do it, is circumſcribed for Decency's Sake, that it ſhall be done by Petition, and that Petition ſhall be preſented ſo and ſo, and by ſuch a Number, and no more: but that it ſhould not be lawful to petition, no Tribunal, no Court, no Collective or Repreſentative Body of Men in the World ever refuſed it; nay, the Inquiſition of *Spain* does not forbid it, the Divan of the *Turks* allows it, and I believe if *Satan* himſelf kept his Court in public, he would not prohibit it.

But beſides this, the Fact is not true: As for it being contrived by a few People, let the impartial Relation here given, anſwer that ridiculous Untruth, unleſs you will account the County of *Kent* a few, for certainly eleven Parts of twelve of the whole County, and now of the whole Kingdom approve of it.

Nor has the Reproach upon the Perſons preſenting it, more of Truth, unleſs Gentlemen of ancient and illuſtrious Families, whoſe Anceſtors have been known for ſeveral Ages to be Men of Honour and Eſtates, allied to ſeveral of the Nobility, and now known and valued by the whole Country, both for their conſiderable Fortunes, as well as perſonal Merit, unleſs I ſay ſuch Men are to be accounted private and inconſiderable, the Charge cannot be true: To ſuch I ſhall only ſay, that the Anceſtors of theſe Gentlemen were Members of ancient Parliaments, and of ſuch Parliaments as would have been aſhamed of committing ſuch an Abſurdity, as to impriſon the Freeholders of *England* for a peaceable Petition.

As to the Matter of the Petition, and which ſome People ſay was a Banter, the turning their loyal Addreſſes into Bills of Supply. The Gentlemen ought to have had Liberty to explain themſelves, which if they had done, I am of the Opinion that it would have been to this Purpoſe, that they thought it was proper 'the Houſe ſhould ſpeedily ſupply the King ſo with Money, as that he might be 'enabled to defend our Proteſtant Neighbours from the Encroachments of *France*;' and not to loſe their time in addreſſing the King in Matters of leſs Moment.

I ſhall conclude with this ſhort Animadverſion by Way of Remark, and let all Men judge of the Juſtneſs of the Obſervation.

'That

'That as this was the first Time that ever the *English* Nation petitioned to be 'taxed, so this was the first Parliament that ever addressed the King to take care 'of himself, and defend himself against his People.'

Addenda.

SOME Book-learn'd Fools pretend to find a Flaw,
In our late Senate Votes for Want of Law,
And insolently say the Men of *Kent*
Were rudely handled by the Parliament.
Knowledge of Things would teach them every Hour,
That Law is but an Heathen Word for Power.
Might, Right, Force, Justice, Equity,
Are Terms synonimous, and must agree;
For who shall e'er the Argument confute,
Where Power prevails, and no Man dare dispute.
Nature has left this Tincture in the Blood,
That all Men wou'd be Tyrants if they cou'd,
Not Kings alone, not Ecclesiastic Pride,
But Parliaments, and all Mankind beside.
All Men, like *Phaeton*, would command the Reins,
'Tis only Want of Power that restrains.
Then why should we think strange the Parliament
The People's late Petitions shou'd resent:
'Tis fatal to tyrannic Power, when they
Who shou'd be ruin'd, grumble to obey:
And Tyrants never can complete their Reign,
So long as injur'd Subjects dare complain;
If they do not their first Address withstand,
What now they supplicate, they'll soon command,
By first suppressing early Discontent,
They aim'd the Consequences to prevent,
For well they knew that shou'd the Nation try,
To ask once more, they durst not twice deny.
England has this one Fate peculiar to her,
Never to want a Party to undo her,
The Court, the King, the Church, the Parliament,
Alternately pursue the same Intent,
Under the specious Term of Liberty,
The passive injur'd People to betray:
And it has always been the People's Fate,
To see their own Mistakes when 'twas too late,
Senseless of Danger, sleepy and secure,
Till their Distempers grew too strong to cure;
Till they're embrac'd by the approaching Grave,
And none but *Jove* and Miracles can save.

In vain bold Heroes venture to redeem
A People willinger to ſink than ſwim:
If there's a *Brutus* in the Nation found,
That dares Patrician Uſurpation wound,
He's ſure to find an ignominious Grave,
And periſh by the People he would ſave.
Such are by Virtue ſignaliz'd in vain,
We'll own the Merit, but abuſe the Men.
Marius ſav'd *Rome*, and was by *Rome* deſpis'd;
And many a *Ruſſel* we have ſacrific'd.
Then who for *Engliſh* Freedom would appear,
Where Lives of Patriots are never dear,
And Streams of generous Blood flow unregarded there.
Poſterity will be aſham'd to own,
The Actions we their Anceſtors have done,
When they for ancient Precedents enquire,
And to the Journals of this Age retire,
To ſee one Tyrant baniſh'd from his Home,
To ſet five hundred Traitors in his Room.
They'll bluſh to find the Head beneath the Tail,
And repreſenting, Treachery prevail:
They'll be amaz'd to ſee there was but Five,
Whoſe Courage could their Liberty ſurvive,
While we that durſt illegal Power dethrone,
Should baſely be enſlav'd by Tyrants of our own.

A Vindication of the Rights of the Commons of *England*. By *Robert Harley*, Eſq; 1701.

Quod omnes tangit, ab omnibus tractari debet.
Amicus Plato, Amicus Socrates, ſed magis Amica Veritas, & Patria.

To the King, Lords, and Commons, in this preſent Parliament.

To the KING.

Great Sir,

YOUR Majeſty's loyal Subjects have Reaſon to be highly ſenſible of the Glory and Happineſs this Nation enjoys in two very extraordinary Particulars, that is, the Excellency of their King, and the Excellency of their Government.

The firſt hath been fully demonſtrated, by your Majeſty's great and glorious Actions, to all the World; the latter ſeems rather to be underſtood by its happy

Effects than its happy Inſtitution; and therefore a plain and brief Explanation thereof, is humbly ſet forth under your Majeſty's gracious Patronage, in Hopes that the univerſal Love, which the People of *England* have gratefully entertained for your Majeſty's royal Perſon, may alſo be extended to the eſtabliſhed Government.

It may be obſerved, that in moſt former Reigns there have been two Sorts of Men within the Kingdom, who have been commonly known and diſtinguiſhed by the Name of the Court and the Country Party; but when their Profeſſions have been compared with their Actions, the real Difference betwixt them hath ever appeared to be no more than this, that one Party were very zealous for the King and themſelves, and the other for their King and their Country.

But ſince, by the Experience of all Ages, it is apparent, the firſt Propoſition in this little Treatiſe is certainly true, that in all monarchical Governments, it is abſolutely neceſſary, for the common Good, to preſerve a right Underſtanding between the King and the People, and that no King was ever great and glorious in *England*, but he that, like your Majeſty, became the Prince of his People; nor no People ever happy but they, who, like your Majeſty's Subjects, performed a chearful Obedience to their Prince, I humbly conceive, that I cannot attempt to do a better Thing for *England*, than to endeavour to continue and eſtabliſh to all Poſterity the like happy Union in this Kingdom; and I do not know any better way to accompliſh that great End, than by demonſtrating to all Sorts of Capacities, That the Happineſs and Proſperity of both Prince and People, doth entirely depend upon preſerving the happy Conſtitution of the eſtabliſhed Government.

Moſt gracious Sovereign,

As the Subject of this Treatiſe, ſo the Author alſo doth, with all Humility, depend upon your Majeſty's royal Protection, that his ſincere Endeavours, for the public Good, may not ſuffer for any involuntary Miſtake on one Side, or for Want of Charity, or Love of kingly Government, on the other; and that he may have the Honour to profeſs himſelf amongſt the Number of thoſe who are entirely devoted to the true Intereſt of their King and their Country, is the higheſt Ambition of,

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

Your Majeſty's moſt obedient,

Moſt humble,

And moſt dutiful

Subject and Servant,

Humphrey Mackworth.

To the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in this preſent Parliament.

My Lords,

THE Excellency of the Government of *England*, by King, Lords, and Commons, is a Subject worthy of the greateſt Conſideration; and though, as a Member of the Houſe of Commons, I have entitled this little Treatiſe, *A Vindication of the Rights of the Commons of* England, yet I humbly hope I have not been wanting, upon all Occaſions, to aſſert and maintain the juſt Rights and Judicature of your Lordſhips, or elſe I muſt confeſs I have ignorantly varied from my Intentions, and failed in that great Rule that I have laid down as neceſſary for the common Safety; which is, to preſerve the juſt Ballance of the Conſtitution.

My good Intentions therefore, for the general Good, will, I hope, plead my Pardon with your Lordſhips, for any Error or Miſtake in Judgment, ſince I have not wilfully tranſgreſſed the Bounds of Law or Reaſon, nor aſſerted any Propoſition but what I ſincerely apprehend to be as neceſſary for the Support of the Rights of your Lordſhips, as of that honourable Houſe where I am entruſted to ſit as a Member, and where I hope I ſhall always diſcharge my Duty with great Reſpect to your Lordſhips, as well as with Loyalty to my King, and Fidelity to my Country.

And under this Character, together with an humble Aſſurance of my Readineſs to change my Opinion, and acknowledge any Error, whenever I ſhall hear good Reaſons for it, as aiming at nothing but the public Good, and a happy Union in this Kingdom, I humbly crave Leave (with all due Regard and Deference to your Lordſhips) to ſubſcribe,

My Lords,

Your Lordſhips moſt obedient,

and moſt humble Servant,

Humphrey Mackworth.

To the Honourable Robert Harley, *Eſq; Speaker, and all the Honourable the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes, in this preſent Parliament.*

Honoured Sirs,

THIS little Treatiſe, *in Vindication of the Rights of the Commons of* England, comes naturally to crave your Favour and Protection, as the conſtant and generous Patriots of your Country, and the Repreſentatives of thoſe very People, whoſe Rights are here (in all humble manner) aſſerted and maintained.

And the Writer thereof doth entirely depend on your uſual Candour, and favourable Conſtruction of his Proceedings, not doubting but his good Inten-

tions, to ſerve the Public, will make an Apology for his Want of Performance.

And yet there is nothing affects him more, upon this Occaſion, than a juſt Apprehenſion and Concern for his Country, leſt this noble Subject ſhould any ways ſuffer under his Management; eſpecially ſince he labours (at preſent) under Want of Time, as well as Capacity, to treat of it in ſuch a Manner as becomes the Weight and Dignity thereof.

But ſince ſomething of this Nature ſeems neceſſary to be done at preſent, in order to create a right Underſtanding of theſe weighty Matters, and to preſerve that happy Union in *England* that is abſolutely neceſſary for the common Good of the King and Kingdom, he humbly hopes that this poor Acknowledgment of his Duty may be favourably accepted, till a better be performed.

And in the mean Time, as he muſt confeſs that he hath a great Veneration for every Part of the Conſtitution of the Government of *England*, ſo (amongſt the reſt) for that honourable Aſſembly the Houſe of Commons, which has been eſtabliſhed by the Wiſdom of our Anceſtors, as the great Bulwark of the Rights and Liberties of the People of *England*; to the Preſervation of whoſe Rights, he can never doubt but every true *Engliſhman* will give his helping Hand, and endeavour to promote a right Underſtanding thereof, with the like diſintereſted Zeal as is here attempted by,

Gentlemen,

Your moſt obedient

humble Servant,

Humphrey Mackworth.

PREFACE.

WHEN a Miſunderſtanding unfortunately happens between any two Perſons or Bodies of Men, who aim at the ſame common End, the Public Good; and whoſe Intereſt it is to be united, and agree together, as the only Means to obtain that End, or even to preſerve themſelves; it is plain, that it can be only a Miſtake, or Miſapprehenſion, on one Side or other, and that he that by any means can convince either, will certainly oblige and pleaſe both.

My Hopes therefore are, that what is here humbly offered to Conſideration, may, in ſome meaſure, contribute to ſuch a mutual Satisfaction.

For as there is nothing can ruin England but unhappy Diviſions, ſo there is nothing in the preſent Circumſtances can ſave it but a happy Union.

Divide & Impera, *To govern by Parties and Factions, may be a Maxim for arbitrary Governments, but not in a regulated Monarchy; in* England *the direct contrary hath ever been obſerved, that when all Parties, eſpecially all the Branches of the legiſlative Authority, have been united and inſeparable, the Nation hath ever been found inſuperable, and not to be ſubdued.*

It is certain, that no Perſon can act more for the Intereſt of the French *King, in this Conjuncture of Affairs, than by creating Animoſities and Differences in* England: *And*

And no Perſon can act more againſt the French *Intereſt, than by creating a happy Agreement.*

Since then we all ſeem to contend, who ſhall appear to be moſt loyal to the King, and moſt zealous againſt France, *I hope we ſhall all demonſtrate our Sincerity by our Actions, by doing thoſe Things that are moſt likely to pleaſe his Majeſty, and to humble* France; *and that is, in his Majeſty's gracious Expreſſions,* By being firmly united amongſt ourſelves, ſince nothing can contribute more to our Safety at home, or to our being conſiderable abroad.

Let us therefore lay aſide all private Intereſts, where the Public is concerned: Let us not ſo much conſider who are the chief Miniſters of State, whether new or old, as whether they do faithfully diſcharge their Truſts, and execute the Duty of their reſpective Places, for the general Good of the King and People.

A Counſellor of State, or Officer of Juſtice, is not to be reverenced and eſteemed, becauſe he is true to the Intereſt of this or that Party, but becauſe he is juſt and honeſt to all Parties, and true to the Intereſt of the King and Kingdom.

But this I may be bold to ſay, and it appears by the conſtant Experience of all Ages, that he who is falſe and ungrateful to his Creator, can never be ſincere, either to his King or to his Country.

He that hath not Underſtanding to diſcern an almighty Power, by all the wonderful Works of the Creation; or he that hath, and yet lives in open Defiance to the ſame, and in a wilful Habit of Sin and Debauchery; he that denies Dependance on a Divine Providence, and he that owns it with infinite Obligations, and yet diſcovers by his Actions, that he forgets them all, are equally unworthy to be truſted with the Honour of the King, or the Safety of the People.

Many Men (ſays a famous Author) have good Sentiments in the Moment you oblige them, but the Conſtitution of their Nature ſways them ſoon after, and they eaſily forget what they owe others, becauſe they only love themſelves: And as Fire converts all Things into its own Subſtance, they only conſider public Intereſts to convert them to their own Advantage, and equally deſpiſe thoſe who do them Good, and the State in which they receive it.

This is moſt certain, that the ſame Qualifications which render Men worthy of Favours, are the ſame which make them capable and deſirous to acknowledge them: And on the contrary, the ſame ill Qualities which make Men unworthy of Favours, are the ſame which make them ungrateful both to their King and their Country.

And the Qualifications of any Miniſter will always be ſuſpected, who ſhall at any Time endeavour to lay his own Faults on the ſacred Perſon of his Prince, and to ſhelter himſelf from Juſtice by a fatal Diviſion in his Country.

But let the Faults of Miniſters be what they will, they cannot be greater to an earthly Power, than the Crimes of all other Men are in the Sight of Heaven; and therefore it muſt be the Duty of every Man to forgive others, as he would be forgiven himſelf: That is, upon the ſame Condition of Repentance and Amendment.

But if a great Miniſter ſhall at any time offend, and perſiſt in his Error; if he ſhall break in upon the Conſtitution of the Government, and at the ſame time juſtify it to be lawful, and ſo endeavour to eſtabliſh a Precedent which tends to the Ruin and Deſtruction of his native Country to all Poſterity, How can any Man pretend to ſay, that during ſuch Impenitency, he is entitled to Forgiveneſs either from God or Man?

The

The End then of publiſhing theſe occaſional Thoughts on the Rights of the Commons, is, Firſt, To demonſtrate the Nature of the Conſtitution of the Government of England, *by King, Lords and Commons, and thereby to encourage all true* Engliſhmen, *of what Degrees and Capacities ſoever, to put a juſt Value upon it, and to be as tender of its Preſervation as of the Apple of their Eyes, as the Nature and Excellency thereof doth require, and as that upon which depends the Honour and Safety of the King, and the Preſervation of the Rights and Liberties of all the People of* England.

In the next place, it is deſigned (with due Reſpect and Deference to the great Officers and Miniſters of State, who ſhall at any time be concerned in the Adminiſtration of public Affairs) as an humble and kind Admonition to them, not to offend againſt this happy Conſtitution; or if they do (as the beſt of Men may err) that they ſtudy rather to excuſe, than juſtify their Miſtakes, and find out any other Way to ſave themſelves, and palliate their Errors (which may happen from the Surprize of extraordinary Honours and Preferments) than by procuring an Impunity at the Price, and with the Ruin of their native Country.

And in the third Place, it is propoſed with all Humility and Deference to better Judgments, to demonſtrate the Nature of the Powers and Proceedings of Lords and Commons upon Impeachments, and how they do mutually ſupport and depend upon each other for their common Safety, and thereby to promote a right Underſtanding thereof, and continue a happy Union between both Houſes.

And in order to this it has been conſidered, That the great End of Speaking and Writing, is to make other Men underſtand what is ſpoke or writ, and thereby to convince them of that Truth which is to be demonſtrated.

Many Things are plain when they are plainly expreſſed, which till then do often remain as Myſteries.

When therefore the Intent of a Writer is to do Good to others, and not to gain Preferment or Applauſe to himſelf, he will rather ſtudy how to Convince than Pleaſe; and how to make that Truth, which ſeems evident to himſelf, appear ſo to others, than to entertain his Reader with uſeleſs and amuſing Oratory.

But he muſt, at the ſame time, confeſs, That he thinks himſelf very fortunate in this Particular, that he is at preſent to treat of ſuch a Conſtitution of Government, which needs no other Advantage to ſet it off, than a bare Relation of its own Worth and Excellency; and conſequently, is more agreeable to the mean Capacity of the Writer.

If any thing therefore, in theſe Papers, ſhall in the leaſt contribute to a right Underſtanding of the Subject-Matter, and conſequently to a good Agreement between all Parties, the Intent thereof is fully anſwered.

And if the Writer is unfortunately miſtaken in any Particular (as a Perſon of his weak Underſtanding very well may) he ſhall be obliged for the Diſcovery of his Error, to any Perſon that ſhall treat him as a Gentleman, and as ſoon as he has an Opportunity to conſider thereof, he will as fairly acknowledge the ſame, or give his Reaſons to the contrary.

But ſince his End is ſerious and ſincere for the public Good, he cannot ſhew a Reſpect to any other Anſwer, than that which aims at the ſame Advantage to the Public as is hereby intended; which is, To convince all Parties of the real Truth, and thereby to promote a happy Union in this Nation.

The Writer indeed, cannot but be ſenſible, that if there ſhall happen at any time hereafter to be a Set of evil Miniſters in this Kingdom, they will be apt to be very much offended

offended at this well-intended Treatise; and for that Reason it might have been esteemed a politic Part to have concealed his Name; but this he did not think for the Honour of the House of which he is a Member, least their Enemies should asperse it as a spurious Pamphlet, and as if the Writer had not a good Cause to defend, or wanted Courage to own it; and therefore this is his true and real Satisfaction, That he shall either in some Measure contribute to the Preservation of the happy Constitution of the Government, and thereby promote his own and his Country's Welfare together, and prevent the Unhappiness of an evil Ministry to this Nation; or else have the Honour to suffer in such a glorious Cause, in Defence of the Rights of the Commons of England.

But if this Treatise fall into the Hands of Persons zealous and affectionate for the true Interest of their native Country, it may perhaps be of some Use to promote a right Understanding between all Parties, and to continue a happy Union between the King, Lords and Commons, which is absolutely necessary for the Happiness and Safety of England, *and for the attaining those great Ends which all good Men do heartily wish and desire: And that is, To secure our Trade; and promote our Manufactures; to pay our Debts, and assist our Allies; to employ our Poor, and preserve our Religion: And, in short, To put a timely Stop to the exorbitant Power of* France, *and to advance the general Good of the King and Kingdom.*

A Vindication of the RIGHTS of the COMMONS of *ENGLAND.*

CHAP. I.

Of the Nature and Excellency of the Government of England, *by King, Lords and Commons.*

THE happy Constitution of this Government (which is the Glory and Happiness of *England*, and the Wonder or Envy of all the World) is founded on these following Maxims and prudent Considerations:

That in all Monarchical Governments it is absolutely necessary, for the common Good, to preserve a right Understanding between the King and the People.

That therefore it is necessary, in all such Governments, that whatever Mismanagements happen, no Blame or Wrong be imputed to the King.

That as it is necessary to take Care that no Blame be imputed to the King; so it is necessary to take as much Care as possible, that no Wrong be done to the People.

That therefore when any Wrong is done, the People may have a legal Remedy for Redress thereof.

That the King and the People are like the Head and the Body, and do mutually depend on each other.

That as the People depend on the Protection, Justice and Conduct of the Prince, so the Prince depends on the Subjection, Strength and Treasure of the People.

That

That therefore it is the Intereſt of all Kings and Princes, to govern in ſuch a Manner as is conſiſtent with Reaſon, and with the Rights and Liberties of the People.

That in order thereunto, and to prevent Miſtakes, it is very requiſite and convenient, that (as far as may be) the Prerogatives of the King, and the Rights of the People, be declared and aſcertained.

That therefore a regulated or limited Monarchy, according to ſuch Declarations or Laws, founded upon Reaſon and Juſtice, is the moſt happy, ſecure, and beſt ſort of Government, both for the King and the People.

That in all ſuch Monarchies it is abſolutely neceſſary, for the common Safety, that the Prerogatives of the King, and the Rights of the People, be ſecured to each other by a prudent Diſtribution of Power, in the original Frame and Conſtitution of the Government.

That therefore the abſolute, ſupreme, and legiſlative Authority (which is neceſſary to ſupport all Governments againſt Contingencies) be lodged (not in one) but in three diſtinct Perſons or Bodies, united by Intereſt in the ſame common End, the public Good.

That theſe three Branches of the ſupreme Authority, have alſo ſeveral particular Powers lodged in them, as mutual Securities, for the common Safety, to aſſiſt each againſt the Encroachments of the other, which may not be legally defeated or made impracticable.

That the ſaid abſolute, ſupreme, and legiſlative Authority in *England*, be lodged in the King, the Lords and the Commons: With the King as ſupreme, and common Father of his Country: With the Lords, as Perſons of great Honour, Quality and Eſtates, and conſequently highly concerned for the public Safety. With the Commons, as they are the Repreſentatives of the People; and with all three together, as united by Intereſt in the ſame common End, the public Good.

That the King, Lords and Commons, have alſo ſeveral particular Powers and Authorities lodged in them, as mutual Securities for the common Safety: That is to ſay, That the King have the Power of making War and Peace, of commanding the Militia and Forces of the Kingdom, of calling and diſſolving Parliaments, of appointing all Officers Eccleſiaſtical, Civil and Military; and, in ſhort, all other Powers and Prerogatives that a wiſe and good Prince can deſire, to make him happy and beloved at Home, as well as potent and reſpected Abroad.

That the Commons, as Repreſentatives of the People, have amongſt other Things) the Power of Levying Money, and of impeaching and proſecuting evil Miniſters, as a neceſſary Security to preſerve the Rights and Liberties of the People.

And that the Lords be entruſted with a Right of Judicature, and as another Branch of the legiſlative Authority, to preſerve a Ballance of Power between the King and the People.

That as the King, Lords and Commons, united together, have an abſolute ſupreme Power, to do whatever they ſhall think neceſſary or convenient for the public Good, of which they are the only Judges, there being no legal Power on Earth to controul them; ſo the ſeveral and particular Powers lodged in

them

them as Branches of the ſupreme Authority, as mutual Securities for the common Safety, and as Checks one upon another, muſt in their Nature be ſupreme and abſolute againſt all but one another.

That the Lords and Commons therefore have Power over the Courts of *Weſtminſter-Hall*, but the Courts of *Weſtminſter-Hall* have no Power over the Houſe of Lords or Commons.

The Lords have a Power upon a Writ of Error, to reverſe the Judgments of the Courts of *Weſtminſter-Hall*; and the Commons have a ſtanding Committee for Courts of Juſtice, to inſpect into the Abuſes in thoſe Courts, either by Corruption in the Judges, or Extortion in the Officers; but the Judges of thoſe inferior Courts have no Power to judge of the Legality of the Proceedings in the High Court of Parliament; for that would be to invert the Order of Juſtice, and ſubvert the Conſtitution eſtabliſhed for the common Safety.

The King, Lords and Commons therefore, as ſupreme, have ſuperior Powers, and the Liberty of exerciſing them (according to the Nature and Conſtitution thereof) as they in their reſpective Wiſdoms and Diſcretions ſhall think moſt conducing to the public Good, without rendering any Account for the ſame; that is, the King, by Advice of his Council (*viz.* the Privy Council in Matters of State, and the Judges in Matters of Law) and according to the noble Conſtitution of the Monarchy hereafter ſet forth; may exerciſe the high and great Prerogatives of making War and Peace, calling and diſſolving Parliaments, *&c.* and no Miſmanagement is to be imputed to the King, but to his Miniſters.

The Houſe of Lords being a great Council within themſelves, are entruſted with the Exerciſe of the Power of Judicature on Impeachments, upon Honour; they are not bound up by an Oath, nor reſtrained by a Jury; but they ſupply the Place of Judge and Jury, and determine according to Right and Juſtice, and according to their Lordſhips great Judgments and Diſcretions, from which there lies no Appeal.

And the Houſe of Commons, being a numerous Body, the Repreſentatives of the People, and another great Council within themſelves, have the Power of impeaching and proſecuting evil Miniſters, and other great Offenders, as they in their Diſcretions ſhall judge requiſite for the public Safety; and are not accountable for the ſame to any ſuperior Power.

And it is abſolutely neceſſary for the Safety of *England*, that ſuch large Powers ſhould be lodged ſomewhere, to preſerve the King and People from the ſecret Deſigns of contriving and ambitious Men, who will be endeavouring in every Age to overturn the happy Conſtitution of the Government, and to accompliſh their wicked Ends by ſuch dark and hidden Meaſures, which though manifeſt and apparent by their evil Conſequences and Effects, yet may not immediately admit of a plain and poſitive Evidence.

Since therefore theſe ſupreme Powers are neceſſary for the common Safety, and no Perſon can aſſign any other Bodies of Men in *England*, that are more fit to be entruſted with theſe Powers than the King, Lords and Commons; every rational Man ought to ſubmit to the eſtabliſhed Government, and not preſume to argue againſt it, upon any Suppoſition of Miſmanagement in the King, Partiality in the Lords, or Delay in the Commons; ſince it is the higheſt and beſt

Security for the Rights and Liberties of the People of *England*, that the Nature of the Government will admit.

And when there is Occaſion to debate concerning theſe ſupreme Powers of King, Lords or Commons, we muſt not argue like Lawyers in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, from the narrow Foundation of private Cauſes of *meum* and *tuum*; but like Stateſmen and Senators, from the large and noble Foundation of Government, and of the general Good of the King and People.

But although theſe ſupreme Powers are above the Juriſdiction of all inferior Courts, and may be exerciſed according to the Diſcretion of the reſpective Parties; yet they muſt of Neceſſity be limited and bounded by one another in ſuch a Manner, that one may not be allowed to encroach on the other; and that it may not be in the Power of any one to defeat the Right or Power that is lodged in any other, or render the ſame impracticable; but that all three may ſubſiſt together for the common Good, and each of them be able to attain the End for which they were eſtabliſhed: For if otherwiſe, the whole Deſign of the Conſtitution will be diſappointed, and theſe three Powers will not be Checks one upon another, nor be mutual Securities to preſerve the common Safety, as was intended.

This is the plain Rule, by which we are upon all Occaſions to meaſure and ſet out the Bounds and Limits of the legal Authority of the King, Lords, and Commons. This is the infallible Touchſtone, by which we are to try the Legality of all Claims and Demands of Power by every Branch of the legiſlative Authority: This is the *ne plus ultra*, the utmoſt Boundary to their reſpective Authorities.

Hence it is that the Commons have always inſiſted, that the King's great and high Prerogative of pardoning Offenders is yet ſo limited and reſtrained, that it cannot extend to pardon Impeachments; becauſe the King cannot defeat that Power in the Commons, which is appointed as a Check upon the Prerogative itſelf, and is the great Bulwark of the Rights and Liberties of the People, againſt an evil Miniſtry and arbitrary Power. For if the King can command an unlawful Thing, to the Prejudice of the People, and afterwards pardon the evil Miniſter that puts that Command in Execution, there can be no manner of Security for the Rights of the People.

Hence it came to be determined in the Caſe of the five Popiſh Lords, 'That 'the Office of High Steward, upon Trials of Peers, is not neceſſary to the 'Houſe of Peers, but that the Lords may proceed in ſuch Trials, if a High 'Steward be not appointed according to their humble Deſire:' Becauſe, if ſuch an Office were neceſſary, then the King (by not appointing a High Steward) might defeat the Judicature of the Lords, and render the Exerciſe of that Power impracticable, which is appointed as another Check upon the Prerogative, and to prevent any Encroachment on the Rights of the People.

And hence it is, that neither the Lords nor Commons can have ſuch a legal Power, which is able to defeat the Power of each other; and which would only be a Power to deſtroy the Ballance of the Conſtitution, and ruin themſelves.

And

And thus it appears, that the ſeveral and reſpective Powers veſted in the King, Lords, and Commons, are mutual Checks and mutual Boundaries to one another, but are not to be limited by any Authority beſides their own.

Theſe ſupreme Powers therefore are as great as the Nature of ſuch Powers will admit, and as the King, Lords, or Commons can reaſonably deſire; and the greater they are, the greater are the People of *England*, for whoſe Security they were eſtabliſhed: But then they muſt agree together in the Exerciſe of their Powers, and not interfere or claſh with one another, for thereby they will both deſtroy themſelves, and the End for which they were eſtabliſhed.

Every Body natural (that has a rational Soul) hath an Underſtanding, a Will, and a Memory, for the ſafe and prudent Government of that Body; and the greater and more extenſive thoſe Faculties are, the greater is the Happineſs and Safety of that Body natural: So, in the great Body politic of the Kingdom, the King, Lords, and Commons, do compoſe the Soul of that Body politic, and are entruſted with the ſafe and prudent Government thereof; and the greater thoſe Powers are, the greater is the Happineſs and Safety of that Kingdom.

But as in the Body natural, if the Underſtanding pretends to judge before the Memory has truly ſtated the Caſe, or the Will to make a Choice, before the Underſtanding is conſulted, the End for which theſe Faculties were appointed will be defeated: —— So the King, Lords, and Commons, muſt agree together, and aſſiſt each other in the Exerciſe of their ſeveral and reſpective Powers, without the leaſt Encroachment upon one another, or elſe they will not anſwer the End for which they were eſtabliſhed.

The King therefore may exerciſe his Prerogative to the higheſt Extent of Power that the Nature thereof will admit, and that does not invade or defeat the juſt Rights of the Lords or Commons.

And the Lords may exerciſe their Right of Judicature to the higheſt Extent of Power that the Nature thereof will admit, and which does not invade or defeat the Prerogative of the King, or the Rights of the Commons; and the Commons may exerciſe the Power of impeaching, and proſecuting evil Miniſters, veſted in them, for the Security of the People, to the higheſt Extent of Power that the Nature of the Thing will admit, and that does not invade or defeat the King's Prerogative, or the juſt Right of Judicature in the Lords: But none of them can extend their Power to defeat, or make impracticable, the Power of any of the other, without deſtroying the Balance of the Conſtitution; and, in the Conſequence thereof, deſtroying themſelves.

The three ſeveral Powers veſted in the King, Lords, and Commons, are like the three perfect Concords in Muſic, which being exactly tuned to one another, upon proper Inſtruments, make admirable Harmony; but if you ſtretch any one String, beyond its proper Pitch, you put all out of Tune, and deſtroy the whole Concert.

But as a Diſcord in Muſic may ſometimes be brought in, to make the Ear more ſenſible of the Sweetneſs of the following Concord; ſo a Diſcord in Politics may poſſibly give Occaſion to many Perſons to take more Notice of, and be better pleaſed with the Harmony and Excellency of the eſtabliſhed Government.

And herein conſiſts the Excellency of the Government of *England*, that it is not only the beſt Sort of Government in the World, both for the King and the People, when the happy Conſtitution thereof is preſerved, but it is admirably well contrived, and every thing provided that was poſſible for its Preſervation: For,

Our wiſe Anceſtors have ſo prudently diſpoſed and diſtributed the ſupreme Powers in the original Frame and Conſtitution of the Government, that it is manifeſtly the Intereſt of King, Lords and Commons, inviolably to preſerve to each other the ſeveral and reſpective Rights and Powers belonging to them, and not to encroach upon one another. For,

In caſe any Encroachment be made on the Prerogative of the Crown, it will only leſſen that Power that is to protect the People, and conſequently leſſen the Safety and Security of the People, that are to be protected by that Power.

And in caſe any Encroachment be made on the Rights and Liberties of the People, or of their Repreſentatives, it will only leſſen that Strength that is to ſupport the King, and conſequently leſſen the Power and Intereſt of the King, that is to be ſupported by the Strength and Treaſure of the People.

And ſo in caſe any Encroachment be made on the legal Juriſdiction of the Houſe of Lords, it will only leſſen that Power, that is the very Band of Union between the King and the People; and conſequently, leſſen the Security of both King and People, that is to be preſerved by that Mediation.

And there has not only been Care taken to make it the Intereſt of all Parties concerned to preſerve the eſtabliſhed Government, but the Nature of the Eſtabliſhment is ſuch, that it does in a manner preſerve itſelf: For the ſupreme Power is not lodged in one, leaſt he ſhould be arbitrary; not in two, leaſt they ſhould fall out, and there be none to interpoſe betwixt them; but,

Such is the happy Conſtitution of this Government, that it conſiſting of three diſtinct Branches of the ſupreme Authority, who are mutual Securities, and checks one upon another, for the common Safety, if a Miſunderſtanding happen between any two, there is ſtill one left, whoſe Intereſt it is to reconcile the Difference: And if any one endeavour to advance their Power beyond its juſt Bounds and Limits, there are always two againſt that one to preſerve the Ballance of the Conſtitution.

But the Excellency of the Government of *England*, is not only proved by Reaſon, but by long Experience; this Nation having, for many Ages, flouriſhed under the ſame Conſtitution of Government, by King, Lords and Commons, and from Generation to Generation preſerved their Liberties, whilſt many of our Neighbours have loſt their ancient Form of Government, and their Liberties together.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Of the Eſtabliſhment of public Officers and Miniſters of State, and how the Rights of the King and the People are thereby ſecured.

IN order to preſerve a right Underſtanding between the King and the People, and that no Miſmanagement in the Government be imputed to the King, nor yet any Wrong done to the People, without a Remedy, it is neceſſary that all public Acts of Government be performed by public Officers; for if done by the King, and any Miſmanagement happens, either the People muſt loſe their Rights, or the Blame be imputed to the King: Neither of which ought to be admitted.

That therefore theſe public Officers be anſwerable for all public Acts done by them, both to the King and to the People; and in Order thereto ——

That all Grants, Patents, and public Acts of Government be enrolled, and made Matter of Record.

That theſe public Officers, or the chief of them, as the Lord Chancellor, and the Lord Treaſurer of *England*, the Judges, *&c.* do take an Oath of Office, and therein (amongſt other Things) do ſwear, well and truly to ſerve the King and his People in the Office of Chancellor or Treaſurer, *&c.* reſpectively.

That ſuch a prudent Eſtabliſhment be made of all theſe public Officers, that one may be a Check upon another, for the common Safety: And that no Perſon preſume to undertake any two Offices that are Checks one upon another, whereby the King and People loſe one of the great Securities for the Safety of the Nation, and the Officer is left at Liberty without Controul, to act contrary to his Duty, and the Intereſt of the Public.

That the King have the Power of appointing public Officers at his Will and Pleaſure for the Security of his Prerogative. The Repreſentatives of the People have a Power of impeaching them for any Miſmanagement and Breach of Truſt, for the Security of the Rights and Liberties of the Commons of *England*: And the Lords have the Power of judging whether their Actions are juſtifiable or not, for the common Security of all Parties.

The exerciſing all public Acts of Government, by public Officers, is no Reſtraint upon the juſt Prerogative of the King: Firſt, becauſe the King has the Choice of them, from time to time, at his Will and Pleaſure. Secondly, becauſe thoſe Miniſters are bound to obey the King in all lawful Things. And the Law preſumes, That no King (who is the Father of his Country) will command that which is unlawful; or if he do, that when he is made ſenſible of it, he will recal his Order.

The Law therefore wiſely provides for the Safety of the People, without invading the Prerogative of the Crown, and has made it not only the Duty, but the Intereſt of every Miniſter (for his own Safety) to inform his Majeſty of the Legality of all Proceedings: 1. By Words, by an humble Declaration of the Senſe of the Law: And if that will not prevail, then to convince his Majeſty of his Sincerity, by his Actions; and that is by a Reſignation of his Office.

All

All good Princes will be convinced by this rational, honourable, and self-denying Argument, and will rather commend the Fidelity of his Minister, than be offended with him. But if it should happen hereafter, in a future Reign, that the Prince will not be advised, but shall accept the Resignation of his Officer, that Minister will have the Satisfaction of suffering in a good Cause, for the Safety of his Country, and gain very great Honour to himself and Family: And the People of *England* will still have the same Security for their Rights and Liberties as they had before.

For if the succeeding Minister betrays his Trust, he must expect to answer for it in the House of Peers, on the Impeachment of the Commons: And if he also, in humble Manner, desires to be excused from executing the same unlawful Command, to the Ruin or Prejudice of the People, the King (who cannot exercise any public Act of Government but by his Ministers) will at last observe the Necessity of yielding to the Law of the Land.

These are the wise and prudent Methods, our Forefathers have devised and established, to preserve the Rights and Liberties of the People, without any force or violence on the royal Person of the King.

These are the dutiful Ways of keeping Princes, within the Bounds of Law; not by Rebellion and Resistance against the Person of the King, but by faithful Council, and Self-denial in the Subject. And it is the miserable Neglect of Ministers, in the faithful Discharge of this Part of their Duty, that frequently leads Princes into those Errors which sometimes prove fatal to them.

Could we but persuade the Ministers in all Reigns, thus to discharge their Oaths of Office, and duty both to their King and their Country, this Nation would not so often fall into Convulsions of Government, that frequently endanger the whole Constitution.

The exercising therefore all Acts of Government by public Ministers, is so far from being a Prejudice, that it is a great Advantage and Security both to the King and to the People: To the King, because no Mismanagement can be imputed to him, but to his Ministers: To the People, because they may have Redress for their Grievances, without any Misunderstanding with their Prince.

By this Means the King may always reign in the Hearts of his Subjects, and the Subjects always preserve their Rights without Offence to the King.

The King has the Power of preferring honest Men, which is all a good King desires in the Nomination of public Offices. And the Lords and Commons have the Power of punishing dishonest Men; which is both for the Honour and Safety of the King and the People.

King *Charles* the First, in his Answer to the nineteen Propositions, doth set forth, that the King, the House of Lords, and the House of Commons, have each particular Priviledges: And (after enumerating the several Prerogatives of the Crown) his Majesty declares, that the Prince may not make use of that high and perpetual Power, to the Hurt of those for whose Good he hath it; and make use of the Name of the public Necessity, for the Gain of his private Favourites and Followers, to the detriment of his People. And then adds, that the House of Commons (an excellent Conserver of Liberty, *&c.*) is solely entrusted with the Power of levying Money, and of impeaching those Ministers, who, for their own End, (tho' countenanced by any surreptitiously-gotten Command of the King) have violated the Law, which he is bound, when he

know

knows it, to protect; and to the Protection of which, the Miniſters were bound to adviſe him, or, at leaſt, not to ſerve him in the contrary. And the Lords being entruſted with a judicatory Power, are an excellent Skreen and Back between the Prince and the People; to aſſiſt each againſt Encroachments of the others, and by ſuch Judgments, to perform that Law which ought to be the Rule of every one of the three.

Whoever therefore affirms, that the King's Command doth juſtify the Miniſter in doing an unlawful Act, maintains a Propoſition that deſtroys the original Frame and Conſtitution of the Government; and conſequently, the Happineſs and Safety both of the King and of the People.

He deſtroys the Happineſs and Safety of the King, by imputing the Blame of doing an unlawful Act to the Prince, and excuſing the Miniſter. He deſtroys the Happineſs and Safety of the People, by depriving them of the only proper Means for Redreſs of Grievances:—For the People of *England* have no Relief, in caſe of Miſmanagement, but either againſt the King or his Miniſters. But to ſeek Relief againſt the King, is a Remedy worſe than the Diſeaſe:——Is againſt the Nature and Conſtitution of our Government, and would be an Occaſion of creating a Miſunderſtanding between the King and his People which is a principal Thing to be avoided: And therefore the People muſt either have their Remedy againſt the Miniſters, or none at all: And to be without any Relief or Redreſs of Grievances, would quickly end in the Ruin of the People, and Deſtruction of their Rights and Liberties.

If the People of *England* have no Relief, in caſe their Rights are invaded, then they have no Security for thoſe Rights: And if they have no Security, if they are precarious on the Will and Pleaſure of others, it is the ſame thing in effect, as if they had no Rights and Liberties at all; for a Right, without a Remedy, is not properly a Right, but a Favour or Courteſy, to be enjoyed during Pleaſure.

In all regulated Monarchies, the King is to act according to the Laws of the Land; but the Laws of the Land being numerous and difficult to be underſtood, it cannot be preſumed that a King can ſpare time to ſtudy the Laws, and attain to the perfect Knowledge of them: Therefore our wiſe and prudent Anceſtors have provided, that the King ſhall be guarded by his Councellors and great Officers, who are to underſtand the Laws at their Peril, and to be anſwerable both to the King, and to the People, for all public Acts that paſs through their Hands.

Theſe great Officers of State are placed like Centinels at ſeveral Diſtances, to be mutual Checks one upon another, and to keep conſtant Watch, for the common Safety of the King and People. Obſerve, therefore, the Progreſs which the Law has directed in paſſing of ordinary Grants and Patents: 1. A Petition is made to the King; then this Petition is referred to the Lords of the Treaſury, by an Order of Reference, ſigned by a Secretary of State; and if the Lords of the Treaſury make a Report in Favour of the ſaid Grant, then the King ſigns a Warrant to the Attorney, or Sollicitor-General, impowering one of them to prepare a Bill containing ſuch a Grant. After Mr. Attorney or Sollicitor has paſſed the ſame; then it goes to the privy Signet, the Cuſtody whereof is in the Secretary of State, who being a Miniſter in high Office, is preſumed by the Laws to be watchful for the King's Good, and the Welfare of the Public.

The

The Warrant being thus ſigned by the Secretary, is carried to the Lord Privy-Seal, who is another great Officer, well verſed in Matters of State, and in the Knowledge of all the King's Affairs, and this great Officer, by the Oath of his Office, is obliged to take Care that his Majeſty is not deceived in his Grant: And in caſe a private Subject is concerned in the Conſequence thereof, he may enter a Caveat at the Office, and be heard before the Lord Privy-Seal, before the Grant paſſes that Seal: But in caſe the ſame doth paſs there,

Then the Grant is carried to the Lord Chancellor, or Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of *England*, who is always a Perſon of great Ability and Knowledge of the Law; and who, by his Oath, is bound to the Obſervance thereof, and to adviſe the King to the beſt of his Skill and Knowledge, for the univerſal Good of the King and his People, and is not to ſuffer any Grant or Patent, prejudicial to the King or People, to paſs the Great Seal of *England:* And any Subject concerned, hath alſo a Right to enter a Caveat at the Great Seal, and to be ſolemnly heard before the Lord Keeper.

And as ſoon as any Patent is paſſed the Great Seal, before it goes out of the Care of the Lord Keeper, it ought to be enrolled in Chancery, and made a Matter of Record, in Juſtification of the ſaid Lord Keeper; to defend the Patents from any Alteration or Forgery, and for the common Security of the King and all his Subjects.

Thus you ſee the great Care that is taken for the common Safety; if an Enemy ſurprize the firſt Centinel, or public Officer, and is able to obtain his Paſs there, yet, when he comes to the ſecond, there he is bid to ſtand again: And if by any Art or Corruption he paſſes through that, and all the Reſt of the Offices, yet when he comes to the Lord Chancellor, or Lord Keeper, there he meets with another full Stop, and the ſtricteſt Examination; and as ſoon as a Grant is paſſed the Great Seal, it is enrolled, and made a Matter of Record.

So that if any of theſe great Officers are honeſt Men, all is ſafe, the Deſign is diſcovered, and the Enemy defeated: And when the Law requires ſo much Care in every the leaſt Grant, how can it be imagined that the Law requires leſs Care in Grants or Patents, relating to the whole Kingdom?

But to what End is all this Formality, and great Number of Officers appointed? If the King's Warrant muſt poſitively be obeyed, whether the Matter therein contained be lawful or not? Any one Officer can execute a Command of this Kind as well as twenty; what can then be the Reaſon of it, but that in the Multitude of Councellors there is Safety? For a Number of Officers are leſs liable than one, either to Corruption, or to a Miſtake in Judgment; but if all theſe Officers are to take the Warrants or Orders, one from another, as a ſufficient Authority, if that were all that was expected from them, there had been no need of ſuch a Conſtitution, or ſuch an unneceſſary Charge to the Government: Our Anceſtors therefore, have not only obliged all theſe Officers to Fidelity, by Oaths of Office, but wiſely conſidering, that it was not poſſible to know what Advice a Miniſter of State might give in private to his Prince, have prudently provided, that they ſhall prove their Integrity by their Actions; that is, by doing nothing but what is lawful, or elſe by a Reſignation of their Office.

They were ſure every Officer would give good Advice, when he was to do it at his Peril; he would argue, and plead hard to convince his Prince of the Unlawfulneſs

Unlawfulneſs of an Action, and uſe all his Intereſt to diſſuade him from it, when his Majeſty's perſiſting did preſent ſuch Officer with no other Proſpect than an Impeachment of the Commons, or a Neceſſity of Reſigning his Office.

'Tis well known, that Princes are frequently ſurprized in theſe Caſes; and by Miſrepreſentations in the great hurry of public Affairs, many Warrants have ſurreptitiouſly been obtained, and others have been granted meerly to ſatisfy the Importunity of Courtiers, when the Prince himſelf did not expect that any of thoſe Warrants ſhould paſs through the Hands of the great Officers: But if Kings grant Warrants depending on the Fidelity of their Miniſters, and the Miniſters execute Warrants depending on the Authority of the Prince, it's plain that neither the King, nor the People, will have any Security by this Conſtitution.

A Warrant from the King, is indeed a Command to his Officers, but it is upon an imply'd Condition in Law (well known,) in caſe the Matter commanded be lawful, and no ways prejudicial to the King or the People. And ſuch a Warrant is neceſſary in all Caſes, as the firſt Step, the *Primum Mobile*, or the Spring that ſets all the Wheels of Government a going. But then the legal Artiſt muſt at his Peril take care, that the Spring of Power be neither too ſtrong to break the Wheels of Government, nor too weak to ſupport itſelf: But that it be ſo regulated, according to the known Laws of the Land, as to anſwer the Ends of Government for which it was eſtabliſhed, and preſerve the common Safety of the King and the People.

This is a Doctrine which perhaps will not be very agreeable to ſuch Miniſters of State, who ſhall at any time hereafter think themſelves Safe, if they can by any Means whatſoever obtain the King's Warrant, (which a ſet of corrupt Miniſters may always be able to do for one another;) but it is the only Doctrine that hath, or can make the King and People happy, and ſave *England* from Ruin and Deſtruction.

'Tis true, that of later Times, ſeveral Errors have crept into the happy Conſtitution of this Government, and the King's Warrants have, in ſome Caſes, been carried immediately from the Privy Signet to the Great Seal, without ever paſſing the Scrutiny of the Lord Privy Seal; but this is an Error that manifeſtly leſſens the Security of the King and People, and is to be rectified.

However, this does not excuſe the Lord Chancellor, or Lord Keeper, for the time being, from doing their Duty; but, on the contrary; the leſs Care was taken of a Warrant before, the more ought to be taken when it comes to the Great Seal.

And thus the Difference may appear between the King's Letter and the King's Warrant. The King's Warrant, in ſome Caſes, paſſes through the Hands of the Lords of the Treaſury, the Attorney-General, and one of the principal Secretaries of State; and, in all Caſes through the Hands of one or more of them, who are public Officers and Centinels, appointed to watch for the public Safety; and on whoſe Judgment and Advice, both the King and People do very much depend. But the King's Letter is a private Tranſaction, and is not attended with theſe Advantages to the Public: Therefore, when any Patent is paſſed upon the King's Letter, without a Warrant, that Patent is

paſſed contrary to Law, and the King and and People are thereby deprived of thoſe Securities that the Law has appointed for the common Safety.

And hereby it plainly appears, that the ſetting the Great Seal of *England* to any Patent with a Blank, cannot be juſtified; for every Patent ought to be compleat and perfect, and enrolled in Chancery, both for the Security of the King and the People, before it goes out of the Care of the Lord Keeper. And when the Prince is acquainted with the Law, in this Caſe, he will always come to a Reſolution in every Particular, before his Orders are carried to the Keeper of the Great Seal.

How can it be conſiſtent with the Oath of a Lord Chancellor, that he will well and truly ſerve the King, and his People, in the Office of Chancellor, when he does a thing that he cannot know himſelf what may be the Iſſue of it? Whether the Words that ſhall be inſerted in that Blank, may be for the Good of the King and Kingdom, or for their Deſtruction?

How can it be conſiſtent with the great and high Truſt repoſed in a Lord Chancellor, who has the Cuſtody of the Great Seal of *England*, to leave an Affair of the greateſt Conſequence to the Nation, to Accidents and Uncertainties? When a Patent is out of his Sight and Reach, he can neither know what will be inſerted in any Blank, nor by whom; nor into whoſe Hands the Patent may fall, nor what other Alterations may be made therein, eſpecially if it ſhould ſo happen that the Patent is to go into a foreign Country, and run the Hazard both of Robbers at Land, and Pirates at Sea: And when there is no Record in Chancery to be a Check upon this Patent, and to detect any Alteration or Forgery in the ſame.

But whenever there ſhall be ſeveral Blanks left in a Patent, and one Blank of an entire Sheet, large enough to inſert therein unlimited Powers, and convey away *England* or *Ireland* to the *French* King, how can ſuch an Action be juſtified, with Safety to *England*, and the Conſtitution of the Government?

And from hence alſo it may appear, how inconſiſtent it is with the Safety of the King and Kingdom, and the Truſt repoſed in theſe great Officers, that they ſhould take any Grants of the King's Revenue to their own private Uſe: For ſhall that great Officer, who is appointed to take Care that the King be not deceived in his Grant, be the Taker of the Grant himſelf? What is this but to appoint Officers as Centinels to watch for themſelves, and not for the King? To give them an Opportunity to deceive, and not to keep the King from being deceived? It can never be conſiſtent with Reaſon, or the wiſe Conſtitution of the *Engliſh* Government, to truſt any Man in his own Caſe; either that Perſon ought to be no Officer, or that Officer ought to take no Grant: For if this be once eſtabliſhed as a Precedent, and declared to be lawful, 'tis plain, that all the Care that is taken to preſerve a regular Courſe in the Exchequer for the Security of the Crown is evaded and defeated; which is abſurd, and a Contradiction to the very Deſign and Intent of the original Conſtitution.

'Tis true, that ſuch things have often been done without Puniſhment; but it is as true, that ſuch Offences have been puniſhed: And that whenever ſuch an Officer was called in queſtion, that Offence was always made an Article of Impeachment. There has indeed been frequent Robbing on *Shooters-Hill*, but

but will that Uſage juſtify the Legality thereof, at any Trial at Law? No, the oftner it has been done, the more need of Redreſs.

But whenever a great Officer of State, upon whoſe Care and Fidelity the King and the People do chiefly depend, ſhall take Grants of the King's Revenue in time of War, when the Nation is oppreſſed with heavy Taxes, and large Debts, and when the Grants ſhall be taken in other Perſon's Names, the better to cover a Fraud, or elude the Force of a Law; and when conſiderable Rewards ſhall be given to inferior Officers, to make proper Diſcoveries for that Purpoſe; or when ſuch a great Officer ſhall pretend to make a Purchaſe from the Crown, and never pay in his Money, but perhaps by a fictitious Talley, or ſome other Artifice, ſhall avoid the Payment, any ſuch Deceit, in ſo great an Officer, contrary to his Oath and the Duty of his Office, will always be eſteemed (as in Reaſon it ought to be) a very great Aggravation of the Offence.

But as theſe great Officers cannot legally take to themſelves any private Grants from the Crown, ſo much leſs any Grants of a more public Nature, where the Juſtice of the Nation is concerned, and where the Intereſt of thoſe great Officers may probably interfere with the Rights of the Subject.

The Judges of *Weſtminſter-Hall* cannot take a Grant of any Man's Eſtate before Conviction, becauſe it would then be their Intereſt to convict him, whether guilty or not, which would bring a great Hardſhip upon the Subject, and occaſion many falſe Accuſations; and the moſt innocent Subject would be forced, in that Caſe, to compound at any rate for the Hazard of his Life.

The ſame Reaſon holds good in all other Caſes, where the Takers of the Grants, or the Profits thereof, may in any Probability become Judges and Parties, in the ſame Caſe. As if any Grants ſhould hereafter happen to be made of Goods and Merchandizes taken on Board of Pirates, before Conviction, to ſeveral great Officers of Juſtice, and Miniſters of State, or to any other in truſt for them; the honeſt Merchants, from whom theſe Goods were firſt taken by the Pirates, making their Claim within a Year and a Day, and proving their Title to the ſame, have a Right to have their Goods reſtored to them; but what a Condition will the poor Merchants be in, in that Caſe? If they go to *New England* to ſue for Juſtice, there the Governour may be Judge and Party againſt them: If to the Admiralty in *England*, there may be another Judge and Party preſiding at that Board: If to the High Court of Chancery, a Judge and a Party may be there alſo, concerned in Intereſt againſt them. If they apply to the Council, there may be a great many Parties intereſted againſt them. So that the Property of the Subject may (in effect) be defeated by ſuch Grants; for ſince the Remedy is made ſo difficult and in a manner impracticable, who would not rather loſe his Goods, than attempt to recover them at a vaſt Expence againſt ſuch potent Adverſaries? Who would be ſo unwiſe as to throw away his Money and Time, upon ſo deſperate a Remedy?

So that it ſeems very Rational to conclude, that ſuch ſort of Grants, to public Officers of Juſtice, and powerful Miniſters of State, cannot be juſtified; or elſe, that there is a manifeſt Defect in the Conſtitution of the Government, which ought not to be allowed: For it is a fundamental Maxim of our Government, that no Man ſhall be Judge in his own Caſe, but that the Duty and Intereſt of every Officer be one and the ſame, and go Hand in Hand toge-

ther, for the common Safety of the King and the People, and not interfere with one another; and therefore that public Officer that takes a Grant to himself, or to any other in truſt for him, whereby he doth, or may, become both Judge and Party, or which makes it his Intereſt to act contrary to his Duty, is manifeſtly guilty of a Breach of the high Truſt repoſed in him; for ſuch a Proceeding tends to the Obſtruction of Juſtice, to the Diſhonour of the King, and to the Violation of the Property of the Subject.

And here we may obſerve the Excellency and wiſe Contrivance of the Conſtitution of this Government; for how is it probable any Prince ſhould underſtand whether ſuch Grants as theſe are legal or not? The Pretence of deſtroying Pirates that infeſt the Sea, diſturb the Trade, and invade the Properties of *Engliſh* Merchants, is plauſible and fair, and what the beſt of Princes are deſirous, and think themſelves obliged to accompliſh, for the Good of their Subjects: But then the public Officers ought, at the ſame time, to acquaint his Majeſty, that the doing of this, is a royal Prerogative inſeparably annexed to the Crown, and not fit to be entruſted with any private Subjects, for their own particular Advantage, much leſs with ſuch public Officers of Juſtice, and Miniſters of State, as are before deſcribed.

The King is the Father of his People, and it is not his Intereſt to do wrong to them; and in caſe any Diſpute ariſes, indifferent Judges are appointed to decide the Controverſy; but when Grants ſhall be made of Goods before Convictions and the Judges ſhall be entitled to the Benefit of their own Judgments and Decrees, the Subject muſt needs be in a very miſerable Condition.

And therefore it is wiſely provided, by our Conſtitution, that the King ſhall be guarded by his Officers and Miniſters, who are bound to underſtand the Buſineſs they undertake; to give his Majeſty a juſt and true Information of the Law upon all Occaſions, and at their Peril to avoid the paſſing any illegal Grant; and that no Blame or Wrong be imputed to the King, but to his Miniſters.

CHAP. III.

Of the Security to the Public, from the Eſtabliſhment and Uſe of the King's Councils.

AS the Law has a great Regard to a private Grant of the Crown, ſo more eſpecially to thoſe public Acts of Government, to thoſe great and weighty Grants and Patents that relate to the common Welfare and Happineſs of the King and Kingdom.

And therefore in all public Acts of State, as making War and Peace, calling and diſſolving Parliaments, *&c.* by the original Conſtitution of this Government, the King is to be adviſed by his Privy-Council, which is called, *Concilium Regis Privatum & Concilium Regis Secretum.* Theſe Privy-Councellors are *Partes Corporis Regis*, they are incorporated into the Monarchy, and are bound by the ancient Oath of a Privy-Councellor (amongſt other things,) to keep ſecret the King's Councel, and to adviſe the King in all things to the beſt of their Skill

Skill and Knowledge for the univerſal Good of the King and his Land, and for the Peace, Reſt and Tranquility of the ſame.

This Inſtitution can be no Reſtraint to the juſt Power and Prerogative of the King, becauſe the King has the Choice of his Councellors; and if he does not approve of the Advice of one Council he may chooſe another.

And, as has been ſaid before, the King being *Pater Patriæ*, can't be ſuppoſed to deſire any thing but the publick Good: And no Man can imagine, that any wiſe or good King would attempt any Undertaking relating to the Public which he could not get twelve Men in *England* to think ſafe or reaſonable.

This Inſtitution therefore, as well as the Appointment of the great Officers of State, is for the Security of the King and the People: Of the King becauſe no Blame can be imputed to him, but to his Council: Of the People, becauſe the Privy-Councellors being upon Oath, and being anſwerable to the Parliament, have Reaſon to take Care to give ſuch Advice as ſhall be advantageous for the publick Good, or at leaſt conſiſtent with the general Intereſt of the King and Kingdom.

'Tis true, a bad Prince may get a bad Council, and may do bad Things, but then the Parliament have Relief againſt the Council, and preſerve their Prince.

And therefore, both good and bad Princes have Reaſon to approve of this Inſtitution; for if they are good, they will be glad of good Council; if they are bad, they'll rather chooſe that their Councellors ſhould ſuffer than themſelves. And it will be very difficult to find out more than one Inſtance, in all the *Engliſh* Hiſtory, where any King ever ſuffered in *England*, but where the Prince was either ſo imprudent as to take all the Faults on himſelf, and excuſe his Miniſters; or, at leaſt, to protect them from the uſual Methods of Juſtice, by refuſing to refer them to a free Parliament.

Obſerve therefore the Steps that are taken for the common Safety; *Firſt*, There are great Officers of State, to obſerve and watch that nothing paſſes to the Prejudice of the King or the People. *Secondly*, If a Matter be too high for their Determination, then it is conſidered by the King and his Council, where the Matter is not only determined by a greater Number, but alſo upon a ſolemn Debate and hearing of the Arguments of all Parties: Which may be compared to a Conſultation of able Lawyers or Phyſicians, conducing very much to the Safety of the Publick; but if the Matter be of ſuch Weight and Difficulty that the Council don't think fit to determine the ſame, or cannot come to a ſafe Reſolution, then they humbly adviſe the King to refer that Affair to his great Council aſſembled in Parliament; and by this Means all are ſafe without Prejudice to any one.

And here it may be obſerved that an Error has formerly crept into this Part of our Conſtitution; and that is, by determining Matters of the higheſt Importance without adviſing with any of the eſtabliſhed Councils. The Original of which, in the late Reign, ſeems to be derived from the Precedent of *France*, where it was firſt invented as an Introduction to an arbitrary Government; and 'tis to be doubted, that they were no true Friends to the Conſtitution of this Government, who firſt brought that evil Cuſtom into *England*.

'Tis

'Tis true, former Princes did ſometimes adviſe with particular Perſons, before they offered a Matter to the Council to be debated and determined; but it is an Innovation by evil Miniſters, that War and Peace, and Matters of the higheſt Conſequence, ſhould be finally concluded in a ſecret Cabal, and only paſs through the Privy-Council for Form's Sake, as a Conduit-Pipe to convey thoſe Reſolutions with Authority to the People.

All Proclamations for declaring War, *&c.* are conſtantly ſet forth in the Name of the King, with Advice of his Council (which ſhews that it ought to be ſo) when perhaps the War was reſolved in a private Cabal, and only declared in a Privy-Council, and publiſhed with that Authority to the People; which is an Abuſe of the Conſtitution.

It is therefore a noble Reſolution in his Majeſty to reſtore to *England* the Practice of their ancient Conſtitution, to repair the Breaches and Innovations brought in upon them in the late Reigns, and not only to declare, but debate and tranſact all Matters of State in the Privy-Council.

Such a Proceeding tends very much to the Honour and Safety of the King, and the Satisfaction of all the People of *England*.

But upon what has been ſaid of the Nature and Authority of the Privy-Council, it may appear, that as to the ſetting the Great Seal of *England* to foreign Alliance, the Lord-Chancellor, or Lord-Keeper for the Time being, has a plain Rule to follow, that is, humbly to inform the King, that he cannot legally ſet the Great Seal of *England* to a Matter of that Conſequence, unleſs the ſame be firſt debated and reſolved in Council; which Method being obſerved, the Chancellor is ſafe and the Council anſwerable.

And if a Matter of that Moment ſhall be hereafter referred to one of the Lords Juſtices, and ſuch as he ſhall think fit to adviſe with, in the King's Abſence, it would be an aſtoniſhing thing to hear, that a Perſon of that high Truſt and Station, and of great Learning and Knowledge in the Law, and in the Conſtitution of the Government, ſhould neither adviſe with the Privy-Council, nor ſo much as communicate the ſame at any ſolemn and uſual Meeting of the Lords Juſtices, that ſhall then equally be entruſted with the regal Power, and Safety of all *England*.

It is true, that an Alliance made by the King, and ſealed with the Great Seal of *England*, may be good and valid in Law, and ſo accepted by all foreign Princes, whether the Treaty was concluded and the Great Seal affixed to it by the Advice of the Privy Council, or not: But this does not leſſen, but rather aggravate the Crime of the Officer; for the greater the Conſequence, the greater ought to be the Care not to tranſgreſs the Law.

The Happineſs and Proſperity of *England* hath hitherto been preſerved by the Conſtitution of our Government, by the ſeveral Securities and Checks that are appointed for the common Safety, and not by any private Truſt or Management: and therefore, however an Offence againſt this Conſtitution may by ſome Circumſtances be mitigated; yet it can never be juſtified.

But as the King has always a Privy-Council, ſo he hath upon extraordinary Occaſions a Great Council, the Parliament of *England*, who are ſummoned together to aſſiſt and adviſe the King, in Matters of the greateſt Difficulty, concerning the State and Welfare of the King and Kingdom.

When-

Whenever therefore a Matter of the higheſt Conſequence to *England*, as any Alliance with *France*, hath, and muſt always be eſteemed, ſhall be privately carried on by particular Miniſters, and the Great Seal of *England* put to it, during the Sitting of the Parliament, and without Advice of the ſame, or even of the Privy-Council, that muſt ever be eſteemed a high Breach of the Conſtitution.

It is a Maxim in Law, *Ignorantia Juris non excuſat*, but if Ignorance of the Law will not excuſe an Offence, certainly the Knowledge of the Law is no ſmall Aggravation: and therefore that Miniſter that firſt expreſſes a deep Senſe of the dangerous Conſequences to the Nation, by any Treaty, and yet at the ſame againſt his own Judgment, and without the Advice of any eſtabliſhed Council affixes the Great Seal to the Ratification of it, cannot plead that as a Mitigation, much leſs as a Juſtification of the Offence.

Whenever therefore any Perſons learned in the Laws and Conſtitution of the Government, ſhall ſeverely condemn the Faults of others, and afterwards do the ſame and worſe Things themſelves, they ought much more to be blamed for it.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Nature of the Powers and Proceedings of the Lords and Commons upon Impeachments.

THE exerciſing of all public Acts of Government by publick Officers, who are anſwerable for the ſame, is not only a great Security to the King and the Commons for the Reaſons aforeſaid, but alſo to the Lords; for what can more ſecure the Power, Greatneſs and Dignity of that Honourable Houſe, and keep the great Miniſters within the Bounds of Law? What can make them have greater Regard for the Perſons and Properties of the Lords, than this very Conſideration, that on all Impeachments of the Commons, the Lords are to be their Judges.

The ſeveral Powers then of the Lords and Commons do mutually depend upon and ſupport each other; for as the Commons cannot have their Remedy againſt an evil Miniſtry, without the Judicature of the Lords, ſo the Power and Judicature of the Lords cannot entirely be preſerved without ſupporting the Right of Impeachments in the Commons.

It is therefore the Intereſt of the Lords and Commons, to preſerve to each other the ſeveral and reſpective Rights and Powers veſted in them; for on the due Execution thereof, depends the Safety and Happineſs of both Houſes.

Theſe diſtinct Powers therefore being lodged in the Lords and Commons, as Branches of the ſupreme Authority, for the common Safety, ought to be ſo limited and bounded by one another, that both may conſiſt together for the common Good, and that it be not poſſible for either of them to defeat the Power lodged in the other.

And therefore as the King himſelf who is Father of his Country, and whoſe Juſtice ought not to be queſtioned, is not entruſted by the Conſtitution with a Power to defeat the Right of Judicature in the Lords, or the Right of Impeachments in the Commons, or to render the ſame impracticable, becauſe theſe diſtinct

diſtinct Powers are appointed in the Original Inſtitution of the Government, as mutual Checks upon the Prerogative, and upon one another for the common Safety. So *a fortiori*, it may be argued, that the Commons are not entruſted with a Power to defeat the Right of Judicature in the Lords; nor the Lords with a Power to defeat the Right of Impeachments in the Commons.

And therefore, as the Right of Impeachment in the Commons muſt not be ſo conſtrued, as to enable them to make the Right of Judicature in the Lords impracticable when they pleaſe; ſo the Right of Judicature in the Lords muſt not be extended ſo far as to enable the Lords to make the Right of Impeachments in the Commons impracticable when they think fit: But both the Powers muſt admit of ſuch a Limitation and Conſtruction in the Nature and Exerciſe thereof, as that they may conſiſt together for the common Good, and be able to attain the End for which they were eſtabliſhed.

And here I muſt beg leave to obſerve, that I do not pretend to treat of the Judicature of the Lords upon Writs of Error, or upon Indictments, nor of the Tryals of Lords out of Parliament, for Treaſon or Felony, by their Peers, nor of any other Authority but only of the Judicature of the Lords upon Impeachments, which is a Power lodged and entruſted with the Lords, as a Branch of the ſupreme Authority, to do Juſtice between Prince and People, on all great Offenders, publick Officers or Miniſters of State, who ſhall be impeached in the Name of all the Commons of *England* for Offences againſt the State, in Violation of their Oaths, in Breach of the High Truſt repoſed in them, and to the Prejudice of the Rights of the People of *England*: And therefore this great Power being founded on different Reaſons is different in its Nature, and alſo exerciſed in a different Manner from both the other. For,

Upon a Writ of Error, the Cauſe muſt always be originally tried by the Judges in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, and the Matter of Fact found by an ordinary Jury, where all Proceedings are to be had, and Judgments to be given, according to the common and ſtatute Laws of the Land, uſed and practiſed in all the ordinary Courts of Juſtice, for the Preſervation of the Lives and Properties of particular Subjects; and therefore in this Caſe the Lords are to determine upon ſuch a Writ of Error, whether the Judges have given Judgment according to the ſaid Laws, or not.

But in Caſe of an Impeachment, the Cauſe comes originally to be tried before the Lords, according to the Law and Cuſtom of Parliament, which is very different from the common Laws, and by which their Lordſhips do act in a more extraordinary Manner, both as Jury and Judges, which is a Method of Proceeding never uſed in any inferiour Courts, by the common and ſtatute Laws of this Realm; and as their Power is different, ſo is the Nature of their Proceedings.

And ſo in the Caſe of the Trial of a Lord out of Parliament for Treaſon or Felony, by his Peers: There the Lords are only Triers, in the Nature of a Jury of Peers, and not Judges, but the High-Steward is the Judge, and pronounces Judgment according to the known Laws of the Land.

And therefore the Office of High-Steward ſeems to be a neceſſary Office in that Caſe, though not in the Caſe of Impeachments, or Trials before the Lords in Parliament, for the Reaſons aforeſaid.

For

For Impeachments not being at the Suit of the King, but of all the Commons of *England*, and being in the time of a Parliament, where every Branch of the Legiſlative Authority is exalted to a high Pitch of Greatneſs and Power, and where the Powers veſted in them are deſigned as mutual Checks one upon another, for the common Safety, it does not ſeem agreeable to the Conſtitution, that the King, by any Pardon, or otherwiſe, may defeat the parliamentary Power of Judicature in the Lords, or Power of Impeachments in the Commons.

But a Proſecution for Treaſon, or Felony, out of Parliament, is at the Suit of the King; and conſequently, tho' the Lords are Triers, the King is to appoint the Judge, and may pardon the Offender. By all which, the Difference may appear between the Judicature of the Lords upon Impeachments, and their Lordſhips Judicature and Power in other Caſes.

And therefore to return to the Right of Judicature upon Impeachments, it muſt be acknowledged, that a Right of Judicature does neceſſarily imply a Power of judging and determining whether an Offender that is brought to Trial for any Offence be guilty or not guilty, for that is inſeparably annexed thereunto.

And therefore the Commons cannot inſiſt on the Right of concurring in the Sentence, and giving their Voices with the Lords, whether the Offender be guilty or not, without encroaching on the Right of Judicature in the Lords.

But the appointing a Time for bringing in the Articles of Impeachment, and of Time and Place for Trial, is not neceſſarily implied in the Power of Judicature, or inſeparably annexed to it, but is a collateral Power, which may or may not belong ſolely to the Judge, as the Nature of the Caſe does require.

It muſt be confeſſed, that it ſeems very proper for every Court of Juſtice to order and direct ſuch Circumſtances and Matters of Form that can have no Influence to the Prejudice of Juſtice, in ſuch way as they ſhall judge fit, and where the ſame are not ſettled otherwiſe by any poſitive Rule.

But then in the Caſe of the fundamental Conſtitution of the Government, where the whole is at Stake, and where the King, Lords and Commons do all depend upon reſerving a juſt Ballance of Power, they are not to depend upon the Will of each other, but upon the Power; and therefore, if by any Poſſibility ſuch a Power may at any Time be made uſe of by the Lords, to the Prejudice of Juſtice, it does not ſeem reaſonable, that the ſame ſhould be allowed in this Caſe ſolely to the Lords, without the Approbation of the Commons: for where the Reaſon varies, the collateral Powers may alſo vary, without any Encroachment on the Right of Judicature.

If the Lords upon all Impeachments have an abſolute Power belonging to their Judicature of limiting a Time for bringing in the particular Charge before them; and alſo to appoint Time and Place for the Tryal of an Impeachment, and to proceed both to Tryal and Judgment without any Regard to the Commons, whether they are ready and do concur, or not: Have not the Lords then a Power to make the Right of Impeachments in the Commons impracticable, when they think fit? May not the Lords either appoint a Time ſo ſhort that the Commons cannot poſſibly be ready, or a Time ſo long that Juſtice ſhall never be done? and may not the Place appointed be ſo diſtant, or ſo very inconvenient

to the Commons, that they ſhall not be able to attend the Proſecution of the ſaid Trial with Effect?

As in Caſe of a general Impeachment, it may be ſuppoſed to be poſſible, that the Lords may appoint the next Day to bring in the Articles, (which perhaps cannot be done ſo ſoon in a parliamentary Way of Proceeding) and they may appoint the following Day for the Trial to be had at *Truro* in *Cornwall*, where neither the Commons nor the Witneſſes can be able to attend; or elſe, the Lords may appoint the Trial to be had twenty or forty Years after, by which Time all the Proſecutors and Witneſſes may be in their Graves, and the Nation undone by an evil Miniſtry. All this is poſſible to be done, though not probable; but a wiſe Conſtitution of Government provides againſt Poſſibilities (as far as may be) where the common Safety is at Stake.

If therefore the Commons have no Right of Impeachment, but what the Lords may defeat, or make impracticable when they pleaſe, then it is plain the Commons have not ſuch a Right of Impeachment, as is ſufficient to anſwer the End propoſed by the Conſtitution of the Government; which is, to ſecure the Rights and Liberties of the People of *England*, and conſequently the Commons have (in effect) no Right at all.

And if the Right of Impeachments may be defeated, the Right of levying Money may, in effect, be defeated too; for what ſignifies the Power of giving Money for the Safety of the Nation, without the Power of impeaching evil Miniſters, that act to the Ruin of the Nation, or miſapply that Money to their own private or other corrupt Uſes?

And herein (amongſt other Things) conſiſts the Safety of the People of *England*, that thoſe noble Lords who in any Age might, perhaps, be diſpoſed to ſave their Friends or Relations in an honourable Way, or by any collateral Method of diſcharging the Proſecution; yet, upon a full Hearing of the Caſe, will not be diverted from Juſtice, and eſpecially upon a fair Trial in open Parliament, where the King is generally preſent, the whole Body of the Houſe of Commons, and great Numbers of Perſons of the beſt Rank and Quality of *England*, beſides all the foreign Miniſters, none of them will be perſuaded to declare upon Honour, that a Perſon impeached is not guilty of an Offence, which is then by ſufficient Evidence proved againſt him.

And therefore it highly concerns all the Commons of *England*, that Trials on Impeachments may not, by any Poſſibility, be defeated by any collateral Powers in the Lords; and it ſeems plain, that we muſt either reject the original Conſtitution of the Government, eſtabliſhed by our wiſe Anceſtors, to preſerve the Ballance of Power, for the common Safety of the King, Lords and Commons, or elſe we muſt conclude, that the Lords can have no diſtinct Power belonging to their Judicature, which is able to ſurprize the Commons, and make the Trial of Impeachments impracticable.

And as in the Caſes beforementioned againſt the King's pardoning Impeachments, and againſt the Neceſſity of having a Lord High Steward in the Trials of Peers, during the ſitting of a Parliament; it was not conſidered, what the King in Juſtice would do towards the defeating the Right of Judicature in the Lords, or Right of Impeachments in the Commons but what in Right and Power he might do if he pleaſed: So in Caſe of a Right veſted in the Commons, and

ſecured

ſecured and eſtabliſhed to them by a proper Diſtribution of Power, in the original Frame and Conſtitution of the Government, for the common Safety of the King and the People. It is not to be conſidered, what the Lords in Juſtice will do towards the defeating of that Right, but what in Right and Power they may do, if they think fit; for the Safety of *England* is not to depend on the Will of any one Houſe, but on a proper Diſtribution of Power ſecured to both.

And though all the Deference imaginable ought to be given to that noble Branch of the legiſlative Authority, yet their Lordſhips will not expect in this Caſe to have a greater Truſt repoſed in their Lordſhips by the Conſtitution of the Government, than in the King himſelf; nor that the Commons ſhould give up the Right of Impeachments, as a Matter precarious, upon Will and Pleaſure, which is the great Bulwark of the Liberties of *England*; eſpecially when by ſo doing, they would not only prejudice the People they repreſent, but in a good Meaſure defeat the Power and Juriſdiction of the Lords themſelves, and deſtroy that Ballance of Power, which is eſſentially neceſſary for the Safety of all.

And when it is fully conſidered, it will appear, that it is not the Intereſt of either Lords or Commons, to have more Power than is neceſſary to preſerve the Ballance of the Conſtitution; for though, peradventure, either of the preſent Houſes may truſt themſelves with a dangerous Weapon, yet it is not prudent to entail ſuch a Danger to their Poſterity, leſt it ſhould at any time hereafter be turned upon them, and this Power miſapplied, to the Ruin of the Conſtitution.

Thoſe noble Lords therefore, that ſhall at any time endeavour to preſerve the Ballance of the Conſtitution in this Particular, will not act in Derogation, but in Support of the Honour and Power of that honourable Houſe; and will wiſely avoid the Eſtabliſhment of a Precedent that may render Impeachments impracticable, and at one time or other ſubject both Lords and Commons to the arbitrary Power and Tyranny of an evil Miniſtry.

The Way therefore to preſerve the Right of Judicature in the Lords, and the Right of Impeachment in the Commons, without interfering one with the other, ſeems to be for both Houſes to concur and agree in proceeding to the Puniſhment of Offenders, as well as to the paſſing of Laws: And having adjuſted all Preliminaries in a parliamentary Way, to go Hand in Hand together in the Exerciſe of the ſeveral Powers, veſted in them for that Purpoſe, in order to a fair Trial of all Offenders: that is, That the Lords do appoint Time and Place of Trial, but that the ſame be convenient for, and agreed to by the Commons.

This Method of Proceeding preſerves inviolable the Right of Judicature in the Lords, and the Right of Impeachments in the Commons, without placing a Power in one, to defeat the Power that is veſted in the other.

Whereas, if either claims the ſole Power of appointing Time and Place without Regard to the other, that Houſe ſeems to claim a Power that is able to defeat the Power of the other Houſe at Will and Pleaſure, which by no Means is conſiſtent with the Conſtitution of the Government, or the Safety of *England*.

It is a Maxim in Law and Reaſon,——*Quando Lex aliquid concedit, concedere videtur & id, ſine quo, res ipſa eſſe non poteſt*;——When Law, when ſound Reaſon,

lon, when the Conſtitution of any Government gives a Right or Power to one Branch of the legiſlative Authority, to be a Check upon another, it gives every thing that is neceſſary to ſupport that Power, or elſe it gives nothing at all: And ſo where it gives a Power to one to be exerciſed ſingly, it gives all that is neceſſary to ſupport that ſingle Power; but when it gives two Powers (the Right of Judicature and the Right of Impeachments) to two diſtinct Branches of the legiſlative Authority, to be exerciſed by both, as mutual Securities and Checks upon one another for the common Safety, and it happens that one thing, *viz.* the appointing a convenient Time and Place of Trial, is neceſſary to ſupport them both; it muſt of Neceſſity give that one Thing ſo far to both, as that it cannot be exerciſed ſingly by one without the Approbation of the other.

For whatever is neceſſary to ſupport two diſtinct Rights or Powers, cannot be in any one alone entirely abſtracted from the other; for then the one will want the Power that is in the other, and will not be ſupported: And if any one wants what is neceſſary to ſupport it, as a Power, then it is no Power at all.

Therefore, ſince a convenient Time and Place for Trial of Offenders is neceſſary both for Lords and Commons, it ſeems very agreeable to Reaſon, that neither of them ſhould have an abſolute Power of appointing the ſame without the Approbation of the other; for if the Lords have that Power in them alone abſtracted from the Commons, which is neceſſary to ſupport the Power of Impeachment in the Commons, then the Commons have, in Effect, no real Power at all: But that Power of Impeachment which they claim as a Right, muſt be eſteemed no more than a Favour or Courteſy, during the Will and Pleaſure of the Lords, and conſequently if there be any Weight in this Argument, then it ſeems, by this Conſtruction, as if the Axe were laid to the Root of the Conſtitution, and that there were an End of the Right of Impeachments, the great Security of the Rights and Liberties of the People of *England*.

Therefore in caſe of Impeachments, where the Commons are the Proſecutors in the Name of all the People of *England*, it ſeems highly reaſonable and agreeable to the Nature of the Caſe, that the Commons ſhould make the firſt Step in all that Proceeding. Firſt, by exhibiting Articles in due time; of which, they that are to draw them are (in Reaſon) the proper Judges. Then by a previous Signification to the Lords, that they are ready for Trial, and deſire their Lordſhips to appoint a convenient Time and Place for the ſame; (which if inconvenient, the Commons deſire a Conference, or free Conference to adjuſt the ſame) but if approved, then the Commons are to be firſt at the Place of Trial, ready to proſecute; and after Trial, Judgment is not to be given till the Commons think fit to demand the ſame: For as no Impeachment, ſo (in Reaſon) no Step upon an Impeachment is to be made, but at the Suit and Deſire of the Commons of *England*.

For all Suits are proſecuted either in the Name of the King, or of the Commons of *England*, or of private Subjects; and they in whoſe Name any Suit is proſecuted, may, if they pleaſe, let fall the Proſecution, and in no Court whatſoever will the Judges proceed to Trial, in any private Suit, unleſs the Plaintiff appear in Perſon, or by Attorney; nor to Judgment, unleſs the ſame be demanded by the proper Party, to whom Juſtice is to be done.

But

But an Impeachment is not at the Suit, or in the Name of the King, but of the Knights, Citizens and Burgeſſes of Parliament, and of all the Commons of *England*; and therefore as the King cannot diſcontinue, or put a Stop to any private Suit, nor pardon, or enter a *Noli Proſequi* upon an Appeal of a private Subject, for the killing of his Relation; ſo much leſs is ſuch a Power reaſonable upon an Impeachment of the Houſe of Commons, for invading the Rights of all the Commons of *England*.

But although the King cannot, yet the private Subject himſelf may delay his own Suit, as in the Caſe of a Trial on Ejectment; and ſo may the Commons delay, or let fall, a Proſecution upon Impeachments; for they are the Plaintiffs in this Suit, they are the Appellants, they have a Power by the Conſtitution of the Government, to impeach and proſecute public Officers and Miniſters of State, for any Miſmanagement, to the Prejudice of the Public; and will any Man ſay, that the Houſe of Commons have not more Power over their own Suits, than any private Subject hath? Will any Man ſay, that the Concern of a private Subject is of more Weight than the Concern of a whole Nation? Or, can any rational Perſon affirm, that ſuch a Power in the Commons is unreaſonable? No. We may as well argue, That it is an unreaſonable Thing for the Lords to have a Right of Judicature, upon Honour, becauſe it is poſſible they may be partial in Juſtice, as for the Commons to have a Right of impeaching and proſecuting Offenders, at Diſcretion, becauſe they may delay the Proſecution.

'Tis true, That in the Caſe of a private Subject in an inferior Court, both Law and Reaſon doth admit of a Suppoſition, that a Suit may be commenced out of Malice and private Revenge, or an erroneous Judgment may be obtained; and, therefore a reaſonable Time is limited for ſuch Proſecutions, within which Time, if the Plaintiff does not proceed, his Suit may be diſmiſſed; and a Method is appointed for reverſing ſuch an erroneous Judgment, upon a Writ of Error.

But neither Law nor Reaſon, nor the Conſtitution of any Government, doth admit of ſuch a Suppoſition to be made againſt any Branch of the ſupreme legiſlative Authority; for ſince the wiſeſt Men in the World, in the original Inſtitution of Government, cannot provide for all poſſible Caſes that may happen, and on which the Happineſs or Ruin of a Nation may depend. It is abſolutely neceſſary, that all the Branches of the ſupreme Authority have a Liberty of exerciſing the extraordinary Powers veſted in them for the common Safety, in ſuch a manner, as they in their great Judgments and Diſcretions ſhall conceive to be moſt juſt and reaſonable, and moſt advantageous and conducing to the public Good, and from which there lies no Appeal.

And therefore, ſince a diſcretionary Power of impeaching and proſecuting great Miniſters of State is neceſſary to be lodged in ſome one Branch of the ſupreme Authority, no rational Perſon can juſtly argue againſt that Power in the Houſe of Commons, unleſs he can ſhew any other Body of Men in *England* in whom that Power is legally veſted, or can indeed be more ſafely lodged than in the Repreſentatives of the People.

And as to that, there are three Branches of the ſupreme Authority, the King, the Lords and the Commons; but it is not proper to place a diſcretionary Power

in

in the King, of profecuting Miniſters for obeying his own unlawful Commands, becauſe it is poſſible to have a bad Prince, who may aim at arbitrary Power, and rather countenance than puniſh his Miniſters in ſuch Caſes.

Nor no Man can reaſonably place a diſcretionary Power of proſecuting Offenders upon Impeachments in the Lords, for then the Lords will be both Judges and Proſecutors, which is abſurd; and ſince the public Officers and great Miniſters of State are frequently Members of that honourable Houſe, it is happy for the People of *England*, and a great Honour to that noble Aſſembly, that Juſtice can be had againſt them there, at the Suit of all the Commons of *England*.

Since then this Power of impeaching and proſecuting evil Miniſters, is neceſſary for the public Safety, and muſt be placed in ſome one Branch of the ſupreme Authority; and ſince no Branch thereof are accountable to any ſuperior Power, but may exerciſe the Powers veſted in them, as they in their great Judgments and Diſcretions ſhall think moſt conducive to the publick Good: And ſince this Power cannot be lodged with the King nor with the Lords, for the Reaſons aforeſaid, it follows, that the ſame is legally veſted in the Commons; and that they may exerciſe it as they think moſt convenient for the public Safety, without Controul, or rendering any Account of their Proceedings; and conſequently, that they may (amongſt other Things) exhibit Articles of Impeachment when they think it convenient; that is, in due Time, of which they, who are to draw them, muſt be the proper Judges.

But to explain this Matter to the meaneſt Capacity, give me leave to ſuppoſe (for a wiſe Conſtitution of Government provides a Remedy for all Diſtempers and Accidents in the Body politic) that in any future Reign, a great and powerful Miniſter of State, having the Command of many Millions of Money raiſed for the neceſſary Occaſions of the King and Kingdom, but in great part employed for the unneceſſary Occaſions of this powerful Miniſter and his Creatures, ſhould thereby be enabled to create many Friends and Dependants in the Government, and alſo in the ſeveral Branches of the ſupreme Authority; and at length, to eſtabliſh ſuch a Scheme of Management of the public Affairs, that the Nation ſhould not only be brought under a vaſt Debt, whilſt the Managers got vaſt Eſtates, but ſhould be involved in ſuch unhappy Circumſtances, and ſo reduced to the laſt Extremity, that the Repreſentatives of the People ſhould be entirely convinced that either that public Manager muſt be removed from the public Miniſtry, or the Nation be utterly ruined and undone.

What would you have the Houſe of Commons do in ſuch a Caſe? Would you have them ſit ſtill and ſee the Nation brought to Ruin and Deſolation? Would you have them betray their Truſt, and act contrary to their Judgments? No! The Houſe of Commons, in ſuch a Caſe, ought to do what all good Men would expect from them; and that is, to carry up a general Impeachment to the Lords, and appoint a Committee to draw up Articles upon that Impeachment; and in the mean time they would humbly addreſs the King, for his own, and the common Safety, to remove that great Miniſter from his Councils and Preſence.

And the Committee appointed to draw up the ſaid Articles, would think themſelves obliged, for their own Reputation, and for the Honour of the Houſe

of

of Commons, and of all the Commons of *England* whom they repreſent, to take great Care in diſcharging the Truſt repoſed in them; and therefore as the Caſe may happen to be very ſhort, ſo it may alſo happen to be very long, and according to the Nature thereof, and the Circumſtances of the Fact, ſo the Drawing of the Articles may take up a very ſhort, or a very long Time.

Sometimes there are a great Number of Articles to be exhibited, ſometimes very few, ſometimes many Witneſſes are to be examined, at other times none at all; ſometimes they are obliged to ſend for Perſons, Papers, and Records; at other times they want no ſuch Aſſiſtance; ſometimes the Witneſſes are near at Hand, ſometimes at a great Diſtance, ſometimes the Committee agree to all the Articles at firſt Sight, ſometimes they differ in Opinion about every Article, and many Days are ſpent in debating one Article, and perhaps in debating one Sentence in that Article; and the like may happen upon the Report to the Houſe, where the ſame are read Paragraph by Paragraph, and frequently debated and altered before they are agreed to by the Houſe. And infinite other Circumſtances may happen, to make the Proceeding more quick or more ſlow; and therefore, who can poſſibly be the proper Judges of the Time of bringing in the Charge againſt the Perſon impeached, but they who have all the Circumſtances of the Caſe before them?

It is true, that in inferior Courts, where Cauſes are carried on by private Perſons, and not by numerous Bodies of Men, and where the Nature of the Buſineſs does admit of it, the Law hath appointed a ſet Time to private Subjects, for bringing in all Declarations and Pleadings; and in caſe the Plaintiff or Defendant deſires a longer Time he muſt give a good Reaſon for it: But this is ſo far from being an Argument againſt the Privilege of the Houſe of Commons, that it is a ſtrong Argument for it: for it is evident by all the Precedents in the Journals of the Houſe of Lords (of which many are lately publiſhed) that no fixed Day was ever appointed for bringing in Articles of Impeachment, but that ſometimes they were exhibited the ſame Day, ſometimes in two Days, ſometimes in five, ſeven, twenty-five, and twenty-nine Days, and at other times they have not been exhibited till another Seſſion, or another Parliament, as the Nature of the Caſe has required; and therefore there never being any ſet Day fixed for bringing in the Charge, does evidently demonſtrate that it was left at Liberty; and that neither the Nature of the Caſe, nor the Nature of the Conſtitution of the Government, did admit of any Limitation of Time in ſuch Caſes, but that the ſame was entirely left to the Diſcretion of the Houſe of Commons. And what great Matter is this, that the Houſe of Commons, who have a Power over the Rights and Liberties of all the People of *England*, as their Repreſentatives, ſhould alſo have a Power over the Liberty of a particular Subject? Where is the Danger? What is the great Inconvenience? It is plainly proved, that we muſt either truſt it there, or no where; and if we truſt it no where, we muſt all be ruined.

And if the Commons have uſually brought in the Articles or Charge in a ſhort Time, that is no ſort of Argument againſt them, but rather demonſtrates that they have ever made good Uſe of the Power lodged in them, and therefore ought not now to be diveſted of it.

But

But although the Commons have upon all Occaſions demonſtrated their Zeal for Juſtice, and their Tenderneſs for all particular Perſons, as far as was conſiſtent with the public Safety; does it follow from thence, that when they deſire it, and conceive there is Occaſion for it, that they muſt not have as much time to proſecute an Impeachment at the Suit of all the Commons of *England*, as a little Attorney has to proſecute an Action of ten Pounds at the Suit of a private Subject? No certainly, this can never be admitted, when it is duly weighed and conſidered in a proper Manner.

For if ever the Parliament ſhould be inclined to limit a Time for bringing in the Charge, and proſecuting an Impeachment to Trial and Judgment, which muſt be done by a Law, as the Bill of Privileges was, and not by any one Branch of the legiſlative Authority; yet it cannot be conceived, that any Member of either Houſe would deſire the time ſhould be limited to ſo ſhort a Space as the very ſame Seſſions of Parliament; which though ever ſo long, may be ſo taken up with other public Buſineſs, and the Proſecution delayed by accidental Circumſtances, that the greateſt Offender may in ſuch a Caſe eſcape, for Want of Time to make good the Charge againſt him; and ſo the Liberty of all the People of *England* be loſt for ever, for Fear of loſing the Liberty of a ſingle Perſon for a ſhort Time.

And here it may alſo be obſerved, that the trying of Impeachments hath always taken up a conſiderable Part of a Seſſion of Parliament, by Reaſon of the Greatneſs of the Aſſembly, and the Debates that frequently happen about the Privileges of both Houſes, as may be ſeen in all Proceedings of that Kind, in the Journals of both Houſes: And therefore, in Times of Danger, and at the latter End of a Seſſion, when foreign Affairs, and Matters of great Conſequence, require Diſpatch, it may not always be conſiſtent with the Safety of the Nation, to proceed to ſuch Trials; and whether is of greater Conſequence to the Public, the Safety of the King or Kingdom, or the Trial of an Impeachment, this Seſſions or the next?

But when a Debate ſhall at any Time ariſe between the two Houſes, that concerns the Right of all Impeachments whatſoever, and conſequently the common Safety of the King and People; there the Commons ought not to proceed to Trial, till that Matter be firſt determined; notwithſtanding they have plain and poſitive Proof againſt the Perſon impeached, or that he had actually confeſſed many of the Articles of Impeachment, which alone were ſufficient to found a Judgment againſt him; for otherwiſe it may ſo happen, that the whole Juſtice of the Nation may be obſtructed and defeated, by Proceedings of the like Nature.

This was the Reſolution of the Commons in the Caſe of the five popiſh Lords, whom no Perſon can think they were unwilling to bring to a Trial, or that they made Uſe of ſuch Pretences only to cover an affected Delay in the Proſecution.

There may perhaps be Inſtances given of a private Suit being heard and determined in the ſaid Term, but then it was by Conſent of all Parties; or elſe no Court in *Weſtminſter-Hall* can compel either Party to come to Trial and Judgment the firſt Term, by the ſtricteſt Rules of Proceeding; and if a trifling Suit of ſmall Value be ended in three Terms, it is reckoned a very quick Proſecution;

ſecution; ſince few of them are determined in as many Years: And is it reaſonable, that three or four Impeachments, at the Suit of all the Commons of *England* ſhould be brought to Trial and Judgment, without Conſent, the very ſame Seſſion of Parliament?

And if the Lords have a legal Power to appoint a Time for bringing in the particular Charge before them, and in Default thereof to diſmiſs the Impeachment; may not the Lords then, if they pleaſe, make all Impeachments whatſoever uſeleſs and impracticable, and the People of *England* have no certain Remedy for Redreſs of Grievances.

And in caſe the Lords may alſo proceed to Trial and Judgment, without the Concurrence of the Commons, then they may proceed either to Judgment of Condemnation, or to Judgment of Acquittal, and may not either of theſe Proceedings, at one Time or other, prove very prejudicial both to the King and the People.

For give me leave once more to ſuppoſe, (what has or may happen) that there ſhould be at any Time hereafter a great Conſpiracy to take away the Life of the King, and to ſubvert the Government, and two Offenders are firſt detected and impeached; and afterwards it ſhould appear by farther Evidence, and by the Confeſſion of the impeached Perſons, that divers other great Offenders more dangerous than themſelves, are engaged in the ſame wicked Deſign: And that it was abſolutely neceſſary for the common Safety, that the firſt Impeachment ſhould not be proſecuted, in order to make thoſe Perſons Evidences againſt the reſt: And ſuppoſe the ſaid great Offenders to have many great Friends and Relations; if then the Houſe of Lords have a Power to proceed to Trial and Judgment, without the Conſent and Concurrence of the Commons, may not the Lords, if they pleaſe, condemn the Perſons that were to be the Witneſſes, and afterwards acquit, for Want of Evidence, all the reſt of the dangerous Conſpirators, whereby utter Ruin and Deſtruction may happen both to the King and Kingdom.

It is true it may with great Reaſon, and without the leaſt Doubt be preſumed, that the preſent Houſe of Lords doth abhor the leaſt Thought of ſuch an Action; but we are not now arguing what any Houſe of Lords will do, but what they may do hereafter, if they think fit, and from thence to draw an Argument to prove the Conſtitution of the Government in this Particular.

For ſuch is the admirable Contrivance of the Conſtitution of the Government of *England*, to the eternal Honour of thoſe who firſt eſtabliſhed the ſame, and for the perpetual Happineſs of the *Engliſh* Nation, that no Care has been wanting effectually to provide for the public Safety, and therefore a leſs Security was not eſtabliſhed for the Safety of the People, when a greater might be had: The People of *England* are not to depend upon the Security of two Checks or Branches of the ſupreme Authority, when the Nature of the Thing will admit of three; nor of any one, when the Nature of the Caſe will admit of two.

Thus, in the paſſing of Laws, the Nature of the Caſe doth admit of three to be Checks one upon another, the King, the Lords, and the Commons, and therefore no Law can be paſſed but by all three Branches of the ſupreme Authority, who are united by Intereſt in the ſame common End, the public Good. But in puniſhing great Miniſters of State, for doing unlawful Things at the

Command of the King, the Nature of the Caſe does not admit of all three, for the Reaſons aforeſaid: But it does admit of two, the Lords and Commons; and therefore, it ſeems very agreeable to the Wiſdom of our Forefathers, that neither of them ſhould be omitted, where the Security of both might be had; and that ſince both Houſes are united by Intereſt in the ſame common End, they ſhould alſo be united in the Means to attain that End; and that the Safety of the whole Nation ſhould not depend on any one, but on the Concurrence of both Houſes.

And thus it ſeems to be wiſely eſtabliſhed, that as the Commons cannot impeach but at the Bar of the Lords, ſo the Lords cannot regularly proceed to Trial or Judgment on that Impeachment, but upon the Proſecution of the Commons.

And as the Lords have a Right on one Side to appoint a Time and Place of Trial, ſo the Commons have a Right, on the other Side, to ſuch an Appointment as is convenient for both Houſes.

And here again, we may obſerve, the Policy and Excellency of this Conſtitution, which is ſo contrived, that it does in a manner compel an Agreement between the two Houſes for the public Good; for if neither Houſe can regularly proceed to Trial and Judgment, without the Concurrence of the other, they muſt either agree to ſettle all Preliminaries for the Conveniency of both Houſes, or elſe both the Powers of Lords and Commons, relating to Impeachments, will be rendered ineffectual.

So that it is not very material which Houſe has the Power of appointing Time and Place, ſince they muſt be convenient, and approved by both. Neither is it to any Purpoſe, for either of them to inſiſt on any Time and Place of Trial when both are not ready, if neither can regularly proceed to the ſaid Trial without the Concurrence of the other.

And as there is great Conveniency and Security to the Subject on one Side, by the Neceſſity of the Concurrence of both Houſes; ſo there is no manner of Inconveniency by it on the other, but what is incident to all Governments in the World; for if the ſupreme Powers cannot agree, not only a private Subject muſt ſuffer for want of being brought to Trial, but the whole Kingdom muſt ſuffer for want of their Agreement.

And as to the Liberty of a particular Subject impeached, certainly his Life and Fortune is ſtill more ſafe in the Hands of both Houſes than in any one; and much more ſafe under the Neceſſity of their Concurrence, than if any one Houſe had the Power of proceeding alone; for as it is the Intereſt of an innocent Perſon that Juſtice be not delayed, ſo it is his Intereſt that Juſtice be not precipitated.

A guilty Perſon may have Reaſon to dread the Delay of a Seſſion, becauſe he may perhaps dread the Diſcovery of more Faults; but an innocent Perſon being ſafe from the latter Fear, hath no Reaſon to be too much concerned at the former, eſpecially when his Perſon is under no Confinement.

But be the Caſe as it will, the moſt that can be made of it for the Liberty of the Subject is only this, That by one Conſtruction the Lords may delay the Trial of an Impeachment, and in the other the Commons; that is, by one the

Liberty

Liberty of the Subject is in the Power of the Lords, by the other of the Repreſentative of all the Commons of *England*.

But ſince the Lords are not entruſted with both Powers, but only with the Right of judging, and the Commons have the Right of proſecuting Offenders, it ſeems reaſonable that the Lords may judge, and the Commons proſecute, as they in their great Judgments and Diſcretions ſhall think juſt and reaſonable, for the publick Good; and as no Argument againſt the Power of Judicature in the Lords, ought to be founded on a Suppoſition of Partiality in Juſtice, ſo no Argument againſt the diſcretionary Power of Impeachments in the Commons ought to be founded on the Suppoſition of Delay in the Proſecution.

The Lords and Commons are both Branches of the ſupreme legiſlative Authority, and have theſe diſtinct Powers lodged in them for the common Safety of the People of *England*, and being mutual Checks one upon another, and both under the happy Influence of the King, who is the Father of his People, we ought not to find Fault with our Conſtitution, but rather to admire the Care and Wiſdom of our Anceſtors, who have done all that was poſſible, and the Nature of the Thing would admit, for the publick Safety.

It is the Power of Impeachments has hitherto preſerved the Conſtitution of this Government, from the many Attempts of evil Miniſters; and 'tis to that we muſt always owe the common Safety; and therefore the Poſſibility, Suppoſition, or Reality of a Hardſhip to a private Perſon muſt not ſtand in Competition with the publick Safety, nor with the Rights and Liberties of all the People of *England*. 'Tis better ſuffer a private Miſchief than a publick Inconvenience; and therefore it is better for the Nation that a few Perſons ſtand to the Mercy of the Commons of *England*, than that a fundamental Part of the Conſtitution of the Government, which is eſtabliſhed for the Safety of all, be rendered precarious and ineffectual in their Favour.

'Tis for the Liberty of *England* that every true *Engliſhman* will contend; and ſurely it is better, that the Commons have a diſcretionary Power in the Proſecution of Impeachments than any others have a Power of defeating Impeachments, and thereby of deſtroying the Rights and Liberties of all the People of *England*.

The King, Lords and Commons have ſeveral Rights and Powers, as neceſſary Checks one upon another, to preſerve the common Safety, but if any one hath a Power to make the Power of the other impracticable, then they cannot be Checks one upon another, and conſequently there is no common Safety.

No Sort of Government doth admit of an abſolute Perfection, and therefore that Government is the beſt which carries with it as great a Certainty and Security for the King and People as the Nature of human Government will admit, and ſince in all Conſtitutions of Government there muſt be a Power lodged ſomewhere for the Preſervation of the Rights and Liberties of the People, and that Power in this Government is chiefly lodg'd in the Commons of *England* as their Repreſentatives, we muſt not, in Favour of a few, endeavour to deſtroy the original Conſtitution for the Safety of all.

The Commons of *England* are Men and may err, yet it is they have hitherto preſerved the Rights and Liberties of the People; and the diſcretionary Power

of Impeachments is ſo eſſentially neceſſary to the Preſervation of thoſe Rights and Liberties, that whenever it is taken from them, the Safety of the People is gone with it.

What had become of this Nation in former Reigns, when evil Miniſters had almoſt ruined the King and Kingdom by ſecret Intrigues and private Councils, if the Commons of *England* had not had a Power to cenſure them even upon common Fame;

How often had *England* been undone, if it had been neceſſary to make the Proofs publick before the Commons impeached evil Miniſters, or made any Addreſs to the King to remove them from his Council and Preſence?

Evil Council, like Poiſon, is given in ſecret; and tho' all Men are convinced of the Guilt by the Conſequence and Effects, yet plain and poſitive Proof is not immediately to be attained: And if evil Miniſters are to be continued 'till ſuch Proof can be regularly produced, upon Trial of an Impeachment, the Nation, in that time, may be ruined and undone.

For this Reaſon, the Power of Impeachments was not lodged in any but the Repreſentatives of the Commons of *England*; nor the Right of Judicature, upon ſuch Impeachments, in any but the Houſe of Lords, who being original Branches of the ſupreme legiſlative Authority, are preſumed to be above any private Ends or Deſigns, and therefore are not confined to the ſtrict Rules and Methods of Proceedings in inferiour Courts.

And here it may be obſerved, that no Subject of *England* ought to think himſelf in Danger of any Injuſtice from the Houſe of Commons, who are a Branch of the legiſlative Authority, Repreſentatives of all the People, Guardians of their Liberties, and Patriots of their Country, and where it is not to be imagined that a Majority of ſo numerous a Body of Gentlemen can be influenced againſt Reaſon and Juſtice; and the Perſon impeached may alſo petition both Lords and Commons to bring on his Trial.

And it may alſo be obſerved, that whenever either Houſe has thought fit to put the other in mind of any Matter depending before them, it has always had a due Influence, for the Diſpatch of Buſineſs, in a reaſonable time, and has ever been done with that great Reſpect to each other, as is due from one Branch of the legiſlative Authority to another, and as becomes the Wiſdom and Conduct of both Houſes, without the leaſt Reflection on the Honour or Juſtice of either Houſe, or without expecting any Anſwer thereto.

For this Proceeding ſeems to be founded on a Suppoſition, that in the Multitude of Buſineſs a ſingle Matter may be neglected, but that as ſoon as either Houſe is put in Mind of it, they will immediately proceed, or elſe that they have juſt Cauſe to the contrary; and therefore, after they have put one another in mind, in general Terms, the Proceeding is ſtill left to their own Diſcretion, without expecting any Anſwer, or inſerting any thing in the Meſſage, that may ſeem to diſtruſt the Honour and Sincerity of either Houſe.

But by what has been ſaid, it may appear, that there is as much Care taken by the Conſtitution of our Government, for the Liberty of particular Subjects, as is conſiſtent with the Preſervation of the Liberties of *England*; and more than that cannot reaſonably be expected.

Power

Hence alſo it may appear, that the Lords and Commons being Branches of the ſupreme legiſlative Authority are not in the Exerciſe of the great and high Power repoſed in them, for the common Safety, to follow the Laws and Cuſtoms of the inferior Courts of Juſtice, but the Laws and Cuſtoms of Parliament; for as the Foundation and Reaſon of their Proceedings are different, ſo are their Laws.

And therefore, as it would be very improper to cite a Caſe out of the Journals of Parliament, as an Authority in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, ſo it would be altogether as improper to cite a Precedent out of *Weſtminſter-Hall* as an Authority in Parliament.

Lex & Conſuetudo Parliamenti, The Law and Cuſtom of Parliament is a diſtinct Law by it ſelf. Thus my Lord *Coke* ſays, in his 4th Inſtitutes, p. 15. 'As every Court of Juſtice hath Laws and Cuſtoms for its Directions, ſome by 'the common Law, ſome by the civil and cannon Law, ſome by peculiar 'Laws and Cuſtoms, *&c.* ſo the High Court of Parliament, (*ſuis propriis le-* '*gibus & Conſuetudinibus ſubſiſtit*) has its own proper Laws and Cuſtoms;' for as the Reaſon differs, ſo alſo doth the Law.

And therefore there is as much Reaſon to alledge, that a common Informer and Proſecutor ought to be treated as a Branch of the legiſlative Authority as to affirm that a Branch of the legiſlative Authority ought to be treated as a common Informer or Proſecutor.

It is inſiſted, that what an inferior Court can do a ſuperior Court may do; but all the inferior Courts may appoint Time and Place of Tryal, therefore the Houſe of Lords who are a ſuperior Court may do ſo too. This is true if the Caſe be rightly ſtated; but *Qui benè diſtinguet benè docet*: Every Caſe ſtands upon its own Bottom, and one material Circumſtance quite alters the Nature of the Caſe. A Judge in *Weſtminſter-Hall* may appoint the Time of Trial to a common Informer, and alſo to the Attorney-General, tho' this is ſeldom or never done without a previous Signification to the Court that he is ready with his Evidence: But be it as it will, the Lords may do as much to the ſame Proſecutors, if they came before them. But it does not hence follow that they can do the ſame to the Repreſentatives of the Commons of *England*, unleſs they can ſhew that the Judges can appoint Time and Place of Trial to the Houſe of Commons, or that a common Proſecutor, or the Attorney-General, is a Branch of the legiſlative Authority, and has a Right of Impeachments veſted in them as a Bulwark to preſerve the Rights and Liberties of the Commons of *England*: Then indeed that Caſe would be ſomething like the Caſe of the Commons; but ſuch a Suppoſition being abſurd, no Argument can be drawn from thence againſt the Rights of the Commons.

The Attorney-General does indeed proſecute in the Name of the King, and the King ought to have Juſtice as much as the Commons; but then it muſt be conſidered that the King ſues in his own Courts in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, and is as ſecure of Juſtice from the Judge as he is from the Attorney-General; for the Judge is not only bound to the King as his Sovereign, but in Conſcience by his Oath of a Judge; and if Juſtice be refuſed, he may be removed from his Office, or a Writ of Error may be brought: But the Lords are under no ſuch Oath or Obligation to the Commons, neither is there any Appeal from their Lordſhip's

Lordſhip's Judgment. So that if the Commons may be ſurprized in Time or Place, it muſt be fatal to them without farther Remedy, and the Right of Impeachments for the Safety of *England* will be totally defeated. Therefore no Inference can rationally be drawn from this Proceeding in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, to govern the Caſe in Queſtion.

My Lord *Coke*, in his 4th *Inſtitutes*, p. 23. treating of Judicature, hath theſe Words: 'Now Order doth require to treat of other Matters of Judicature in 'the Lords Houſe, and of Matters of Judicature in the Houſe of Commons; 'and it is to be known that the Lords in their Houſe have Power of Judicature, 'and the Commons in their Houſe have Power of Judicature, but the handling 'thereof, according to the Worth and Weight of the Matter, would require a 'whole Treatiſe of itſelf.' And therefore refers to the Journals of the Lords, and the Book of the Clerk of the Houſe of Commons, which he ſays is a Record, as is agreed by Mr. *Prynn* to ſome Purpoſes, and, as it is affirmed by Act of Parliament, *Anno* 6 *H.* VIII. c. 16. And here he cites the Caſe of *Thomas Long*, who gave the Mayor of *Weſtbury* four Pounds to be elected Burgeſs, and thereupon was elected: This Matter was examined and adjudged in the Houſe of Commons, *Secundum Legem & Conſuetudinem Parliamenti*, and the Mayor fined and impriſoned, and *Long* removed; for this corrupt Dealing, (ſays Lord *Coke*) was to poiſon the very Fountain itſelf. 8 *Eliz. Vid. Book of the Houſe of Commons*, 8 *Eliz. Ounſloe* Speaker, fol. 19. 23 *Eliz. ibid.* fol. 14 *ibid. Munſton* ſtruck *William Johnſon*, a Member of Parliament: The Houſe of Commons adjudged *Munſton* to the *Tower*, *&c.* See *Rot. Parl.* 8 *H.* VI. *nu.* 57. 2 *Aprilis*, 1 *Mariæ*. Theſe Caſes are not oppos'd by my Lord *Coke*'s great Adverſary Mr. *Prynn*.

And by theſe few Authorities (of which many more might be cited out of the old Books and Journals) it appears that the Commons, who have a Right of Judicature in their own Houſe, and are a Branch of the ſupreme legiſlative Authority, are not, either in Point of Right, Reaſon or Decency, to be treated like a common Informer, or like an Attorney or Sollicitor-General. The Nature of the Caſe ſpeaks ſo plain, and has been ſo fully ſet forth before, that to offer much more upon that Subject ſeems to be altogether unneceſſary.

All Men have a Right by the Law of Nature to defend themſelves from Injury and Oppreſſion, and 'till better Forms of Government were deviſed and appointed, Offenders againſt the Publick were uſually condemned by the general Voice of the People.

The Power of Impeachments therefore in the Commons, ſeems to be an original inherent Right in the People of *England*, reſerved to them in the firſt Inſtitution of the Government by the Law of Nature, and Self-Preſervation, for the common Security of their juſt Rights and Liberties.

And therefore they cannot be defeated of that Power without an Encroachment upon that Right which belongs to them by the Law of Nature and Self-Preſervation, and thereby diſſolving the fundamental and original Inſtitution of the *Engliſh* Government: For an Impeachment, (as the Commons were pleaſed to declare upon another Occaſion) is virtually the Voice of every particular Subject of this Kingdom crying out againſt an Oppreſſion, by which every Member of that Body is equally wounded. And it may prove a Matter of ill Conſequence,

ſequence, that the Univerſality of the People ſhould at any time have Occaſion miniſtred and continued unto them, to be apprehenſive of utmoſt Danger, from any Branch of the legiſlative Authority, from whom they of Right expect Aſſiſtance.

The Judicature of the Lords is indeed a wiſe and prudent Inſtitution in the eſtabliſhed Government to preſerve a Ballance of Power, and to be a Skreen and Back between the King and the People; but that Power cannot reaſonably be conceived to be lodged in the Lords as an inherent Right by the Law of Nature.

Whenever therefore a material Diſpute ſhall ariſe between the Proprietors of an inherent Right by the Law of Nature, and of a ſubſequent Right by Inſtitution, concerning a Matter that is abſolutely neceſſary to ſupport both, which of them ought to give place? or why is it not fair and equal for them to concur together and aſſiſt each other, for the general Good of the King and Kingdom?

This ſeems very plain and evident, that the Concurrence of both Houſes to ſettle the Preliminaries before-mentioned, does not deſtroy the Right of Judicature in the Lords; but the contrary thereof, manifeſtly tends to make the Right of Impeachment in the Commons precarious and ineffectual, at Will and Pleaſure.

Whoever therefore argues for the Concurrence of both Houſes to ſettle Preliminaries, does not argue againſt the eſſential Power and Right of Judicature in the Lords, but rather to preſerve the ſame by preſerving the juſt Ballance of the Conſtitution, which is eſſentially neceſſary for the Safety of all.

But from hence it appears how unjuſt it is to cenſure any Houſe of Commons for committing Perſons that are not Members, either for an Affront to the Houſe, Contempt of their Orders, or for Corruption and Bribery in Elections, when the ſame has been done, not only in all the Parliaments ſince this Revolution, whenever there was Cauſe for it, but this Power has been exerciſed and claimed as an undoubted Right in the Commons in all former Reigns: and indeed is as abſolutely neceſſary to ſupport that Part of the Conſtitution of the Government, as the ſame Power is in the Lords to ſupport the other.

For to what Purpoſe have they a Power to ſend for Perſons, Papers and Records, for the Diſpatch of publick Buſineſs, if they have not Power to puniſh thoſe that diſobey their Orders? Or to what End have they a Power to give Money for the Service of the Nation, if they have not likewiſe Power to call thoſe Perſons to an Account, who defraud both the King and People, and apply the publick Treaſure to their own or other corrupt Uſes?

And here the ſame Maxim which is cited before, comes in Force again; That where a Power is granted to any Branch of the legiſlative Authority, every thing is granted with it that is neceſſary to ſupport that Power, or elſe, in Effect, no Power is granted at all.

And for that Reaſon neither the *Habeas Corpus* Act, nor any other Statute is ever extended to deſtroy the Privilege of either Houſe of Parliament, without expreſs Words in the Act; and in this Caſe a Perſon committed cannot be continued in Cuſtody longer than that Seſſion of Parliament, which is a ſmall Puniſhment for an open Indignity to either Houſe, or an Offence that tends to deſtroy the Conſtitution of Parliament.

Upon

Upon the whole Matter therefore it appears, that the Way to preſerve the Conſtitution of the *Engliſh* Government is to preſerve the Right of Judicature to the Lords, and the Right of Impeachment to the Commons, from interfering or claſhing one with the other; and the beſt Way to do that ſeems to be for the Lords and Commons to agree and ſettle Preliminaries, and then the Lords to appoint Time and Place, and to proceed to Trial and Judgment at the Inſtance, and with the Concurrence of the Commons.

The Lords and Commons have continued for many Years in Peace and Union, aſſiſting and ſupporting one another for the common Good, and 'tis humbly hoped that the ſame Methods by which that happy Union has hitherto been preſerved, will ſtill be a Means to perpetuate that Happineſs to this Nation.

When any Miſunderſtanding therefore has at any time happened between the two Houſes, the ancient and conſtant Method of proceeding in Parliament hath ever been to appeal to Precedents, and when Precedents were doubtful, then to the Fountain and Foundation of all Precedents, and that is, to ſound Reaſon; and in Order to that, both Houſes have agreed to Conferences or Committees, and thereby adjuſted all Difficulties.

But here we muſt obſerve a Difference between Facts and Precedents. When either Houſe hath actually paſſed a Vote, or done a Thing which never came to be conſidered by the other Houſe, nor ever was debated and agreed to, at any Conference, or otherwiſe betwixt the two Houſes, that is called a Fact, but cannot be inſiſted on as a Precedent to bind the other Houſe. But when a Matter comes in Queſtion betwixt the two Houſes, and is ſolemnly debated and conſidered, and afterwards agreed to by both Houſes, that is eſteemed a Precedent, and ought, (with great Submiſſion) to be binding and concluſive to both Houſes, and no ancient Precedents are uſually cited againſt the latter, in which all the former Precedents are ſuppoſed to have been conſidered. For,

Either the ancient Precedents are plain in the point, or they are doubtful; if they are plain, there is an End of the Debate; if they are doubtful, then Reaſon is to be the Judge, and the Matter being determined by the Reaſon and Judgment of both Houſes, the laſt Determination of the Caſe is an Explanation of all the doubtful Precedents, and they ought never to riſe up in Judgment againſt the ſame.

And ſuch is the Authority and Sovereignty of Reaſon in all Caſes, but eſpecially in Proceedings of Parliament, where the publick Safety is more immediately concerned, that it not only explain, but in ſome Caſes over-rules, even the ſtrongeſt Precedents, as in the Caſe of a High-Steward before-mentioned. It was never known upon any Impeachments and Trials of Peers, but that the King did always nominate and appoint a High-Steward; the Precedents in the Journals of both Houſes were full and expreſs in the Point; and yet when it came to be conſidered and ſolemnly debated and argued from the Nature of the Conſtitution of the Government, whether the Office of High Steward was neceſſary to the Houſe of Lords in Tryals of Peers? It was carried in the Negative, upon the very ſame Reaſon in Effect that the Argument for the Commons is now founded; becauſe, if ſuch an Office were neceſſary, then the King might ſuſpend or deny to name a High-Steward, and thereby a Power lodged in one of the Branches of the legiſlative Authority, that is, the Power of Judicature in Parliament, upon Impeachments might be defeated.

But

But if Reaſon upon a ſolemn Debate in the Houſe of Lords, ſhall over-rule expreſs Precedents, to which both Houſes had conſented in all former Reigns, meerly becauſe upon farther Enquiry it did appear, that thereby it was poſſible (though not probable) for the King to defeat the Power entruſted with another Branch of the legiſlative Authority, as one of the ſupreme Checks for the common Safety: How much more ſhall the ſame Reaſon over-rule any Matters of Fact in either Houſe, that were never debated or brought to a final Determination by both Houſes? If this Argument be good for the Lords againſt the King, why not for the Commons againſt the Lords?

But as to the appointing a Committee of both Houſes to adjuſt Preliminaries, the Reſolution in the Caſe of the five popiſh Lords ſeem to be a very expreſs Precedent, for the Direction of both Houſes; for there the Commons to avoid all Interruptions and Delays in the Proceedings againſt the Lords impeached, and the Inconveniences that might ariſe thereby, did propoſe at a Conference, that a Committee of both Houſes might be nominated, to conſider of the moſt proper Ways and Methods of Proceedings upon Impeachments: The Lords at firſt refuſed a free Conference, but afterwards they were pleaſed to order, that there ſhall be a free Conference with the Houſe of Commons, upon the late Conference, concerning the Forms and Methods of Proceedings to be had at the Trial of the Lords.

And the then Lord Preſident having given the Lords an Account of the ſaid free Conference, with the ſeveral Debates *pro* and *con* on both Sides.

Upon Conſideration thereof it was ordered, that a Committee of the Lords be appointed to meet with a Committee of the Commons, to conſider of Propoſitions and Circumſtances in reference to the Trial of the ſaid Lords.

Now what can be a more expreſs Precedent than this? when after ſeveral Conferences and free Conferences, the Matter was at laſt ſo ſolemnly agreed to and ſettled; in which Proceedings it cannot be denied, but that all the former doubtful Precedents (which were not very numerous) were conſidered on both Sides; and therefore ought never more to riſe up in Judgment againſt a Precedent thus eſtabliſhed. The like Commiſſion was appointed by both Houſes in the Caſe of the Earl of *Strafford.*

And as the Methods of adjuſting Preliminaries between the two Houſes, there ſeems to be no Difference (in Reaſon) between Impeachments for High Crimes and Miſdemeanors, and Impeachments for High Treaſon; for the Lords and Commons are equally concerned in both, and it is equally neceſſary for them to preſerve their Rights and Methods of Proceeding in one as well as in the other; and ſince the Commons are allowed to concur in the greater Caſe, why not in the leſſer?

Whenever then the Commons ſhall deſire a Committee of both Houſes for ſettling the neceſſary Preliminaries on Impeachments, and amongſt other things, Whether ſeveral Lords accuſed of the ſame Crimes ſhall ſit as Judges on each others Trials for thoſe Crimes; they ſeem to be juſtified both by the ſaid Precedent, and by Reaſon: for it is a fundamental Maxim of Reaſon and Juſtice in all Governments, that no Man ſhall ſit as Judge in his own Caſe, and conſequently ſhall not ſit as Judge to paſs Sentence, That the very Fact of which he himſelf is accuſed, is no Crime or Offence in Law; for it is not ſaid, That no

Man ſhall be Judge on his own Trial, to acquit or condemn himſelf, but no Man ſhall be judge in his own Caſe: But if the Caſe of another, be the very ſame as his own, and upon the ſame individual Fact, then his judging in the Caſe of the other, is judging in the Caſe of himſelf.

And here it may be obſerved, that whenever a Debate hath happened concerning any Preliminary of this Conſequence, and which relates to the Method of Proceedings upon all Impeachments whatſoever, the Commons have always refuſed to proceed to Trial till the Preliminaries were adjuſted, leſt the ſame ſhould be thereby eſtabliſhed as a Precedent, to the Subverſion of Juſtice, on all future Impeachments.

Since the Way then to reconcile any Miſunderſtanding between the two Houſes, is by Conferences and free Conferences, which are eſſential to the Proceedings of Parliament, and the only Means to preſerve a good Underſtanding between the two Houſes; and wherein, upon a fair Debate, ſound Reaſon is to be the Judge, it follows, that all free Conferences are to be managed and carried on by the Members of both Houſes, with all the Decency and Reſpect that is due from one Branch of the legiſlative Power to another, and with that Prudence and Moderation that is requiſite and neceſſary to promote a Union and right Underſtanding between the two Houſes, for the common Good of the King and Kingdom.

Whenever then any Managers of the Lords or Commons do tranſgreſs that Rule, they have always been cenſured for it by their reſpective Houſes, according to the Circumſtances of the Caſe, and the Nature of the Offence.

And it is to be obſerved, That in all free Conferences, the Managers do uſually receive Inſtructions from the reſpective Houſes for whom they are to manage; and if any Manager exceed his Inſtructions, he is like a Soldier that goes out of his Rank, or a General that exceeds his Commiſſion; he is to be blamed for it, though he has Succeſs: But in Caſe this Tranſgreſſion is alſo attended with indecent and diſreſpectful Language to either Houſe, and inſtead of promoting a Union (which is the End for which they meet) tends to widen the Difference, the ſame hath always been adjudged an Aggravation of the Offence, and to deſerve a greater Puniſhment.

And in this Caſe it is not only to be conſidered, whether the Words ſpoken are true or not, for neither Houſe has a Power to try the other, guilty or not guilty? But whether the Words were indecent, and did reflect on the Honour and Juſtice of either Houſe: for in an Action of *Scandalum Magnatum*, the Party cannot juſtify the Words although they were true; much leſs any Words of Scandal againſt either Houſe of Parliament.

When a free Conference therefore is deſired, in order to a Committee of both Houſes, and a Committee is deſired in order to a fair Trial, and a fair Trial in order to determine by the Judgment of all the Houſe of Peers, whether the Perſons impeached are innocent or not. No particular Manager of either Houſe has an Authority to determine that Point, or cenſure either Houſe for their Proceedings. It is indeed poſſible, that Perſons impeached may be innocent, though either Lords or Commons think them guilty, and a fair Trial will bring that Matter to a fair Determination; but for a Manager of either Houſe to exceed his Inſtructions, and to aſſert at a free Conference, that the Lords

Lords or Commons themſelves think thoſe Perſons innocent, whom the Commons have impeached, or the Lords condemned, ſeems to be not only a high Indignity to that Branch of the legiſlative Authority, that is ſo treated, but a great Abuſe of the Truſt repoſed in ſuch Manager.

But that I may ſtate the Caſe fairly, give me Leave to ſuppoſe, that a Manager of the Houſe of Commons ſhould be ſo indiſcreet as to affirm at a free Conference, that the Lords themſelves thought that Perſon innocent that they had condemned; and that thereupon, the Lords ſhould ſend to the Commons, to demand Reparation for that Indignity offered to the Houſe of Peers. There is no Doubt, but the Houſe of Commons have a Right of Judicature within their own Houſe, and eſpecially upon their own Members; what would then be reaſonable and proper for the Houſe of Commons to do in that Caſe? They might, indeed, admit the Manager to put in an Anſwer, in his own Defence, by either denying or excuſing the Matter charged againſt him; but can it be imagined, that they would admit the ſaid Manager to juſtify ſuch a Charge againſt him, and to multiply Affronts to the Houſe of Peers, by giving Reaſons to prove, That the Lords were guilty of ſo ill an Action, and that they had not only condemned the Innocent, but had done it wilfully, and were conſcious of their own evil Action? Can it be conceived, that they would ſuffer ſuch a Juſtification to be put in Writing, and ſent up to the Houſe of Lords; alledging, that the Lords did think thoſe Perſons innocent whom they had condemned, becauſe others that were in his Opinion guilty of the ſame Crimes, were not condemned alſo? To what End ſhould ſuch an Anſwer and Juſtification be ſent to the Lords? To reply and join Iſſue upon it? How ſhould that Matter be tried? How were it poſſible to know what were the Lords Thoughts, or the Reaſons why the Lords did not think others equally guilty, or had not yet thought fit to condemn them? Shall the Commons pretend to try the Houſe of Peers, Guilty or not Guilty? (and in this Caſe, no other can have a Right of judging, where their own Member is concerned, but themſelves;) or can either Houſe try the other? No, certainly, the ſole Queſtion upon this Meſſage to the Commons would be, What were the Words that were ſpoken? And then, whether they were decent and proper to be ſaid at a free Conference between the two Houſes, and pertinent to the Matter in Debate, and within the Inſtructions of the Houſe? And if they were, the Houſe of Commons would endeavour to excuſe their Member to the Lords; but if that would not be accepted, they would rather command a private Member to aſſure their Lordſhips, That he did not deſign to reflect on, or diſhonour the Houſe of Peers, but if he had unfortunately ſpoke any Words, that were in the leaſt offenſive, he humbly begged their Lordſhips Pardon, than ſuffer any Miſunderſtanding between the two Houſes on that Account, to the Prejudice of the public Affairs of the King and Kingdom; and no Subject of *England* is too big, to make ſuch a Submiſſion to any Branch of the ſupreme Authority.

But if upon Conſideration of the Words they appeared to be indecent, and not proper to be ſaid at a free Conference, and that they were not within the Inſtructions of the Houſe, the Commons would immediately paſs ſuch a Cenſure and Puniſhment upon that Manager, as the Nature of the Offence did re-

quire; and it is to be hoped, the Lords will always obſerve the ſame Reſpect to the Repreſentatives of all the Commons of *England*.

And here it may be obſerved, that when ſeveral Perſons are concerned in the ſame Fact, it does not therefore follow, that they are equally guilty; or if they were, that becauſe one is proſecuted, and the other not, that therefore all are thought innocent. Sometimes it is thought convenient to ſhew Mercy in the Midſt of Juſtice, and to proſecute a few of the Chief, and excuſe the Followers and Dependants, *Ut pœna ad paucos, metus ad omnes perveniat.* Sometimes it is proper to ſave one in order to obtain Evidence againſt another, and ſometimes a Circumſtance alters the Nature of the Crime, as in the Caſe of killing a Man, that which is only Man-ſlaughter or Chance-medley in one, by the Addition of Malice prepenſe, is Murder in another. And many other Differences may happen to diſtinguiſh one Caſe from another; therefore,

No private Perſon is a proper Judge in Caſes of this Nature, nor ought, upon a free Conference, to make any reflecting Inferences upon the Honour or Juſtice of either Lords or Commons, from his own private Apprehenſions.

The Commons have a diſcretionary Power in all Caſes of this Nature, and may think fit to begin with one Perſon, who appears to them to be moſt criminal, and may reſpite the Impeachment of another till they ſee the Event of that Proceeding. Or they may think fit to impeach one Perſon for a Multitude of Crimes, and not to impeach another for a ſingle Crime; for they are the proper Perſons to judge, from the various Circumſtances of every Caſe, what is prudent and fit to be done, in Caſes of Impeachments, for the common Safety of the King and the People; and no Manager at a Conference has any Authority to cenſure, or reflect on the Juſtice of their Proceedings.

And thus, upon the whole Matter, the Nature and Excellency of the Government of *England*, by King, Lords, and Commons, may appear to all, and even to the meaneſt Capacity. Here we may obſerve, the wiſe Proviſion made by our Anceſtors, for the common Safety of the King and the People, that as no Blame may be imputed to the King, ſo no Wrong be done to the People.

Under this happy Conſtitution of Government, ſecured by a wiſe Diſtribution of Power, in the original Frame and Inſtitution thereof, to all the three ſupreme Branches of the legiſlative Authority, as mutual Securities for the common Safety, and to aſſiſt each againſt the Encroachments of the other, this Nation has enjoyed Peace, Proſperity, and Happineſs, for many Generations: And it will be difficult to find an Inſtance, in any Age, that ever any Troubles, or civil War, happened in *England*, but when ſome one Branch of the ſupreme Authority did unreaſonably encroach upon the Rights of the other.

The Way then to preſerve *England*, is to preſerve the juſt Balance of the Conſtitution; and when any Miſtake or Miſapprehenſion happens between any of the Branches of the ſupreme Authority, to preſerve thoſe Methods that are eſſential to the Proceedings of Parliament, and the only Means to preſerve a good Underſtanding; and that is, by humble Petitions or Addreſſes to the King, and by Conferences, free Conferences and Committees betwixt the two Houſes.

By theſe Means, this Nation has hitherto proſpered, and the People enjoyed their Rights and Liberties, to the Wonder or Envy of all the World; and

therefore

therefore we muſt be careful of admitting any Innovations, or new Doctrines, ſpread abroad by ignorant or ſeditious Perſons, to render this happy Conſtitution void, and of no Effect.

The three Branches of the ſupreme Authority, are all entirely concerned in Intereſt to promote the public Good, and have an abſolute ſupreme Power of making ſuch Laws, and doing ſuch Things, as they in their great Wiſdoms and Diſcretions ſhall conceive to be moſt advantageous and conducive to the Welfare of the Nation: And the particular Powers lodged in every one of them, as mutual Securities for the common Safety, are not to be limited by any other Authority beſides their own; neither can they be accountable to any other Power on Earth, without confounding the Government, and diſſolving the Conſtitution.

For ſince one Perſon cannot diſpoſe of the Right of another, unleſs he has Authority from the other ſo to do; and ſince it was not poſſible to have a general Meeting of the Body of the People of *England*, to conſult together for the Intereſt of the Nation, and to determine, by Majority of Voices, what was moſt prudent and ſafe to be done for the Good of the whole (which is always to be preferred before the Good of any particular Part) it follows that it was abſolutely neceſſary to chuſe Repreſentatives from all Parts of the Kingdom, to whom the Intereſt and Grievances of every Place and County might be fairly repreſented and debated together at one and the ſame Time; and who (in Concurrence with the King and the Lords) after many ſerious and ſolemn Debates, are beſt able to judge, and moſt proper to determine, by Majority of Voices, what is moſt advantageous and conducive to the general Good of the King and Kingdom.

It can never therefore be admitted as legal, or ſo much as is conſiſtent with the Intereſt and Safety of *England*, for the Freeholders of any particular Place or County, to direct the Proceedings of Parliament, ſince the Safety of the People entirely depends upon the Reſult of the mutual Debates and Conſultations of their Repreſentatives, that come from all Parts and Corners of the Kingdom; and who alone are able, by the Aſſiſtance of one another, to underſtand the true State and Condition of the Nation.

It is true, that ſuch is the great Care and Tenderneſs had for the Safety of the People, that they may, in a decent and reſpectful Manner, petition the King, Lords or Commons, for Relief or Redreſs of any real Grievance; but when ill-diſpoſed Perſons abuſed the Goodneſs of their Governors, and, under Pretence of public Grievances, took upon them to direct the King or the Parliament, in Matters of the higheſt Importance relating to the Welfare of the whole Kingdom, whereby many Diſorders and Calamities did ariſe to this Nation, then at laſt a Statute was made, in the 13th of King *Charles* II. *Chap.* 5. Entitled,

An Act againſt Tumults and Diſorders, on Pretence of preparing or preſenting public Petitions, or other Addreſſes, to his Majeſty, or the Parliament.

WHereas it hath been found by ſad Experience, That tumultuous and other diſorderly ſoliciting, and procuring of Hands by private Perſons to Petitions, Complaints, Remonſtrances and Declarations, and other Addreſſes to the King,

King, or to both, or either Houſes of Parliament, for Alteration of Matters eſtabliſhed by Law, Redreſs of pretended Grievances in Church and State, or other public Concernments, have been made Uſe of, to ſerve the Ends of factious and ſeditious Perſons gotten into Power, to the Violation of the public Peace, and have been a great Means of the late unhappy Wars, Confuſions and Calamities in this Nation.

This is the Recital of that Statute, by which ſome Perſons do claim a Right to petition the King and Parliament in any Caſe whatſoever; but hereby it appears, what has been the Effects of diſorderly Petitions in former Times; and that ſuch Proceedings (even where lawful) ought not to be had without extraordinary Occaſion for it; for what has ſerved the Ends of factious and ſeditious Perſons in former Times, may do ſo in this,

For preventing the like Miſchiefs for the future, Be it enacted by the King's moſt excellent Majeſty, by and with the Conſent of the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament, and by the Authority of the ſame, That no Perſon or Perſons whatſoever, ſhall from and after the firſt of Auguſt, *One thouſand ſix hundred ſixty and one, ſollicit, labour or procure the getting of Hands, or other Conſent of any Perſons above the Number of twenty or more, to any Petition, Complaint, Remonſtrance, Declaration, or other Addreſs to the King, or both, to either Houſes of Parliament, for Alteration of Matters eſtabliſhed by Law in Church or State, unleſs the Matter thereof have been firſt conſented unto, and ordered by three or more Juſtices of the County, or by the major Part of the Grand Jury of the County or Diviſion of the County where the ſame Matter ſhall ariſe, at their public Aſſizes, or General Quarter Seſſions, or if ariſing in* London *by the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Commons in Common Council aſſembled: And that no Perſon or Perſons whatſoever ſhall repair to his Majeſty, or both or either of the Houſes of Parliament, upon Pretence of preſenting, or deliveriug any Petition, Complaint, Remonſtrance or Declaration, or other Addreſſes, accompanied with exceſſive Number of People, not at any one Time with above the Number of ten Perſons, upon Pain of incurriug a Penalty not exceeding the Sum of one hundred Pounds in Money, and three Months Impriſonment without Bail or Mainprize for every Offence, which Offence to be proſecuted at the Court of* King's-Bench, *or at the Aſſizes, or General Quarter Seſſions, within ſix Months after the Offence committed, and proved by two or more credible Witneſſes.*

Provided always, That this Act, or any thing therein contained, ſhall not be conſtrued to extend to debar or hinder any Perſon or Perſons, not exceeeding the Number of Ten aforeſaid, to preſent any public or private Grievance or Complaint, to any Member or Members of Parliament after his Election, and during the Continuance of the Parliament, or to the King's Majeſty, for any Remedy to be thereupon had; nor to extend to any Addreſs whatſoever to his Majeſty, by all or any of the Members of both or either Houſes of Parliament, during the Sitting of Parliament, but that they may enjoy their Freedom of Acceſs to his Majeſty, as heretofore hath been uſed.

By

By this Statute it may be obſerved, That not only the Number of Perſons is reſtrained, but the Occaſion alſo for which they may petition; which is, for the Alteration of Matters eſtabliſhed in Church or State, for Want whereof ſome Inconvenience doth ariſe to that County from which the Petition ſhall be brought. For it is plain, by the expreſs Words and Meaning of that Statute, That the Grievance, or Matter of the Petition, muſt ariſe in the ſame County as the Petition itſelf. They may, indeed, petition the King for a Parliament to redreſs their Grievances; and they may petition that Parliament to make one Law that is advantageous, and repeal another that is prejudicial to the Trade or Intereſt of that County, but they have no Power by this Statute, nor by the Conſtitution of the *Engliſh* Government, to direct the Parliament in the general Proceedings concerning the whole Kingdom; for the Law declares, That a general Conſultation of all the wiſe Repreſentatives of Parliament, is more for the Safety of *England*, than the haſty Advice of a Number of Petitioners of a private County, of a Grand Jury, or of a few Juſtices of the Peace, who ſeldom have a true State of the Caſe repreſented to them.

But it is wiſely provided by this Statute, That in all Caſes where it is lawful and reaſonable for a Number of Perſons to petition for making or repealing a Law, that even in that Caſe, it ſhould be done in a peaceable Manner, and by the Conſent and Order of three or more Juſtices, or by the Majority of the Grand Jury; becauſe they are generally Perſons of ſome Note, and are anſwerable to the Government for all illegal Petitions that they conſent to; and although the Form of Proceeding, by Order of three or more Juſtices, may in great Meaſure excuſe the Petitioners from ſuch illegal Acts, as not doing the ſame in a tumultuous Manner, yet it will not juſtify the Juſtices or Grand Jury, who ought to underſtand the Law (though not Matters of State) and be well adviſed before they conſent to Petitions of that Nature and Conſequence.

But admitting a Petition to be made upon a lawful Occaſion, to redreſs a real Grievance ariſing in that County, and to be made purſuant to the ſaid Statute; yet no Subject can pretend to a Right, under the Pretence of a Petition, to reflect on the Honour and Juſtice of the Parliament, or to condemn and expoſe their Proceedings.

The Subject has an undoubted Right to commence a Suit in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, to exhibit a Bill in *Chancery*, or to petition the Lord Chancellor; but yet he has no Right to affront any of the ſaid Courts; and if he ſhould preſume in ſuch a Petition, to deſire the Lord Chancellor to turn his plauſible Speeches into juſt and righteous Decrees, I preſume his Lordſhip might legally commit him to the *Fleet* for ſuch an Indignity to the Court.

For as we muſt take Care to preſerve the Rights of particular Subjects, ſo much more to preſerve a due Reſpect to all Courts of Juſtice, and eſpecially to preſerve the Dignity of Parliaments, and the Rights of the Repreſentatives of all the Commons of *England*; for whoever affronts the Repreſentatives of the People of *England*, affronts the People themſelves; and as much as in them lies, overturns the Conſtitution of the Government, appointed for the common Safety of both King and People.

And here it may not be improper to obſerve, That it ſeems very prudent and requiſite, that all the ſeveral Branches of the ſupreme Authority ſhould at all Times,

Times, and upon all Occaſions, ſupport and aſſiſt each other, and not in the leaſt countenance any Sort of Proceeding, that in any Meaſure, or by any indirect Means or Inſinuations whatſoever, tends to the Diſhonour or Reproach of any one of them, leſt that Method that is taken at one Time to diſſolve a Parliament, ſhould be taken at another, to deprive this Nation of the Happineſs of the Houſe of Peers, or even of kingly Government.

But as to the Nature of the Powers and Proceedings of the Lords and Commons upon Impeachments, The Writer, notwithſtanding any thing herein alledged, doth not pretend to aſſert, but argue; not to determine, but to ſubmit to better Judgment. He is (indeed) deſirous either to convince, or be convinced; and therefore hath freely delivered his Opinion in ſuch Terms, as the Nature of the Matter ſeemed to him to require, in hopes that if his Arguments have any Weight in them, they may influence one Side; and if none, that the Anſwer to them may influence the other, in order to a right Underſtanding, and a happy Union betwixt all.

It is no Diſhonour to a juſt Judge to change his Opinion, and a Multitude of public Buſineſs may juſtly excuſe all Perſons from a haſty Reſolution: And ſince it is the Intereſt of all to live in Peace and Union, it is the Intereſt of all to hear what can be fairly offered for that Purpoſe.

As to the three Branches of the ſupreme Authority, he takes it for a Maxim, that no Blame or Wrong is to be imputed to them, or any of them: But if any Miſtake happen, they will be pleaſed to hear the Matter fairly debated, on all Sides, in order to create a right Underſtanding, which muſt be the Deſire of all, ſince they are all united by Intereſt in the ſame common End, the public Good.

And as to any private Perſons that either have, or ſhall hereafter offend againſt our happy Conſtitution of Government, the Writer can come up to any thing in Favour of their Perſons, though not of their Errors: It is the public Good he aims at, and the Preſervation of that Conſtitution, that is ſo valuable to this Nation; and which he ſhould think himſelf and his Poſterity unworthy to enjoy, if he ſhould baſely give up or betray the ſame, for any private Reſpects or Friendſhips on one Side, or for any mean or ſervile Fear on the other.

A Vindication of the Rights and Prerogatives of the Right Honourable the Houſe of Lords. Wherein a late Diſcourſe entitled *A Vindication of the Rights of the Commons of* England, is conſidered. 1701.

Beati Pacifici.

MAN, the Perfection of the Creation, was not only made a Citizen or Inhabitant of this World, but Lord Paramount over all Creatures that have a Being within the Circle of the terreſtrial Globe; a Dignity conferred upon him by the ſupreme Governor of Heaven and Earth, which extends not only

only over irrational Creatures, but has conſtituted a Superiority and Authority to reſide in ſome peculiar Members of the Creation, over others of the ſame Species; leſt all aſpiring to an Equality of Power and Privileges, ſhould turn the World into a Chaos of Confuſion.

Superiority and Subordination are the Ligaments of Government; which duly preſerved in their natural and legal Diſtances, will regulate Affairs of State, by the ſound Principles of ſolid Reaſon, mature Deliberations, and profound Judgment; whereas a Parity of Juriſdiction will totter the State, amuſe the People with ſelf-intereſted Councils, wavering Opinions, and make the Well-being of a Kingdom depend upon uncertain Fate, and the Capricio's of unſteady Fortune; which at length muſt neceſſarily plunge the State into an Ocean of Diſtractions, Miſery, and Infelicity.

The Conſervation of a Kingdom or State in Peace, Proſperity, and Unity, and the Knowledge of Governing diſcreetly and regularly, to compaſs thoſe bleſſed Ends, are Rays of Favour and Goodneſs, iſſuing from a wiſe and almighty Eſſence.

Eſt Deus in nobis, agitante caleſcimus illo;
Spiritus hic ſacræ lumina mentis habet.

Which renders it more eſpecially the Duty of thoſe that preſide at the Helm, to ſurmount the Title of meer Men, by endeavouring after ſuch a Meaſure of Underſtanding, as flies a more ſublime and noble Pitch, than Humanity can otherwiſe attain to; for by this Means, great Men will not only ſurpaſs others of leſſer Quality, but will live after the Dictates of thoſe divine Monitors in their Boſoms, which ought to have the Supremacy in all their Cogitations and Actions, *viz.* 'The ſteady Belief of a Deity, and a Conformity to the Precepts 'of Religion and the Laws of Reaſon.' Theſe will render them truly wiſe, juſt, and courageous, and add a nobler diſtinguiſhing Allay to their Underſtandings, than others of equal Title can boaſt of: who for want of theſe Qualifications, are ſo deeply immerged in Senſe, as renders them unſerviceable to their Country, by a celebrated Maxim, 'That thoſe who ſlight the great Con-'cern of Eternity, will little regard the temporal Well-being of their Country.' Such Men by indulging corrupted Nature, and abdicating their Reaſons, *Facie tantum homines ſunt, non animo*, have not only the external Aſpect of Men, but are deſtitute of thoſe noble and illuſtrious Habits as qualify other Men for Government.

It is the *Engliſh* Nobility of the forementioned Character, that knowing themſelves honourably born, of plentiful Eſtates in their Country, and that owe their Original to Virtue, that can never be ſuſpected of ill Intentions againſt their native Soil, where their Parents, Relations, Friends, and Tenants reſide, and muſt be poſſeſſed by their Heirs and Succeſſors. And though they are tender of their Rights and Privileges, as the ſupreme Court of Judicature in *England*, from which there is no Appeal, and are zealous in maintaining them: Cannot, I ſay, without the greateſt Breach of Duty and Charity imaginable, be ſuppoſed to act againſt the valuable Intereſt of *England* in general; but on the contrary are the Pillars that ſupport the Nation's Welfare and Grandeur, and

their Eſtates in Conjunction with others, that defend our Coaſts from the Inſults and Depredations of our Enemies.

Theſe are the *Engliſh* Nobles, which being adorned with their own Virtues, as well as with thoſe of their Anceſtors, merit Eſteem, Preferment, Truſt, Honour, and Fame, above all others that would ſtand in Competition with them, in the Adminiſtration of public Affairs; for they are Armour of Proof againſt all Innovations, and whatever might reflect Injuries upon our happy Conſtitution of King, Lords, and Commons, either obliquely or directly;

——Quod nec Jovis ira nec ignis,
Nec poterit ferrum, nec edax abolere vetuſtas.

And by their prudent Conſultations and Reſolutions are the *Neſtors* and *Ulyſſes*, that ſecure their Country againſt the repeated Deſigns of our Neighbours, that would be reputed *Ajaxes* and *Achilles*.

Their Lordſhips have been alſo equally zealous in demanding and maintaining the Rights of the People at Home; as may be ſeen in all the Traces of the Barons Wars, when our Kings would have erected a deſpotic Authority, and enſlaved the People under the arbitrary Power of the reigning Monarchs; if they had not been brought to Reaſon, by the Oppoſition that was made againſt them by the Lords, Earls and Barons.

And it is no leſs obſervable in Juſtice to the Honourable Houſe of Peers, that when a factious Crew of Republicans, that ſcandalouſly called themſelves a Houſe of Commons, confederated, by the Excluſion of more worthy Members, into a wicked and execrable Deſign, of inveſting themſelves with an abſolute and arbitrary Power, to the Deſtruction of the Monarchy, and enſlaving their Fellow-Subjects; they could not accompliſh their Ends, till they had violently, and by armed Force, hindered the Houſe of Lords from ſitting, and voted them dangerous and uſeleſs.

Again: The inconſiderable Number of Lords, that engaged in the Deſign of promoting and carrying on a bloody and ruinous Civil War in this Kingdom, and the many that ſhewed their Abhorrence of it, and Zeal in ſettling the Kingdom upon its ancient and venerable Baſis of King, Lords and Commons, is a ſufficient Argument and an invincible Evidence, that the Right Honourable the Houſe of Lords, notwithſtanding all their Loſſes, and the Provocations they had from the adverſe Party, were yet always firm and immoveable, in the Preſervation of the Rights of the People, and our legal Conſtitution.

But ſince the Deſign of this brief Diſcourſe is not to aggravate Miſtakes, create Jealouſies, or widen Breaches, but to pacify the unhappy Differences between two of the Branches of our legiſlative Powers, from whoſe happy Concord, mutual Union, and amicable Correſpondence in the common Intereſt of the Kingdom, we only can expect a durable Tranquillity, and on the contrary, from whoſe unſeaſonable Jars and Diſagreements, we muſt live under the diſmal Senſe of approaching Ruin. I ſhall ſummarily diſcourſe the Excellency of our Conſtitution in general, and then proceed to the Branches that compoſe the whole

whole Eſtabliſhment, which has been as often as truly called, The Glory and Happineſs of *England*, and the Admiration or Envy of all the World. Now,

To the End that Rights being adjuſted, either by convincing eager or ill-adviſed Parties of their Miſtakes, or by perſuading good Men that have the ſame common Intereſt, of the Neceſſity of ſuffering Circumſtantials and lighter Matters, to ſleep at this Juncture, and for their own and our Preſervation, to eſpouſe Affairs of the greateſt Conſequence and Importance: By which Addreſs, each Conſtellation moving amicably in their proper Stations, without reflecting unkind Aſpects upon one another, Heaven, in Anſwer to the Prayers and Endeavours of all good Men, may bleſs us with a ſalubrious Air, a healthful and vigorus Body Politic, Minds united in Peace and Concord, which will infallibly produce fair Weather; and a happy Iſſue of parliamentary Proceedings in *England*.

Thoſe wiſe and courageous Men that firſt reduced Mankind into ſome Kind of tolerable Order, by aſſociating and aſſembling them into Cities, who before like Savages ranged over Woods, and diſperſedly inhabited Deſerts, without the Knowledge of Government or Laws, firſt obtained the Title of Kings; but ſome of them, in Time, and by Exceſs of Power, degenerating into Tyrants, produced Commonwealths, and both by ill Management, and ſtraining their Authorities, produced that Maxim, That Monarchy leaves Men no Liberty; and a Commonwealth no Quiet. But we in *England* have embraced the golden Mean; our Laws take away from the Monarch the Power of doing Hurt, and yet leave him enough to govern and protect us: We take from the other the Parity, the Confuſion, the Animoſity and the Licenſe, and yet reſerve a due Care of ſuch a Liberty as conſiſts with Men's Allegiance.

Our Government has much the ſtronger Byaſs towards Monarchy, which, when it falls into good Hands, has ſo great an Advantage above all other Forms, that they look out of Countenance when they are ſet in Competition with it. Here our King and Kingdom are (or ought to be) one creatured, not to be ſeparated in their politic Capacity; his Throne is ſupported by Love as well as Power; the Laws of the Kingdom when ſtedfaſtly adhered to, are the ſparkling Jewils that illuſtrate his Crown, and he has as much Dignity, Superiority, and Command, as a wiſe and good Prince can deſire to have. So happy is our Conſtitution, that Dominion and Liberty are ſo well reconciled, that it gives the Prince the glorious Power of commanding Freemen, and the Subject the Satisfaction of ſeeing the Power ſo well lodged, that their Liberties are ſecure.

In the early Days of Monarchy, Kings ſeeing they were but ſingle Perſons, as long-ſighted and handed as they are ſaid to be, ſoon found themſelves unable to tranſact all the Affairs of their Kingdoms in their own Perſons; beſides, being ſometimes ſeduced from the Conduct of Reaſon and Policy, by yielding to their own Affections, they found themſelves under a Neceſſity of ſerving themſelves by the Aſſiſtance of other Heads and Hands, and therefore choſe grave, ſober, diſcreet and virtuous Perſons to help them ſuſtain the Weight of Government, and leſſen their Cares and Troubles, by imparting their Power into other Hands. Thus *Romulus*, the firſt King of the *Romans*, choſe a hundred Senators to aſſiſt him in his Government, who, out of Reſpect to their grey Heads, and great Underſtandings, were called *Patres*. *Theopompus*, King of *Sparta*, conſtituted the *Ephori*, and inveſted them with eminent

Authority. After the ſame Manner acted *Lycurgus*, *Solon* and *Thucydides*; and as Nations multiplied in *Europe* ſo we find the *Germans* have their Dyets, the *Danes* and *Swedes* their Riicks Dachs, the *Spaniards* their Cortes, the *French* have, or ought to have, their Aſſembly of the Three Eſtates, and we in *England* our Parliament, or according to the old *Norman French*, 'An Aſſembly 'where all the Members ſhould ſincerely and diſcreetly *Parle la Ment* freely 'ſpeak their Minds for the Good of the Kingdom in general,'

The Inſtitution of this illuſtrious Aſſembly in *England*, is as ancient as the *Britons*, who called their *Commune Concilium*, or Parliament, *Hyfrythen*, becauſe their Laws were ordained in it. Under the Government of the *Saxons*, who made themſelves Maſters of the *Britiſh* Nation, they had their *Wittena Gemots*, or Parliaments, as now phraſed, wherein they made Laws, and managed the great Affairs of the Kingdom, according to the Platform of their Anceſtors. I paſs over the *Daniſh* Government, becauſe I cannot find there were any great Mutations, either of the Councils or Laws of the *Engliſh* Nation. *William* the Firſt, though he got the Imperial Crown of *England*, and introduced ſeveral arbitrary Laws, as new Tenures, *&c.* yet was not *England* ſo entirely ſubdued, but that they made Claims againſt the King himſelf, which they could not have done but by Virtue of their ancient Rights, which that King durſt not utterly aboliſh. Under *William* the Second, the *Engliſh* obtained their ancient Rights, by ſiding with him againſt the *Normans*. *William* being dead, *Henry* the Firſt granted the *Engliſh* all their Rights and Privileges by Charter. And though in thoſe Days all Affairs were tranſacted by the King, and the *Magnatis Angliæ* Peers, yet it muſt be granted, that the Commons have had a Right to ſit, and were convocated to Parliaments, as an eſſential Branch of them, in the moſt early Days of our *Saxon* Anceſtors, though the Records being deſtroyed by Age, or ill Purpoſes, the preciſe Time of their firſt being ſummoned cannot be exactly computed.

It muſt alſo be remembered, that the *Magnates* or Peers of the Kingdom, had always a Primacy of Order and Juriſdiction; and being in Right of their Births and the Laws of the Land, inveſted with a judicial Authority, from which Court there is no Appeal, have always in their Proceedings as a Court of Judicature, took Care 'to preſerve a right Underſtanding between the King 'and the People, that no Blame might be imputed to the King; who can do 'no Wrong: Nor no Injury be done to the People, who ought to ſuffer none.' Their Lordſhips in theſe Proceedings, act upon Honour, are not bound up by Oaths, are both Judge and Jury, uncontroulable; and therefore with Reſpect to the worthy Vindicator *of the Rights of the Commons*, cannot be liable to the Check of any other Branch of the ſupreme Authority; for their Lordſhips act in theſe Matters according to their own 'great Judgments and Diſcretions, from 'whoſe Determinations there is no Appeal.'

The Houſe of Commons being a numerous Body, the Repreſentatives of the People, and another great Council within themſelves, have the Power of impeaching and proſecuting evil Miniſters, and other great Offenders; 'and the 'Lords never denied them the Exerciſe of this Power; but ſtill have entirely 'reſerved to themſelves the Power of judging whether the Impeachments of 'the Commons be well grounded, and whether from the Proof they make,

'the

'the accuſed Perſons are guilty or not guilty of the Charge, either in the 'Whole or in Part; and by their own Authority, according to their great Wiſ-'doms, either acquit or condemn the Perſons accuſed.' Which, with Submiſſion, I think decides the Controverſy about Preliminaries.

To keep the Balance of Power equal and in its due Poize, that one Branch of it may not encroach upon the other, there is a Power lodged in the Lords, to determine, in relation to their own Privileges, Whether the Matter complained of be an Encroachment or not; for the deciſive Power muſt be lodged ſomewhere; it cannot be in the Complainants, for that would make them Judges in their own Cauſe; and therefore muſt reſide in the Houſe of Lords, who, as a Court of Judicature, may take Notice of the minuteſt Circumſtance, as Time, Place, Order, Decency, Encroachments or Innovations, as tending to the common Safety, by preventing Parity in Powers, Diſorder and Confuſion, which would otherwiſe extend *ad infinitum*, in Debates *pro* and *con*, about the Matter controverted between the two Houſes.

On the 14th of *March*, in the 18 *Eliz.* the Houſe of Lords diſapproving the Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons in the Lord *Sturton*'s Bill, and among other Things, 'That the Houſe of Commons did not uſe that Reverence to 'them as they ought to do,' which concerned the Lords in Point of Honour, and being reported by the Committee to the Commons, Sir *Anthony Mildway*, by Commiſſion from the Commons, told the Lords at the next Conference, 'That 'they were very ſorry their Lordſhips had conceived ſuch an Opinion of the 'Houſe, as though they had forgot their Duty to them;' praying their Lordſhips to believe, that the Houſe of Commons did not want Conſideration of the Superiority of their Eſtates, in reſpect of their honourable Calling, which they did acknowledge with all Humbleneſs; proteſting that they would yield unto their Lordſhips all dutiful Reverence, ſo far as it was not prejudicial to the Liberties of their Houſe, which behoveth them to leave to their Poſterities, in the ſame Freedom they have received them. By which ſubmiſſive and modeſt Anſwer the Lords were ſatisfied, and the Honour and Rights of both Houſes amicably preſerved; which Method if it were as ſtrictly obſerved, as by all good Men it is earneſtly deſired, it would allay unneceſſary Heats, prevent Animoſities, and put an End to Parties and Factions, which by endeavouring to divide the two Houſes, open a Way to the *French* to accompliſh their Ends over us.

This Courſe, I ſay, by creating a right Underſtanding between the two Houſes, which is equally their own Intereſts, as well as of the whole Kingdom, would render the Nation inſuperable, and is worthy the moſt ſerious and pious Conſiderations and Reſolutions of both Houſes, more eſpecially in this Juncture of Affairs; for ſince both Houſes agree in the Main, the public Good, and ſeem to contend which of them ſhall moſt contribute to that bleſſed End; it muſt needs be nothing but Miſtakes and Miſapprehenſions that keeps them at Variance, or a Bone thrown among them from the other Side of the Water, to inflame Differences, who for many Years have laid it down as a certain Maxim among them, 'That *England* is a ſtrong Body that can never be deſtroyed but 'by itſelf,' which, by an *Engliſh* Interpretation, is by a Diviſion among the Powers, that can only under an Almighty Providence, ſecure us; and is now attempted

attempted by all the ſubtle, nefarious, and treacherous Artifices of our domeſtic and foreign Enemies.

To preſcribe the Methods for a Reconciliation, between two ſuch wiſe and judicious Aſſemblies, otherwiſe than by our Prayers to God and them to effect it, would be an unpardonable Preſumption in a Man of my weak Capacity, and therefore ſhall only beg leave to tell the World a ſhort but very ſignificant Story.

Two great and good Men having been ſet at Difference, and forced upon Law Suits, but by ill Acquaintance and Neighbours, to the Prejudice of their Eſtates and Families; one of them taking a prudent Neighbour with him, went to his Antagoniſt, and propoſed Terms of Agreement; the other as generouſly offered to ſtand to his Award, and ſo they were immediately reconciled; upon which the latter ſaid to the third Perſon,—Am not I a good Man in agreeing upon Terms propoſed by my Adverſary?—Yes, replied the indifferent Perſon, you have ſhewed yourſelf a good Man by ſuch a generous Condeſcenſion: But he is certainly the wiſeſt and beſt Man, that firſt offered Terms of Accommodation. Stiffneſs enrages, but Prudence diſſolves angry Miſtakes.

January 19, in the Parliament began the 19th of *Elizabeth*, ſeveral Members of the Houſe of Commons were ſent with a Meſſage to the Lords, to receive Satisfaction from them, touching an Innovation lately begun, as it was ſaid, in that Houſe, *viz.* 'That an Anſwer to a Meſſage from the Commons 'was given by the Lord Keeper, ſitting in his Place, and all the Lords keep-'ing their Places, and not going down to the Bar, as uſually was their Cuſtom.' Upon a long Debate, it was reſolved by the Lords, That it was the Order and Uſage of the Houſe, when any Bills or Meſſages are brought from the Commons to the Lords, the Lord Keeper and the reſt of the Lords, are to riſe from their Places, and go down to the Bar, to meet ſuch as come from the Commons, and in that Place to receive their Meſſage and Bills; but on the contrary, when any Anſwer was to be delivered in the Name of the Houſe, to ſuch Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes, as came from the Houſe of Commons, the ſaid Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes, ſtanding at the lower End of the Houſe, without the Bar, the Lord Keeper is to deliver the Lords Anſwer, ſitting in his Place, with his Head covered, and all the Lords keeping their Places: And the Lord Archbiſhop, Lord Treaſurer, Lord *North*, and Lord *Buckhurſt*, who were Seniors of that Houſe, affirming this to be the antient Cuſtom, the Commons were ſatisfied.

This you ſee was a pure Miſtake in the Commons, without any Deſign of encroaching upon the Privileges or Cuſtom of the Houſe of Lords, who, they thought, made Innovations upon them; but the Miſtake being rectified by the Lords, they amicably dropt their Pretenſions: Which will always have the ſame Effect, where Perſons only propoſe and debate purely to receive Satisfaction, and not to keep up a Controverſy, to humour a malecontented Faction, that have ſome private Intereſts of their own to ſerve, which others that unadviſedly run with the Herd, are utter Strangers to, and would deſert them if they were privy to the Secret.

The

The Power of Judicature belonging to the Houſe of Lords, is ſeen chiefly in their Juriſdiction upon Writs of Error, and their Judgment of Offences, as well Capital as not Capital, which they give to any public Miſchief in the State. Of theſe Judgments of ſuch Offences, many Examples of former Times are to be found in the Records of Parliament, but none more appoſite to our preſent Purpoſe, than that of Mr. *Thomas Thorpe*, who was not only a Member, but Speaker of the Honourable Houſe of Commons, whoſe Caſe followeth.

Friday the 15th of *February*, in the 31 *Henry* VI. it was opened and declared to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, who were then in the Parliament-Chamber, by the Counſel of the Duke of *York*; that whereas *Thomas Thorpe*, on *Monday* the firſt Day of *Auguſt*, came into the Place of the Biſhop of *Durham*, and then and there took away certain Goods and Cattle of the ſaid Duke's, againſt his Will and Licence; the Duke took his Action by Bill, in *Michaelmas* Term laſt paſt, againſt the ſaid *Thomas*, in the Court of *Exchequer*; to which Bill the ſaid *Thomas* appeared, and was by a Jury found guilty of the Treſpaſs, to the Damage and Coſt of 1010 Pounds, and was committed to the *Fleet*. Thereupon it was humbly prayed, on behalf of the Duke, that ſince all this was done out of Parliament Time, that the ſaid *Thomas* might not be releaſed, by virtue of Privilege of Parliament, till the Duke be ſatisfied his Coſts and Damages.

The Lords, unwilling to prejudice the Liberties and Privileges of the Houſe of Commons, but deſirous to adminiſter Juſtice according to Law, enquired of the Judges, Whether the Speaker ought to be delivered from Priſon, by virtue of his Privilege, or not? To which, after Conſultation, the Chief Juſtice, in the Name of the reſt, ſaid, that they ought not to anſwer that Queſtion; becauſe it was already determined in Parliament, that the Judges ſhould not intermeddle in the Privileges of Parliament: However by a Writ of Superſedeas of Privilege of Parliament, of which the High Court of Lords had only Cognizance, he might be detained. Upon which it was judged by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, that the Speaker ſhould remain in Priſon, his Privilege notwithſtanding. Whereupon, by the Command of the Lords, the Houſe of Commons being now aſſembled, they were made acquainted with theſe Proceedings, and that they ſhould elect another Speaker in the Place of Mr. *Thorpe*, with all godly Haſte and Speed, that the Matter for which the King called this Parliament, might have a good and effectual Concluſion and End; to which the Houſe of Commons agreed, and in his Place choſe Mr. *Thomas Carleton* their Speaker, who was approved by the King.

This is a clear Conviction of the unanimous Agreement in ancient Times, between the three Branches of the ſupreme Power, the Body Politic of the Kingdom, without any unneceſſary Clamours or Bickerings about particular Privileges, which is but like one's Limb jarring with the reſt, which may procure the Diſſolution, never the Strengthening of the Whole. Here a Subject complains of Injury he was like to ſuffer by the Privilege of a great Commoner; the Lords interpoſe by their judicial Authority; the King confirms their Judgment, by iſſuing out a Writ for the Choice of a new Speaker; and the Houſe of Commons affirm the Proceedings of the other two Branches, by complying with their Orders. The good Effect of which exemplary Agreement, and the

Readineſs

Readineſs alſo of the Lords to comply with the Commons in any thing tending to the public Good, was alſo particularly conſpicuous in the late Act for aboliſhing thoſe Privileges of both Houſes of Parliament; which, however reaſonable at their firſt Inſtitution, came by Degrees to be the Scandal of thoſe that enjoyed them, and the inſupportable Grievance of all others.

Common Experience has too amply convinced the World, that great Miniſters of State, or, as the old Word was, Minions, did always poiſon the Minds of Kings with a deſpotical Power, inherent in them as ſovereign Princes; *Quod Principi placuit Lex eſto*; not for the Honour or Good of the Crown, which can only be ſteady upon the Monarch's Brows, by a ſtrict Obſervation and Conformity to the Laws, but for their particular Advantages in heaping up Riches, or that they might reign themſelves, and be Sovereigns over their Maſters. To rectify theſe Abuſes, and puniſhing the Offenders, who has been more vigilant than the Houſe of Lords, even againſt their own Members, when the Notoriety and Proof of the Facts were as evident as the Accuſation importunate: Which ſhewing their Juſtice in the executive Part of their Authority, as well as their judicial Power in capital Offences: I ſhall exhibit ſome Examples of both.

And this I rather do, to ſhew the ancient Methods of proceeding in Caſes of Impeachment, and with how much Eaſe and Unanimity each Houſe of Parliament then preſerved their own Rights, without jarring about adjuſting Preliminaries, or flying into dangerous and unnatural Heats, about ſuch petty Circumſtances, as Time, Place, *&c.* to the defeating the great End of trying the Iſſue; which is equally the Intereſt and Deſires of both Houſes, and makes it worth a diligent Inquiſition, whether the Obſtructions they encounter do not originally proceed from ſuch ill Men out of Doors, as wiſh well to neither King, Lords nor Commons, but to ſerve themſelves, or ſome Intereſt behind the Curtain, would ruin the beſt Conſtitution in the World.

Rotulo Parlimenti Anno 10. *R.* 2. *M.* 4. 5. In this Parliament all the Commons with one Accord, and in one Aſſembly, came before the King, Prelates and Temporal Lords, in the Parliament-Chamber, and there by Word of Mouth, grievouſly complained againſt *Michael de la Pool*, Earl of *Suffolk*, late Chancellor of *England*, and put in Articles of Impeachment againſt him afterwards, importing, 'that he being Chancellor, and by Oath of Office obliged to 'promote the King's Intereſt,' which is the common Good, 'without Reſpect 'to his Oath, or the King's great Neceſſity, had purchaſed ſeveral Lands of the 'King, at under Rates: Neglected the great Affairs of the Kingdom; con-'verted a Subſidy to other Uſes than for which it was appropriated by the 'King, and Lords of Parliament,' with many other high Crimes and Miſdemeanors, of which the Commons demanded Judgment of the Houſe of Lords. In which I obſerve, that the Commons had the Privilege *accuſare & petere judicium*, the King *aſſentire*, and the Lords only did *judicare*; and therefore by a natural Conſequence, it ought to be granted indiſputably, 'that the Lords 'having the ſole Power of Judicature, have the ſame Right in ordering all 'Circumſtantials conducing to that great End,' giving Judgment; which I only offer argumentatively, not dogmatically; but ſubmit, as in all other things, to better Judgments.

That

That the Judgment belongs only to the Lords, appears 7 *Henry* IV. in the Case of the Earl of *Northumberland*, where, upon an Endeavour to add others as Judges in that High Court, the Lords made Protestation, 'That the Judgment belonged to them only.' Which is further confirmed by the Protestation of the Commons, 1 *Hen.* VII. which excludes them. However, to shew there were early Designs to encroach upon the Authority of the Lords by Degrees, on *Monday*, *November* 3, the Commons made a Declaration to the King, that no Record in Parliament should be made against the Commons, that they are or shall be Parties to any Judgment given, or hereafter to be given in Parliament.

Unto which it was then answered by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, by the King's Command, 'That the Commons are only Petitioners, not Demanders, 'and that the King and the Lords have ever had, and of Right ought to have 'the Judgment in Parliament;' in manner as the Commons had declared, saving in Statutes to be made, in granting Subsidies and the like; though for what is done for the common Profit of the Realm, the King will have especially their Advice and Assent: And that this Order should be held and kept at all Times to come.

This excludes the Commons from Right to Judgment: But whereas it is said, that Judgments in Parliament belong only to the King and Lords, that is to be understood only of the King's Assent, as appears by the Replication of the Lords, in 2 *Hen.* V. which was thus:

In the Parliament at *Leicester*, 11 *Hen.* V. Numb. 11. *Thomas* Earl of *Salisbury* petitioneth to reverse a Judgment in Parliament, against *John* Earl of *Salisbury* his Father, in 11 *Hen.* IV. and one of the Errors assigned was, 'That the 'Judgment was not given by the King, but by the Temporal Lords only;' but the whole Matter being legally debated, first by the King's Council learned in the Laws, and after that in full Parliament, it was adjudged, that the King being always presumed to be in Parliament, as the Head of that illustrious Body, the Judgment was *bona & justa & legalia, & ea pro hujusmodi ex abundanti decreverunt & adjudicaverunt.*

Out of the last recited Precedent of the 11 *Hen.* V. may be observed, that the Temporal Lords, by the King's Assent, may give Judgment in capital Crimes, and that the Temporal Lords are the sole Judges; but in High Crimes and Misdemeanors the Lords Spiritual and Temporal are equal Judges, and the King's Assent is not necessary. And for this Reason it was, as King *Charles* I. learnedly expresses it, 'That the Lords were entrusted with a judicatory Power, 'that they might be a Skreen between the Prince and the People, to assist each 'against the Encroachments of the others, and by such Judgments to per-'form that Law which ought to be the Rule of every Branch of the supreme 'Power.'

When the Commons, in 10. *R.* II. impeached the Lord Chancellor, they were present at his Answer; often replied and enforced his Oath against him; but where the Commons only complain, and do neither impeach the Party by Word of Mouth in open House, nor in Writing, nor demand to be present at the Trial; in these Cases it is in the Election of the Lords, whether the Commons shall be present or not? Nay farther, as in Instance of the superior Power of the Lords in Impeachments and Trials. In the Case of *Alice Peirce*, in the

10 *R.* II. though the Commons impeached her by Word of Mouth in the Lords Chamber, the Lords, for Reaſons beſt known to themſelves, and for which they were not accountable to any other real or pretended Juriſdiction, deferred her Trial till the Commons were adjourned. By which it appears, that the Time for Trials for Offenders, is to be appointed by the Houſe of Lords; and if to procraſtinate the Time, and create Delays injurious to the Honours and Affairs of the Perſons impeached, it be objected, that the Time or Place is inconvenient for the Proſecutors: With due Reſpect to the ingenious Sir *H. M.* their Lordſhips are the proper Judges of the Reaſons given to delay Juſtice, and if they think them inſufficient may proceed to Judgment: For as their Sentence is irrevocable, ſo the Methods their Lordſhips preſcribe, in order to do Juſtice, are uncontroulable; for otherwiſe they cannot anſwer the End for which their Powers were eſtabliſhed; to do Juſtice without Delay or Partiality.

Lionel Cranfield, Earl of *Middleſex*, who was made Lord Treaſurer of *England* by King *James* I. was impeached of High Crimes and Miſdemeanors, by the Houſe of Commons of the 21ſt and 22d of that King. In which Impeachment all things proceeded regularly between the Proſecutors, the Impeached, and the Lords that were Judges, till upon mature Deliberations the Cauſe was ripe for Judgment; and then, as appears *ex Journali Domus procerum*, a Meſſage was ſent from the Lords to the Commons, by Mr. Serjeant *Crew*, and Mr. Attorney General, *viz.*

'That the Lords are now ready to give Judgment againſt the Lord Treaſurer, if they with their Speaker will come and demand the ſame.'

It was anſwered, 'They will attend preſently.'

The Lords being all in their Robes, the Lord Treaſurer was brought to the Bar by the Gentleman Uſher and the Serjeant at Arms; his Lordſhip made low Obeyſance, and kneeled, till the Lord Keeper willed him to ſtand up.

The Commons with their Speaker came, and the Serjeant attending the Speaker preſently put down his Mace, and the Speaker in the Name of the Houſe of Commons, and of all the Commons of *England*, delivered himſelf to this Effect.

The Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes, in this Parliament aſſembled, heretofore tranſmitted to your Lordſhips an Impeachment of ſeveral Offences againſt the Right Honourable *Lionel* Earl of *Middleſex*, Lord High Treaſurer of *England*, for Bribery, Extortion, Oppreſſions, and other grievous Miſdemeanors committed by his Lordſhip. And now the Commons by me their Speaker demand Judgment againſt him for the ſame.

The Lord Keeper anſwered, The High Court of Parliament doth adjudge, that *Lionel* Earl of *Middleſex*, now Lord Treaſurer of *England*, ſhall loſe all his Offices that he holds in this Kingdom, and ſhall be made for ever incapable of any Office, Place, or Employment, in the State and Commonwealth; that he ſhall be impriſoned in the Tower of *London*, during the King's Pleaſure; that he ſhall pay to our Sovereign Lord the King the Fine of 50,000 *l.* that he ſhall never ſit more in Parliament; and that he ſhall never come within the Verge of the Court.

May 24, 1624, ordered, That the King's Council draw a Bill, and preſent it to the Houſe, to make the Lands of the Earl of *Middleſex* liable unto his Debts,

Debts, unto the Fine to the King, unto Accounts to the King hereafter, and to make Reſtitution to ſuch as he had wronged, as ſhall be allowed of by the Houſe.

Here you ſee the great Care that was taken for the common Safety; the Commons exerciſed their Power of impeaching and proſecuting; the Lords exerciſed their Power of Judicature; the People were relieved from intolerable Oppreſſion; thoſe that were wronged had Reſtitution made them, and the King was well rid of an evil Miniſter, whoſe Miſmanagement reflected Blame upon the King's Conduct, and all this done without any kind of jarring between the two Houſes.

And yet the Offender was very rich, had many Friends at Court, had an Opportunity by the great Poſt he filled, to make a conſiderable Intereſt every where; and from the Caution that was given by the Lord *Bacon*, *viz.* 'That 'a Parliament would come, did not neglect to provide againſt a Storm.' He had great Alliance, a numerous Kindred, the King's Ear and Aſſurance of his Favour; notwithſtanding all which we ſee no Artifices employed to elude the Law, no Stumbling-blocks thrown in the Way of Juſtice, no unneceſſary Diſputes raiſed about Circumſtantials, to delay or diſappoint the Trial; or if there were, the Prudence and Integrity both of Proſecutors and Judges, rendered all ſuch Attempts ineffectual, and at length made the Offender's Puniſhment proportionable to his Crimes.

Now why all Things run ſo ſmoothly and regularly, where in all Probability, a powerful Oppoſition, or an artificial puzzling and perplexing the Cauſe, corrupting Evidences, and bribing thoſe that would take them, was to be expected, may eaſily be collected from theſe Conſiderations?

Firſt, becauſe the Lords who were Judges of the Facts, were Men of Honour, Juſtice, Wiſdom and Integrity, who would not be impoſed upon by the ſubtle Arts of a factious Party; nor allured by any Temptation to ſcandalize their own Bearings by acting againſt the Intereſt of their Country, either in acquitting the Nocent, or condemning the Innocent, but, like the Judge of all the World, would do Right.

Secondly, becauſe the Houſe of Commons, who were Impeachers and Proſecutors, had nothing in view but redreſſing Grievances in puniſhing an evil Miniſter; they had no Piques or Revenges to ſerve; their Aims were honeſt without any Allay of Self-Intereſt, or by juſtling him out of a fat Employment to ſtep into it themſelves, which would be thought a more effectual Method to accompliſh that ſiniſter End than that preſcribed by the Vindicator of the Commons, *viz.* 'To reſign their Offices to purchaſe the Satisfaction of being without 'one, and the Honour of ſuffering for their Country.'

Thirdly, They did not impeach the Lord Treaſurer blindfold, upon uncertain Report, or with inſufficient Matter, and after finding him innocent, ſtudied by little Arts and Evaſions to blind the World and drop the Proſecution: but looking upon him as a criminal Offender, proſecuted vigorouſly, as People do that would be thought to be in earneſt; for otherwiſe they had laid themſelves under the vehement Suſpicion of acting weakly or wickedly; which would have been but very indifferent Recommendations to a new Election, when that Parliament arrived to its Period.

But if by Corruption of Men's Morals, Things ſhould be carried directly contrary to the Practice of our Anceſtors, and of right Reaſon and Juſtice; and that the Right of Impeachment in the Commons ſhould be extended to make the Right of Judicature in the Lords (by Shifts, Evaſions, and needleſs Diſputes) impracticable as often as they pleaſe; then is the Right of the Subject utterly deſtroyed, they can have no Remedy againſt an evil Miniſtry, and all things muſt unavoidably run into Confuſion. To prevent which our Conſtitution has lodged a Power in the Lords to bound and limit all Juriſdictions that are inferior to their own, that they may not interfere with theirs, to fruſtrate the End of their Eſtabliſhment; and this Superiority muſt take place, by all the Maxims of Law and Reaſon in the World; for where there are diſtinct Powers in relation to the ſame End, there is a Neceſſity for Order and Juſtice-Sake, that the leſſer Power ſubmit to the greater, or elſe unneceſſary and trifling Diſputes might be perpetrated to the World's End: And it is this over-ruling or deciſive Power in the Lords, that exalts them to ſuch a high Degree in the Eſteem of the People; becauſe in all Impeachments of the Commons, the Lords are to be their Judges, who by ſeveral Examples in a few Years laſt paſt, have preſerved ſeveral Perſons and Families from utter Infamy and Ruin, only by checking the fatal Conſequence of a Heat began and continued with more Paſſion than Reaſon in another Place.

A Man prefers a Bill of Indictment againſt his Neighbour in the Court of *King's Bench*, for a Miſdemeanor, and requires he may give ſufficient Security to abide the Judgment of that Court, and then lets the Matter ſleep; he has ſerved his End in ſcandalizing his Neighbour, and will proceed no farther. The Perſon indicted being conſcious of his own Innocency and the Malice of his Adverſary, and withal finding this Indictment tending to his Diſreputation and the Loſs of his Trade, moves the Judges, that in Juſtice to him, and the Honour of the Court he may be either tried or acquitted: which the Court immediately, and in Courſe, will make a Rule for.

Now would it not look very oddly, that the Proſecutor ſhould aſſign for Reaſons to keep the Indictment a Foot, 'That he is full of Buſineſs, and not at 'leiſure to proſecute; or that the Place and Time appointed by the Judges is 'inconvenient?' Can any Man that has his Reaſon about him, forbear to think but that the Proſecutor knows the Perſon he has accuſed is innocent, and only makes uſe of theſe Shifts to keep himſelf from being expoſed?

Can any Man that is not qualified to believe Tranſubſtantiation offer ſuch Violence to his Reaſon, or reflect ſo much Diſhonour upon the Court, as to imagine the Court before whom the Matter lies, and who are proper Judges of it, and of all things relating to it, will admit this trifling with the Court? No, but on the contrary, having allowed the Proſecutor a reaſonable time, and he not complying with it, will diſmiſs the Indictment?

In anſwer to this, Sir *Humphrey Mackworth* is pleas'd to tell us, 'That the 'ſupreme Court of Parliament has a greater Latitude than inferiour Courts, and is not tied up to ſuch ſtrict Rules as they are: And truly this Evaſion was all that learned, modeſt and worthy Gentleman had to ſay in that Matter; for if he had waded farther, and been more particular in his Anſwer to that Objection, he might have eclipſed the Reputation he had ſo juſtly merited in all Sorts of Learning,

Learning, which he wisely foresaw, and therefore would not dwell upon so plain and equitable a Comparison, which the meanest Capacity might be a Judge of.

I will not deny but that the High Court of Parliament has a more extensive Jurisdiction, and is not tied up to the Formalities and strict Rules of inferior Courts; but I know Sir *Humphrey* will grant me, 'that the highest Courts in the World, 'nay of Heaven, are circumscribed within the Bounds of Reason and Justice, 'and that the higher the Court of Parliament is, the greater Obligation lies 'upon it to proceed agreeably to those sacred Principles;' because they are Examples to inferior Courts, who will be apt to take the Liberty (while Men are but Men, and subject to Failings) to copy after such ill Precedents, if any should happen; and think themselves justified into wandering in bye Paths, while they but imitate the Examples of their Superiors.

Thomas Cromwell, Earl of *Essex*, was attainted by Parliament of High Treason, and yet never called to answer *Rot. Parl.* 32 *Hen.* 8. yet without questioning the Authority of Parliaments, or the Validity of the Attainder; it was said of the Manner of Proceeding, *Auferat oblivio, si potest; si non, utcunque Silentiam tegat*; for the more high a Court is, the more just and honourable it ought to be in proceeding, and to give Example in inferior Courts. And this I find was the Opinion of all the Judges in the Case above-mentioned, tho' that arbitrary Prince carried it against them. *Coke's Instit. Vol.* 3. *Par.* 4. *pag.* 37. Now tho' I will not say that keeping Men under Impeachments for High Crimes and Misdemeanors, without bringing them to a Tryal, is equivalent to attaining Men without hearing, yet the too long delaying Trials after Impeachments, is of ill Example; and to this I have the Authority of a House of Lords.

The next Thing I shall observe, is, that the Vindicator, in taking Notice of the Duty of Ministers of State, and that they often give ill Advice to their Sovereigns, fall very heavy by palpable, tho' not direct Words upon the late Lord Chancellor, in Justification of the Charge against him by the House of Commons, and therein begins with the first Article, 'That he, knowing the most 'apparent evil Consequences, as well as Injustice of the Treaty of Partition, 'did not, according to the Duty of his Place, and his Oath of Office, endeavour to obstruct it, but did advise his Majesty to enter into the said Treaty, '*&c.*'

Now since I am of no Party but that of Law and Reason, I will not intermeddle with parliamentary Affairs, or in the least concern myself with the Transactions of that illustrious Assembly, but only answer Sir *Humphrey Mackworth*, as to the reasonable Part of Things, and as a private Gentleman, I take leave humbly to acquaint him, that nothing ought to be taken for granted to any Man's Disparagement or Dishonour, 'till it be sufficiently proved; for if bare Accusations rendered Men guilty, the most innocent Person in the World could not escape Censure. 'Tis true the Commons have impeached that noble Lord, but Impeachments are so far from being Convictions, that they are no Proofs. How often have the House of Commons in all Ages been misinformed, and proceeding upon Accusations that others have informed falsely, have met with severe Reflections, as well as Disappointments; besides, by the Maxims of the Antients, we are obliged to judge charitably of all Men, till Proof sets us right.

'Till

Till which Time there is much more Reaſon to credit his Lordſhip's Negative than an approved Affirmative, unleſs we knew the Witneſſes; for his Lordſhip has averred,

That he was never acquainted with the Treaty of Partition, or the Deſign of it, or any other Matter relating to it, at any other Time, nor in any other Manner, before he was told it was concluded and ſigned. And in relation to other Charges upon him on the ſame Head, his Lordſhip anſwers, That by his Majeſty's expreſs Command, he did ſend full Powers under the Broad Seal of *England*, for negociating the ſaid Treaty, with Blanks for his Majeſty's Commiſſioners Names; which he humbly conceives, and is adviſed, was a ſufficient Warrant for him to paſs that Commiſſion, it being prepared in uſual Form of Commiſſions of full Powers with Blanks for the Commiſſioners Names, according to his Majeſties Directions. And having alſo his Majeſty's Command, that the ſaid Treaty ſhould be kept ſecret, he did not communicate it to the reſt of the Lords Juſtices, or his Majeſty's Privy-Council; which beſides he conceived was neceſſary to be done, in regard his Majeſty had then by his Commiſſioners perfected the ſaid Treaty, ſo that the ſame could not be altered. Which is a direct and plain Anſwer, and relieves Sir *H. M.* from his Aſtoniſhment.

That he did paſs ſeveral Grants to diverſe Perſons of ſeveral Lands belonging to his Majeſty, in Right of his Crown of *England*; but ſaith, 'Before any 'of them came to the great Seal, the ſame were regularly paſſed through 'the proper Offices, and brought with them ſufficient Warrants for the 'great Seal:' And conceives and is adviſed, that being required by his Majeſty by Warrant to paſs the ſame, he ought ſo to do: but denies that he ever adviſed, promoted or procured any Grant to be made to any Perſon whatſoever, of any forfeited Eſtate in *Ireland*, or did procure any Act or Bill prepared for confirming any ſuch Grant in the Parliament of *Ireland*; but that what Bills of this Nature were remitted under the great Seal of *England*, to be paſſed into Laws in *Ireland*, the ſame were 'firſt approved and paſſed 'in the Privy-Council of *England*, and being ſo approved, were by Order of 'Council ſent to him, who was by the ſaid Order required to affix the Broad 'Seal thereto.'

That he did, beſides the Profits and Perquiſites of his Office, receive from the King an annual Penſion and Allowance of four Thouſand Pounds, being the like Penſion that had been allowed to ſeveral of his Predeceſſors; but denies that he did beg, 'or uſe any Means to procure any Grant whatſoever from his 'Majeſty, for his own Benefit, *&c.*' but that what he poſſeſſes in that kind, he 'received from his Majeſty's Bounty; and he humbly conceives it was lawful for him to accept the ſame.

I have thus briefly mentioned his Lordſhip's Anſwer, to ſhew the World what little Cauſe Sir *Humphrey* had to harangue againſt a Perſon of his Lordſhip's Honour and Integrity, while Matters were only *pendente lite*, and nothing proved againſt him, tho' his Lordſhip and the Houſe of Lords have very earneſtly deſired it. If the Vindicator ſhould object, that he named no Perſon; I anſwer, he had better have done it; for every Reader knows who he means, and without Queſtion if he had named him, he would have thought himſelf obliged

to

to have treated that noble Peer with more Reſpect than he hath done, by expatiating in Generals, and amuſing Men with pretended Crimes, where to this Day there is nothing proved, and peradventure will never be attempted.

No Sort of good Men, are offended with the Houſe of Commons, in exerciſing their Right of Impeaching, that Truth might come to Light, and noiſy Clamours be either confirm'd or ſilenc'd for ever; but no Man of Birth or Education will commend or approve of a private Gentlemen's 'heaping frightful 'Conſequences upon an unconvicted Man of Quality, on naked Suppoſitions and 'Poſſibilities.' The matter has been before the proper Judges, who have declared him not Guilty; and after that it was unkindly done to raiſe new Heats againſt him, by raking in Embers where Water ought to have been thrown to have extinguiſhed them for ever. I preſume Sir *Humphrey* was no Evidence againſt his Lordſhip, and therefore as a Commoner ought not to have been a Judge: But things will for ever run in this Channel, while too much Zeal, or Prejudice forms the Harangue, without conſulting the Underſtanding.

Farther, in diſcourſing the Security of the Public, from the Eſtabliſhment and Uſe of the King's Councils, this worthy Member is pleaſed for the Information of the ignorant World, to tell us, 'that the Privy-Council is called *Con-* 'cilium Regis Privatum, & Concilium Regis Secretum; that they are *Partes* 'Corporis Regis; that they are to keep ſecret the King's Councils, and to adviſe 'the King in all things to the beſt of their Skill, for the univerſal Good of the 'King and his Land; that it is an Error to determine Matters of the higheſt Im-'portance, without adviſing with any of the eſtabliſhed Councils; that the Hap-'pineſs and Proſperity of *England* hath hitherto been preſerved, by the Conſtitu-'tion of the Government,' and that 'tis a maxim in Law, *Ignorantia Juris non excuſat.*

All wonderful Diſcoveries, which he puts into *Italick*, that they might not eſcape the Readers particular Obſervation. It would be the higheſt Ingratitude in the World, to bury theſe ſuperfine Politick Notions in the Shades of Oblivion, without owing the Knowledge of them to the worthy Vindicator: And 'tis a thouſand Pities while his Hand was in and the good-natur'd and learned Fit was upon him, that he had not farther obliged his dear Countrymen, by telling them 'that theſe Privy-Councellors, theſe great Stateſmen, did wear Cloaths, 'and eat, and drink, and ſleep, like the reſt of the Creation.'

In the next place the Vindicator proceeds to Diſcourſe the Powers in the Lords and Commons upon Impeachments, which is the only part that anſwers his Title, and can be called a Vindication of the Rights of the Commons; for all the reſt, nay and that too is ſuch a confuſed heap of extraneous Interlocutary Poſitions, Maxims, and voluntary affected Abberations from his main deſign, (if there be any ſuch thing as a Deſign in his whole Book) that it is impoſſible to trace in any kind of tolerable Order or Method, without running it into the ſame unpardonable Fault that he is ſo manifeſtly guilty of in every Page of his Vindication, I mean patching up a Pamphlet with uſeleſs Tautologies, unneceſſary and continued Repetitions of the ſame Matter, and tedious long-winded Digreſſions, enough to nauſeate any Reader, and tranſport an Anſwer into harſh Reflections, if the Reſpect due to his Perſon and Quality, did not more confine me within the Rules of Decency, than the Merits of his Vin-

dication;

dication. I will not ſay the Gentleman is fond of his own Notions, unleſs it be for their Antiquity, that he repeats them ſo often; but this I dare affirm, that they are offenſive to every indifferent Reader: And therefore am of Opinion, that the worthy Member took this Courſe, only for the Intereſt of the *Book-ſeller*, to ſwell into a Volume, that the *Grubſtreet Printers* might not pirate upon his Copy, and ſell his Two-ſhilling Book for a Penny; for otherwiſe all that he has ſaid in forty, might with greater Reputation to the Author and Satiſfaction to the Reader, have been comprehended in ſix Pages; but lean Subjects are always larded with Words, to make them have the better *Guſto.*

I agree with this Gentleman, 'that 'tis the great Security of the People and the Government, that the Judgment on Impeachments is of Right lodged in the Lords, who have the Power of impeaching alſo, if they pleaſe; for I find that ſometimes the Commons have been defective in that Affair, and that thoſe Defects have for the public Good been ſupplied by the Lords; as in that notorious Caſe of *Richard Lyons*, Merchant of *London*, who in the 50th Year of *Ed.* III. Numb. 15, 16. was impeached by the Commons of ſeveral Miſdemeanors; as of defrauding the King and his Liege People by Covin made between him and ſome of the Privy-Council of the then King, for their own Profit and Advantage.

But the many Extortions and Villanies were ſet down by the Commons in ſuch general Terms, that the Offender took Exceptions againſt the Generality of the Charge, and the Exceptions were allowed: However the Lords in their great Wiſdoms would not reject the Impeachment, but ſupplied the Defects thereof by granting Commiſſions to make a particular Enquiry into the Matters ſo generally charged: And after the Return of thoſe Commiſſions, by their ſingle Authority, without conſulting the Commons about the Methods and Formalities to be obſerved about his Tryal, ſentenc'd the Criminal to Impriſonment, to make Fine and Ranſom at the King's Pleaſure, to loſe his Freedom of the City of *London*, never to bear any Office, nor approach the Council, or the King's Houſe, and that all his Lands and Tenements Goods and Chattels, ſhould be ſeized in the King's Hands.

By which it is obſervable, the Power of the Lords in Impeachments, as well as Judicature, and that their adding Weight to the Commons Impeachment, which was defective in Law, the Offender was brought to condign Puniſhment.

I alſo accord with him in another Paragraph, wherein he is pleaſed to ſay, 'That the Rights of Impeachment in the Commons muſt not be conſtrued to 'enable them to make the Right of Judicature in the Lords impracticable when 'they pleaſe: Nor that the Right of Judicature in the Lords, ſhould be extended ſo far as to enable the Lords to make the Rights of Impeachment in 'the Commons impracticable when they think fit; but that both the Powers 'ſhould admit ſuch a Limitation and Conſtruction, in the Nature and Exerciſe 'thereof, that they may conſiſt together for the common Good, and be able to 'attain the End for which they were eſtabliſhed.'

Nothing can be more or better ſaid towards obtaining a perfect Reconciliation between both Houſes, the great Thing that employs the good Wiſhes of all honeſt and thoughtful Men in the whole Kingdom, than what Sir *Humphrey* has

ad-

advanced in the preceeding Paragraph; tho' I cannot forbear obſerving, that he ſo twiſts both the Powers together, that he ſeems to confound their diſtinct Juriſdictions, by making their Powers inſeparable in every minute Circumſtance, as if the Lords had not the Superiority of determining, when any ſuch Diſputes aroſe between them: which cannot be allowed him, for Reaſons that will be ſhewed anon.

Nor may I omit, that he alſo very artfully inſinuates and promotes the Belief of a prejudicate Opinion, 'That the Lords had a Deſign to encroach upon 'or infringe the Rights of the Commons, in the Matter of Impeachments,' tho' it be directly contrary to their Lordſhips expreſs Words; who in their Meſſage to the Commons on the 30th of *May* 1701, are pleaſed to ſay, 'That 'they do not controvert what Right the Commons may have of impeaching in 'general Terms, if they pleaſe.' Theſe two Veins running through the whole Mine of his elaborate Diſcourſe, he ſmelts and refines them to his own Advantage, to make it paſs upon the credulous World, that the Lords were Aggreſſors in the Diſputes between them, by endeavouring to deprive the Commons of the Right of impeaching: Which I take to be a great Error in his Pen, or a Defect in his Memory, in not rightly ſtating the Caſe before he ſuffered his Will to commit it to publick View and Cenſure; as will appear by the following Check upon that unkind Reflection.

For what Court of Judicature in the World can ſhew ſuch Examples of Moderation, and a prudent Circumſpection, in avoiding all Occaſions of Offence, as their Lordſhips have done in the whole Courſe of their Proceedings about Impeachments; which I humbly beg leave to take a curſory View of, for the Conviction of our worthy Knight, and all others that either promote or are deluded into that erroneous Opinion.

The Commons having impeached four Lords of Parliament, and addreſſed his Majeſty to baniſh them from his Councils and Preſence for ever. The Lords alſo addreſſed his Majeſty, that he would be pleaſed not to paſs any Cenſure upon them, until they were tried upon the ſame Impeachments, and Judgment be given according to the Uſage of Parliament, and the Laws of the Land; and which were in the right, according to the old Maxim, That every Man is preſumed to be innocent, 'till he is legally convicted of a Crime, I leave wiſer Heads than mine to determine.

The Houſe of Commons having impeached four noble Peers, on the 15th of *April*, 1701, and not having ſent up Articles againſt them all, on the 15th of *May*, 1701, their Lordſhips thought themſelves obliged to put them in mind, 'That as yet no particular Articles have been exhibited againſt the Lords, which 'after Impeachments have been ſo long depending, is due in Juſtice to the Per-'ſons concerned, and agreeable to the Methods of Parliament in ſuch Caſes.' What could be more juſtly, modeſtly, and affectionately expreſſed, in Relation to the accuſed and the Accuſers? It was only putting them in mind. The ſame Meſſage was ſent by the Houſe of Lords to the Houſe of Commons, on Behalf of two Lords againſt whom no Articles were exhibited on the 20th of *May* following; and an Anſwer fully as modeſt and reaſonable was returned to the firſt, by the Commons to the Lords, on *Monday* the 19th of *May*, 1701, 'That Articles were preparing, and in a ſhort time the Houſe would ſend

'them up.' Here was no Sign of a Diſagreement between the two Houſes, nor would it ever have happened if the kindled Coals without Doors had not blown up Sparks that would have died of themſelves, into unneceſſary Heats.

Theſe were the firſt Steps uſed between the Houſes, in which there is not one Word that tends towards the Lords Encroachment upon the Rights of the Commons in Impeachments, or of the Commons ſuſpecting the Lords had any ſuch Deſign; and therefore I cannot but admire, that the Vindicator ſhould take ſo much Pains to inſinuate it; for that muſt be the Meaning of his ſuggeſting a Power might ariſe in the Lords, to defeat the Right of the Commons in Impeachments, and his dreading the Right of levying Money might be defeated alſo; or elſe all the Diſcourſe on that Head ſignifies nothing.

But the Vindicator's uncouth and falacious Way of arguing in generals, wherein he ſees every Body, and Nobody ſees him, and directly points at Men and Things to their Reproach, and yet cannot be charged with it, while he wilders himſelf and his Reader in generals, he thinks will bring himſelf off from the Suſpicion of reflecting upon the Lords; and therefore has already provided himſelf an Aſylum which he has recourſe to for Shelter almoſt in every Page; and tho' he treats of Tranſactions now on Foot, and of Perſons under a preſent Denomination, yet muſt, he thinks be excuſed, becauſe he ſays, 'he is not arguing 'what any Houſe of Lords will do, but what they may do hereafter.' So when he is pleaſed to give a ſlanting Blow againſt the King's Prerogative, he muſt forſooth be underſtood by Way of Prevention, that 'tis not meant againſt his preſent Majeſty, but againſt bad Kings that may come hereafter. I confeſs this is a ſubtle and ſecure Way of talking, but whether it is decent and becoming the Character of a true *Engliſh* Gentleman, to do the Nation a preſent Miſchief, by keeping up Feuds and Animoſities, in order to prevent Dangers in Futurity, I leave to his moſt ſerious Conſideration.

Not that I would be thought to derogate from the Honour and Integrity of Sir *Humphrey Mackworth*, by any thing I have ſaid on this particular; but, with due ſubmiſſion, to enquire of him, whether this be the Way to effect a Reconciliation, by making Gaps for the Entrance of new Heats? Whether this be a time to mince Atoms, and ſplit Hairs, to raiſe Fears and Jealouſies about Encroachments, and to coin nice Diſtinction to divide a Kingdom, while our Enemies are watching for that Advantage to deſtroy it? Certainly as the Affairs of *England* are now circumſtantiated, it ſtands more in need of Emollients than Corroſives of a Grave, not a Throne for Quarrels; of good Men to compoſe our Differences, and not of ſtiff Men, that inſiſting upon Niceties and Punctilio's, obſtruct the Proceſs of ſuch weighty Affairs, as tend to preſerve our Nation and Religion from the Jaws that are gaping to devour them; who clap their Hands at our Diverſions and cry ſo, ſo would we have it.

Next after waſting ten Paragraphs about Writs of Error, Impeachments, at the King's Suit, and Tryals out of Parliament, which are all long ſince handled by *Selden* and *Pettit*, from whom he has tranſcribed his Notions, the Vindicator comes to intimate, for he ſays nothing directly; that in order to the Tryals of the impeached Lords, no Day ought to be appointed by their Lordſhips for the Trials, without ſome previous Signification from the Commons to their

Lordſhips

Lordſhips of their being ready to proceed; for appointing a time for the bringing in the Articles of Impeachment, and of Time and Place for Tryal, is not neceſſarily implied in the Power of Judicature, or inſeparably annexed to it, but is a collateral Power which may or may not belong ſolely to the Judge, as the Nature of the Caſe does require.

This Aſſertion of Sir *Humphrey*'s deſtroys itſelf by its own Uncertainty, as well as for other Reaſons; for after he has poſitively denied the Lords have the Power of appointing Time and Place for Tryals, he ſays, 'tis a collateral Power, and it either may or may not ſolely belong to them; but tells us not, as he ought to have done, in order to gain his Points, in what Caſes they may, and in what Caſes they may not exerciſe that Authority, nor indeed could he, for his own quoted Law and Reaſon is irreſiſtably againſt his Pretenſion.——*Quando Lex aliquid concedit, concedere videtur & id, ſine quo, res ipſa non poteſt.* When Law, when ſound Reaſon, when the Conſtitution of a Government, gives a Right or Power to one Branch of the legiſlative Authority, to judge and determine in the higheſt and moſt material Part, in relation to Tryals on Impeachment, it gives every thing neceſſary to ſupport that Power, or the great End, which is giving Judgment, may be defeated. Beſides it would confound all judicial Proceedings, and the People could never obtain their Rights, if every Court of Juſtice had not an uncontrolable Power to order and direct the Circumſtances and Matters of Form, that can have no Influence to the Prejudice of Juſtice, after ſuch a Manner, and at ſuch a time as they ſhall judge fit, and where the ſame are not ſettled by a poſitive Rule; for otherwiſe nothing could enſue but endleſs Diſputes, unneceſſary Competitions, Confuſion, and every evil Work. Every inferior Court has ſuch a Juriſdiction, and it would be the greateſt Abſurdity in the World, to affirm, that the ſupreme Court of Judicature, in *England*, (from which there is no Appeal) has it not. But,

To confirm his private Opinion againſt theſe known and till now uncontroverted Maxims of Law and Reaſon, the Vindicator falls again to Suppoſing; (the only Shelter and Topick to amuſe, where Proof is wanting) and at ſuch a Rate too, as could never have been expected in Print, from a Man of Sir *Humphrey*'s Parts and Probity; for he ſays, 'if the Lords upon all Impeachments 'have an abſolute Power belonging to their Judicature, of appointing Time and 'Place for Tryal of an Impeachment, and may proceed both to Tryal and Judg-'ment, without any Regard to the Commons, whether they are ready and do 'concur, or not: Have not the Lords then a Power to make the Right of 'Impeachment in the Commons impracticable when they think fit? May not 'the Lords either appoint a Time ſo ſhort that the Commons can't poſſibly be 'ready; or a Time ſo long that Juſtice ſhall never be done? and may not the 'Place appointed be ſo diſtant, or ſo very inconvenient to the Commons, that 'they ſhall not be able to attend the Proſecution of the ſaid Tryal with Effect?

'May it not be ſuppoſed to be poſſible, that the Lords may appoint the next 'Day to bring in Articles? May they not appoint the following Day for the Trial 'to be had at *Truro* in *Cornwal*, where neither the Commons nor the Witneſſes 'can attend; or elſe the Lords may appoint the Trial to be had twenty or forty 'Years after, by which time all the Proſecutors and Witneſſes may be in their

'Graves, and the Nation undone by an evil Miniſtry. All this is poſſible to 'be done, tho' not probable: but a wiſe Conſtitution of Government pro-'vides even againſt Poſſibilities as far as may be, where the common Safety 'is at Stake.'

Omitting all Pleaſantry and Ridicule, that ſome Men would employ upon theſe repeated Provocations, I beg Sir *Humphrey*'s Licence to acquaint him, that Suppoſitions not grounded upon ill and fooliſh Things done already, which might warrant a Man to ſuppoſe that worſe and more ridiculous Things would follow, are direct and egregious Scandals upon the Honours and Integrity of Noblemen that never gave Occaſion for them: And to argue from Poſſibilities to Facts, without any Probability of their happening, deſerves a more ſevere Return than I am willing to give, tho' when one conſiders that they are offered againſt the noble Lords in Parliament, it is a great Mortification to one that admires their Moderations, Sagacities and Juſtice to forbear it. What one Step have the Houſe of Lords made to give Colour for theſe extravagant Surmiſes? In what one Inſtance have they neglected the Care and Safety of their Country; but it may be, this is Sir *Humphrey Mackworth*'s Way of aſſerting and maintaining the juſt Rights and Judicature of their Lordſhips, by ſuppoſing Improbabilities; and then I hope he will give me leave to remind him, That if he has not varied from his Intentions, he has ſufficiently wandered from the Rules of Decency in the Execution.

There is but one Thing in his whole Bundle of Suppoſitions that deſerves an Anſwer, and that is, That it was poſſible the Lords might appoint a Time for the Trials, before the Commons were prepared to proſecute, which the Lords not being privy to the Commons Tranſactions in that Affair might do unawares, tho' I am very confident if the Commons had aſſigned that as a Reaſon of their Delay, their Lordſhips would have given them Satisfaction in it; for by any thing that appears in their whole Management of that Affair, their Lordſhips never intended to ſurpriſe the Commons.

And indeed with what Shew of Reaſon can they be ſuſpected to have any ſuch Deſign? Are not their Lordſhips as much concerned that the Nation ſhould not be wronged as the Commons are? Did they not defer the Trials from day to day that the Commons might be ready? Did not their Lordſhips give the Commons notice of their Reſolutions to try the impeached Lords? And did they not repeat thoſe Notices, and deſire the Commons to appear at the Trials, till the Commons had made it impoſſible to ſend them any more Meſſages, by adjourning their Houſe? Now he that conſults the Journals of either Houſe, will find, in my weak Opinion, that the Time appointed by the Lords was not ſo ſhort but that the Commons might have been ready, or at leaſt have given their Lordſhips their Reaſons why they could not: Nor ſo long as twenty or forty Years to carry the Diſpute into the other World. The Place was *Weſtminſter-Hall*, which is ſomewhat nearer the Houſe of Commons than *Truro* in *Cornwall*.

Does the Vindicator believe the common Safety lies at Stake at this Juncture, then certainly 'tis the common Intereſt now more than ever not to entertain Diſputes about Powers when we are in Danger of loſing them all, but to employ their utmoſt Abilities to accomodate Differences between the two Houſes of

Par-

Parliament, which are the Sinews, Nerves and Soul of the Kingdom, and endeavour to procure that happy Union in their Councils and Affections, that his Majesty has often told them will contribute to our Safety at home, and our being considerable abroad.

No Man in his right Mind can believe but that all the Endeavours of both Houses of Parliament in the main, are to promote the publick Good; their unanimous Concurrence in all Acts of this Session to that Purpose, are undeniable Proofs of it, and therefore setting them at variance, or keeping up Feuds between them on any Pretence whatsoever, is laying the Ax to the Root of the Constitution, which should be every Man's Care to preserve. Forms in Proceedings are but the necessary Attendants on Power, but Peace and Unity between the two Houses are essential Requisites to our well-being, are to be preferred before all other Things in the World. Ceremonials may be omitted, Circumstantials may be laid aside, and Disputes tho' necessary in their Kind may be adjourned to other Times, without Prejudice to the Kingdom; and therefore ought to give way and not disturb the Peace of the Kingdom; and how it would become every wise Head to labour in this Affair, I leave to Sir *Humphrey*'s more sedate Humour.

To uphold his Cause, the Vindicator further advanceth, 'That when a Debate shall at any time arise between the two Houses, that concerns the Right 'of all Impeachments whatsoever, and consequently the common Safety of the 'King and People; then the Commons ought not to proceed to Trial 'till that 'Matter be first determined, notwithstanding they have plain and positive 'Proof against the Person impeached, or that he had actually confessed many 'of the Articles of Impeachment, which alone were sufficient to found a Judg-'ment against him; for otherwise it may so happen that the whole Justice of the 'Nation may be obstructed and defeated by Proceedings of the like Nature. 'This was the Resolutions of the Commons in the Case of the five Popish 'Lords whom no Person can think they were unwilling to bring to a Trial, or 'that they made use of such Pretences only to cover an affected Delay in the 'Prosecution.'

Here the Vindicator runs again into this old Mistake, and would persuade the Nation, 'That the Differences between the two Houses was about the Right 'of Impeachments,' which as has been said before, the Lords never controverted and therefore it looks like an ill Design in the Vindicator to promote the Belief of that Story by his often repeating it. The Difference is about the Right of appointing Time and Place, and of a Committee to settle Preliminaries in order to a Trial, but he thought these Circumstances were too inconsiderable things to differ about, and therefore lays it upon something that would make a greater Noise, *viz.* the Right of impeaching.

Well then, since Sir *Humphrey* has allowed in several Places of his Vindication, that appointing Time and Place are but Circumstances, and not essentially, tho' formally necessary to the great End, giving Judgment, it is not strange he should assert that 'the Commons ought not to proceed to Judgment till that Mat-'ter be first determined.' So that if the Nation be abused, cheated and reduced to the last Extremity by the Avarice, Corruption and Mismanagement of evil Ministers; yet the Right of the Commons in Impeachments shall be defeated,

the

the judicial Power of the Lords diſappointed, and Criminals eſcape with Impunity, and all upon the Nicety of adjuſting Preliminaries, but whether ſuch a Reſolution can compenſate the ill Conſequences of it, or whether this fine Show of the Vindicator's be worth the Candle, *Coram Judice lis eſt.*

As to a Committee of both Houſes to ſettle the Preliminaries, their Lordſhips could not agree to it, becauſe they could not find that ever ſuch a Committee was appointed on Occaſion of Impeachments for Miſdemeanors, and therefore thought themſelves obliged to be cautious in admitting any thing new in Matters relating to their Lordſhip's Judicature. For tho' ſuch a Committee was agreed to upon the Impeachment of the Earl of *Danby* and the five Popiſh Lords for High-Treaſon, yet Sir *Humphrey* has little Reaſon to inſiſt upon that Precedent; for that was in a Caſe of High-Treaſon, not Miſdemeanors; and after much Time ſpent at that Committee, the Diſputes were ſo far from being adjuſted that they only occaſioned an abrupt Concluſion of a Seſſion of Parliament.

Now for a full and concluſive Anſwer to all the reſt of Sir *Humphrey*'s Allegations in his Vindication, let him be pleas'd to read the Meſſage ſent to the Houſe of Commons from the Houſe of Lords; and if he will not receive his Satisfaction from that, I will not pretend to give him one.

The Lords in Anſwer, to the Meſſage of the Houſe of Commons of the 17*th* Inſtant ſay, the only true way of determining which of the Houſes has acted with the greateſt Sincerity, in order to bring the impeached Lords to their Trials, is to look back upon the reſpective Proceedings.

The Lords do not well underſtand what the Commons mean by that Reſentment which they ſpeak of in their Meſſage. Their Lordſhips own the Houſe of Commons have a Right of Impeaching: And the Lords have the undoubted Power of doing Juſtice upon thoſe Impeachments, by bringing them to Trial, and condemning or acquitting the Parties in a reaſonable time. This Power is derived to them from their Anceſtors, which they will not ſuffer to be wreſted from them by any Pretences whatſoever.

Their Lordſhips cannot but wonder that the Commons ſhould not have propoſed a Committee of both Houſes much ſooner, if they thought it ſo neceſſary for the bringing on of the Trials; no mention being made of ſuch a Committee from the firſt of *April* to the ſixth of *June*, altho' during that Interval their Delays were frequently complained of by the Houſe of Lords.

The Manner in which the Commons demand the Committee the Lords look upon as a direct invading their Judicature, and therefore, as there never was a Committee of both Houſes yielded to by the Lords in Caſe of any Impeachment for high Crimes and Miſdemeanors, ſo their Lordſhips do inſiſt, that they will make no new Precedent upon this Occaſion. Many Impeachments for Miſdemeanors have in all Times been determined without ſuch a Committee: And if now the Commons think fit, by any unprecedented Demand to form an Excuſe for not proſecuting their Impeachments, it is demonſtrable where the Obſtruction lies.

As to the Preliminaries which the Commons mention in particular, as proper to be ſettled at ſuch a Committee, they have received the Reſolutions of the Houſe of Lords therein, by their Meſſage of the 12th Inſtant; from which (being

(being Matters entirely belonging to their Judicatory) their Lordſhips cannot depart.

As to the laſt Pretence the Commons would make for the delaying of the Trials, from ſome Expreſſions which fell from the Lord *Haverſham* at the free Conference, at which Offence was taken, their Lordſhips will only obſerve, That they have omitted nothing which might give the Commons reaſonable Satisfaction of their Purpoſe to do them Juſtice in that Matter, ſo far as is conſiſtent with doing Juſtice to that Lord, and alſo to preſerve a good Correſpondence with them; as appears by the ſeveral Steps they have taken.

Secondly, That this Buſineſs has no Relation to the Trials of the impeached Lords; and therefore their Lordſhips cannot imagine why the Commons ſhould make Satisfaction and Reparation againſt the Lord *Haverſham* a neceſſary Condition for their going on with the Trials, and at the ſame time find no Difficulty in proceeding on other Buſineſs. And now, if Sir *Humphrey* in his Replication will or can make a direct Anſwer to theſe Reaſons in Vindication of the Proceedings of the Lords, *erit mihi magnus Apollo.*

To conclude, the Vindicator ſays, and all good Subjects of *England* agree to it, that 'tis the Intereſt of all to live in Peace and Union; to which I beg his leave to ſubjoin that woeful Experience has taught us, that nothing ever ſucceeded well in this Nation, when there was any claſhing or unhappy Difference, either. 1. Between the King and both Houſes of Parliament; for that has ſeveral times been the Occaſion of bloody Wars in *England*, and has even run the whole Kingdom upon the Brink of Ruin. 2dly, when there was no good Correſpondence between the Lords and Commons; as in the Example of the Kingdom of *Denmark*, which in four Days time, by thinking to abate the Power of the Lords, changed from an Ariſtocracy to an Abſolute Monarchy, and where the Commons have ſince experienced, that the little Finger of an abſolute Prince is heavier than the Loins of many Nobles. 3dly, When the Commons were at Variance among themſelves, for that is dividing a Houſe againſt itſelf in the literal Senſe, which cannot long ſubſiſt under ſuch dangerous Symptoms of approaching Ruin: From all which ominous Preſages of Miſchiefs to a Nation, *Good Lord deliver us.*

A true Account of the Proceedings relating to the Charge of the Houſe of Commons againſt *John* Lord *Haverſham*.

The Thirteenth of June, 1701. *By Order of the Houſe of Commons, Sir* Chriſtopher Muſgrave *brought up the Charge againſt* John *Lord* Haverſham *to the Houſe of Peers, in the Manner following.*

THE Commons deſiring to keep up a good Correſpondence with their Lordſhips, do think it neceſſary to acquaint your Lordſhips, with what has happened at the free Conference.

One thing there is, tho' I cannot ſpeak to it, becauſe I am bound up by the Orders of the Houſe, yet it muſt have ſome Anſwer; that is, as to the Lords voting in their own Caſe, it required an Anſwer, tho' I cannot go into the Debate of it. The Commons themſelves have made this Precedent: For in theſe Impeachments, they have allowed Men guilty of the ſame Crimes, to vote in their own Houſe; and therefore we have not made any Diſtinction in our Houſe that ſome ſhould vote and ſome not. The Lords have ſo high an Opinion of the Juſtice of the Houſe of Commons, that they hope Juſtice ſhall never be made uſe of as a Maſk for any Deſign; and therefore give me leave to ſay (tho' I am not to argue it) 'tis a plain Demonſtration, that the Commons think theſe Lords innocent, and I think the Propoſition is undeniable: For there are ſeveral Lords in the ſame Crimes, in the ſame Facts, there is no Diſtinction. And the Commons leave ſome of theſe Men at the Head of Affairs, near the King's Perſon, to do any Miſchief, if their Perſons were inclined to do it, and impeach others when they are both alike Guilty, and concerned in the ſame Facts. This is a thing I was in hopes I ſhould never have heard aſſerted, when the Beginning of it was from the Houſe of Commons.

Reſolved,

That *John* Lord *Haverſham* be Charged before the Lords, for the Words ſpoken by the ſaid Lord, this Day at the free Conference: And that the Lords be deſired to proceed in Juſtice againſt the Lord *Haverſham*; and to inflict ſuch Puniſhment upon the ſaid Lord, as ſo high an Offence againſt the Houſe of Commons doth deſerve.

16 JUNE, 1701.

A Meſſage was ſent to the Houſe of Commons by Sir *John Franklin* and Sir *Richard Holford*, to acquaint them, that in order to keep a good Correſpondence between the two Houſes, to put the Charge againſt *John* Lord *Haverſham*

in

n a Court of Juſtice, have order'd (at his Lordſhip's Motion) his Lordſhip a Copy of the Charge againſt him; and that he do put in his Anſwer thereunto, in order to bring that Matter to a ſpeedy Judgment.

The Anſwer of John *Lord* Haverſham, *to the Charge exhibited againſt him by the Commons, for Words ſpoken at a free Conference, on the Day of*

THE ſaid Lord *Haverſham* ſaving to himſelf all Advantages of Exception to the ſaid Charge, and of not being prejudiced by any want of Form in this his Anſwer: And alſo ſaving to himſelf all Rights and Privileges belonging to him, as one of the Peers, of this Realm. For Anſwer to the ſaid Charge, ſaith,

That on the ſixth Day of *June*, 1701, the Commons by a Meſſage ſent to the Lords deſired a Conference, upon their Meſſage to the Commons of the Fourth of *June*. In which Conference they propoſed to the Lords, that a Committee of both Houſes might be nominated, to conſider of the moſt proper Ways and Methods of proceeding on the Impeachments of the Lords, according to the Uſage of Parliament. That on the Tenth of *June* the Lords deſired another Conference with the Commons, in which they delivered them their Reaſons why they could not agree to the appointing of ſuch Committee, *(viz)* 1*ſt*, that they could not find, that ever ſuch a Committee was appointed on Occaſion of Impeachments for Miſdemeanours, and their Obligation to be cautious, in admitting any thing New in Matters relating to Judicature. 2*dly*, That altho' a Committee of this Nature was agreed to, upon the Impeachments of the Earl of *Danby*, and the five Popiſh Lords, for High Treaſon; yet the Succeſs in that Inſtance, was not ſuch as ſhould encourage the purſuing the ſame Method, tho' in the like Caſe: And that after much Time ſpent at that Committee, the Diſputes were ſo far from being there adjuſted, that they occaſioned the abrupt Concluſion of a Seſſion of Parliament. 3*dly*, That the Method of Proceedings on Impeachments for Miſdemeanours are ſo well ſettled by the Uſage of Parliament, that no Difficulties were likely to happen, nor none had been ſtated to them: And that all the Preliminaries, in the Caſe of *Stephen Goudett*, and others (which was the laſt Inſtance of Impeachments for Miſdemeanours) were eaſily ſettled and agreed to, without any ſuch Committee. 4*thly*, That the Propoſal of the Commons came ſo very late, that no other Fruit could be expected of ſuch a Committee, but the preventing of the Trials during this Seſſion. Whereupon the Commons on the 12*th* of *June*, deſired of the Lords a free Conference on the Subject Matter of the laſt Conference.

That the Lords on the ſaid 12*th* of *June*, came to two Reſolutions in relation to the Lords impeached. 1*ſt*, That no Lord of Parliament, impeached of High Crimes and Miſdemeanours, and coming to his Trial, ſhall, upon his Trial, be without the Bar. 2*dly*, That no Lord of Parliament, impeached of high Crimes and Miſdemeanours, can be precluded from voting on any Occaſion, except in his own Trial. And by Meſſengers of their own, the Lords acquainted the Commons with the ſaid two Reſolutions: And alſo, That they agreed to a free Conference with the Commons, and appointed the next Day.

That upon the 13*th* of *June*, Mr. *Harcourt*, one of the Managers, began the free Conference on the part of the Commons, and argued upon the four Reaſons given by the Lords, why they could not agree to the appointing a Committee of both Houſes; and principally relied upon the Inſtance in the Caſe of the Popiſh Lords: And inſiſted upon the Delay, that the not agreeing to the Nomination of ſuch a Committee would neceſſarily occaſion, whereby the Lords Tryals, and the Juſtice due to the Nation, would be retarded. And departing from the Subject Matter of the ſaid Conference (which was, whether it were requiſite to appoint or not appoint ſuch a Committee) the ſaid Manager diſcourſed upon the latter of the two Reſolutions of the Lords, communicated to the Commons: And ſaid, that he wiſhed the Lords had ſent down their Reaſons as well as their Reſolutions; which Words ſeem'd to the ſaid Lord *Haverſham*, to carry an Implication, as if the ſaid Reſolution could have no Reaſon to juſtify it.

That Sir *Bartholomew Shore*, another Manager for the Commons, obſerved the ſame Methods of Diſcourſe; and having argued upon the Lords Reaſons, departed from the Subject-Matter of the free Conference, and inveighing againſt the Manner of the Lords Judicature, aſſerted by their Reſolution, ſaid, that it was abhorrent to Juſtice.

Which Expreſſions being foreign (as the ſaid Lord *Haverſham* apprehended) to the Subject-Matter of the free Conference, which was whether ſuch Committee of both Houſes ſhould be appointed or not, the ſaid Lord being appointed by the Lords for one of the Managers of the ſaid free Conference on their Behalf, in Vindication of the Honour and Juſtice of the Houſe of Peers, and of their Judicature and Reſolutions. In anſwer to what had been ſaid by the Managers for the Commons, he ſpoke to the Effect following.

Gentlemen,

I ſhall begin what I have to ſay, as that worthy Member who opened this Conference, that there is nothing the Lords more deſire, than to keep a good Correſpondence, which is ſo neceſſary to the Safety of the Nation, and the diſpatch of public Buſineſs; and nothing they have more carefully avoided, than what might create a Miſunderſtanding between the two Houſes. A greater Inſtance of which could not be given, than the Meſſages my Lords returned to ſome the Commons had ſent them up: in which they took Care to expreſs themſelves ſo cautiouſly, that no Heat might ariſe from any Expreſſion of theirs: And as to what the worthy Members mentioned in Relation to Delay, the repeated Remembrances ſent the Commons, with Relation to the ſending up the Articles againſt the impeached Lords, are a ſufficient Inſtance how deſirous they are that theſe Matters ſhould proceed: And the Lords have this Satisfaction, that it is not on their Part, that the Tryals are not in greater Forwardneſs. They cannot but look upon it as a great Hardſhip, that any ſhould lie under long Delays on Impeachments; Perſons may be incapable, Facts may be forgotten, Evidences may be laid out of the Way, Witneſſes may die, and many the like Accidents may happen. The Inſtance the worthy Members give of the popiſh Lords, as it is a Crime of another Nature, and not fully to the Point; ſo it ſeems to make againſt what it was brought for; for the worthy Members ſay, there was but one of the Lords brought to Juſtice, tho' four more (as I take it) were accuſed: And can any Man believe,

that

that the Commons have a Mind to bring only one of these Lords to Tryal, it is inconsistent with the Opinion that every Body must have of their Justice? And as to the Point of Judicature, it were very hard upon the Lords, that no Person should be brought to Tryal till the Judicature of the House be so first. The Judicature of the Lords is their Peculiar, and hath in former Ages been sacred with the Commons themselves: And this House perhaps, hath as much Reason to be jealous and careful of it, as any other House ever had, especially when one single Precedent is so urged and insisted upon. One thing there is, which a worthy Member mentioned, tho' I cannot speak to it at large, because I think myself bound up by the Resolutions of the House. Yet it must have some Answer; that is, as to the Lords voting in their own Case it requires an Answer, though I cannot enter into the Debate of it. The Commons themselves have made this Precedent: For in these Impeachments, they have allowed Men equally concerned in the same Facts to vote in their own House; and we have not made the Distinction in ours, that some should vote, and some not. The Lords have so high an Opinion of the Justice of the House of Commons, that they believe Justice shall never be made use of as a Masque, for any Design. And therefore give me leave to say (tho' I am not to argue it) 'tis to me a plain Demonstration, that the Commons think these Lords innocent, and I think the Proposition is undeniable; for when there are several Lords in the same Circumstances in the same Facts, there is no Distinction: And the Commons leave some of these Men at the Head of Affairs, near the King's Person to do any Mischief if they were inclinable to it, it looks as if they thought them all innocent. This is a thing I was in hopes I should never have heard asserted, when the beginning of it was from the House of Commons.

The said Lord being here interrupted, he desired to be heard out, and that his Words might be taken down in writing: But the Managers for the Commons broke up and departed, refusing to hear any Explanation.

Now the said Lord, as to any implicit Charge of a Design to reflect on, or dishonour the House of Commons, denies any such Design or Intention; having (for many Years) had the Honour to sit in the House of Commons, and having ever had an honourable and respectful Sense thereof.

But the said Lord was let to express himself in the manner aforesaid, for the Reasons aforesaid, and takes himself to be justified therein by the Facts and Reasons following.

That the Nature of that Conference was, that it should be free. The Occasion of it, because either House apprehended the other to be in an Error; and the End of it, that each side may urge such Facts as are true, and such Reasons as are forcible to convince.

That one Article of the Impeachment against *John* Lord *Sommers* was, that the Treaty of Partition of 1699, was ratified under the Great Seal (which then was in the Custody of the same Lord, then Lord Chancellor of *England*.)

That the Commons, on the 1st of *April*, 1701, resolved, that the Earl of *Portland* by negociating and concluding the Treaty of Partition, was guilty of a high Crime and Misdemeanour: And pursuant thereto, lodged an Impeachment against him in the House of Peers. Which Vote and Impeachment

could not have reference to any Treaty (other than the Treaty of Partition of 1699.) the Treaty of 1698, not being before the Houſe of Commons, till after the time of that Vote and Impeachment.

And yet the Earl of *Jerſey*, who was then Secretary of State and Privy Counſellor, and actually ſigned the ſaid Treaty of 1699, as a Plenipotentiary with the Lord *Portland*, ſtands unimpeached, and continues at the Head of Affairs (being Lord Chamberlain) near his Majeſty's Perſon, and in his Preſence and Councils (without Complaint.)

That the Earl of *Orford*, and the Lord *Sommers* and *Halifax*, are ſeverally impeached for adviſing the Treaty of Partition of 1698.

And yet Mr. Secretary *Vernon*, who then was Secretary of State and a Privy Counſellor, and acted in the promoting the Treaty of Partition of 1698, ſtands unimpeached, and ſtill continues one of the Principal Secretaries of State.

And Sir *Joſeph Williamſon*, who then was a Privy Counſellor, and tranſacted and ſigned the Treaty of Partition of 1698, as a Plenipotentiary, ſtands unimpeached.

That the Lord *Hallifax* is impeached; for that he being a Commiſſioner of the Treaſury, aſſented to the paſſing of divers Grants from the Crown, to ſeveral Perſons of Lands in *Ireland*.

And yet Sir *Edward Seymour*, Sir *Stephen Fox*, and Mr. *Pelham*, who being ſeverally Lords Commiſſioners of the Treaſury, did ſeverally aſſent to the paſſing of divers like Grants from his Majeſty, of Lands in *Ireland*, ſtand unimpeached.

That in the Impeachments againſt the Earl of *Orford* and Lord *Sommers*, one of the Articles againſt them is, for procuring a Commiſſion to Captain *William Kidd*; and likewiſe a Grant under the Great Seal, of the Ships and Goods of certain Perſons therein named, to certain Perſons in truſt for them.

And yet other Lords, equally concerned in procuring the ſaid Commiſſion and Grant, ſtand unimpeached.

That the ſaid Mr. Secretary *Vernon*, Sir *Edward Seymour*, Sir *Stephen Fox*, and Mr. *Pelham*, notwithſtanding their being Parties in the ſame Facts charged in the ſaid Impeachments, have been permitted to ſit aud vote in the Houſe of Commons, touching the ſaid Impeachments, and the Matter thereof.

That theſe Facts being true and publickly known, the Conſequences reſulting there from (as the ſaid Lord *Haverſham* apprehended) are undeniable, (*viz.*) that the doing of the ſame thing by two Perſons in equal Circumſtances, cannot be a Crime in one, and not in the other.

That the Commons had no Reaſon to inſiſt, that the Lords ſhould not permit that in their Members which the Commons had firſt permitted and continued to permit, and ſo begun the firſt Precedent in their own Members.

That it muſt be thought that the impeached Lords (notwithſtanding the Facts alledged in the Impeachments) are innocent of Danger to the King, when the Lord *Jerſey*, and Mr. Secretary *Vernon*, who were reſpectively concerned in the Partition-Treaties, are permitted (without Complaint) to be at the Head of Affairs, and in the King's Preſence, and of his Counſels, as not dangerous.

That the Word innocent uſed in the Words ſpoken by the ſaid Lord *Haverſham* can extend no farther than to ſuch Matters as were done by the impeached Lords of the ſame Nature with what was done by thoſe unimpeached.

All

All which Facts being true, and the Conſequences obvious, the ſaid Lord being ready to prove the ſame; he inſiſts that the Words ſpoken by him at the ſaid free Conference were not ſcandalous and reproachful, nor falſe or reflecting on the Honour and Juſtice of the Houſe of Commons; but were ſpoken upon juſt Occaſion given, in Anſwer to ſeveral Expreſſions that fell from the Managers, remote (as he conceives) from the Matter in queſtion, and reflecting on the Honour and Juſtice of the Houſe of Peers: And in Maintenance and Defence of the Lords Reſolution and Judicature, and conformable to the Duty he owes to the ſaid Houſe. And the ſaid Lord humbly demands the Judgment of this honourable Houſe therein.

And the ſaid Lord *Haverſham* denies, that he ſpoke the Words ſpecified in the ſaid Charge, in ſuch Manner and Form as the ſame are therein ſet down.

And having thus given a true Account of this Matter, and it being true and indiſputable, that ſome Lords in this Houſe equally concerned in Facts, for which other Lords are impeached by the Houſe of Commons, are ſtill near the King's Perſon, in the greateſt Places of Truſt and Honour, and unimpeached: And alſo, that ſeveral Members of the Houſe of Commons, equally concerned in the ſame Facts for which ſome of the Lords are impeached, do however remain unimpeached. The ſaid Lord thinks ſuch a Truth could never have been more properly ſpoken than in the Maintenance and Defence of your Lordſhip's Judicature and Reſolutions; and inſiſteth, that what he ſaid at the free Conference was not any ſcandalous Reproach, or falſe Expreſſion, or any ways tending to make a Breach in the good Correſpondence between the Lords and Commons, or to the interrupting the publick Juſtice of the Nation, by delaying the Proceedings on the Impeachments at that Conference, as in the ſaid Charge is alledged: But agreeable to Truth in Diſcharge of his Duty, and in the Defence of the undoubted Right and Judicature of this Houſe.

HAVERSHAM.

21 *JUNE*, 1701.

The Houſe being moved to conſider what is fit to be done in relation to the Charge of the Houſe of Commons againſt *John* Lord *Haverſham*; and after due Conſideration thereof, and the Lord *Haverſham* deſiring to be proſecuted,

It was propoſed as followeth.

That the Anſwer of *John* Lord *Haverſham*, to the Charge ſent up againſt him by the Houſe of Commons, having been ſent down to that Houſe; it is reſolved by the Lords ſpiritual and temporal in Parliament aſſembled, 'That unleſs the ſaid Charge ſhall be proſecuted againſt the ſaid Lord *Haverſham* with Effect, by the Commons, before the End of this Seſſion of Parliament, the Lords will declare and adjudge him wholly innocent of the ſaid Charge.'

Then this Queſtion was put, Whether this Reſolution ſhall be agreed to?

It was reſolved in the Affirmative.

24 *JUNE*, 1701.

The Commons not having proſecuted the Charge againſt *John* Lord *Haverſham*, it is this Day ordered, 'That the ſaid Charge againſt *John* Lord *Haverſham* ſhall be and is hereby diſmiſſed.'

A

A true List of the TACKERS.

Of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and also of the Commons, who voted against the Bill of Occasional Conformity; to which also are added the Proxies.

Note, Those Persons marked thus (*) were for the Bill of Occasional Conformity.

A LIST of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal.

* Lord Treasurer
Lord President
* Lord Privy Seal

Dukes.

Leeds
Bedford
* Marlborough

Earls.

* Jersey, *then L. Chamberl.*
Kent
Bridgewater
* Northampton
Denbigh
* Winchelsea
* Carnarvan
* Carmarthen
* Thanet
Scarsdale
Anglesey
Suffex
* Nottingham
* Rochester
* Abingdon
Plymouth

Viscounts.

* Weymouth
* Longueville, *since dead*

Barons.

* La-Ware
Chandos
Pawlet
Byron
Osborn
Dartmouth
* Stawell
* Guilford
Ashburnham
Bernard
* Weston
* Granville
* Guernsey

Bishops.

York
* London
Winchester
* Rochester
* Chester
* St. Asaph

Proxies.

Northumberland
Schomberg
Lindsey
Exeter
Sandwich
Bishop of Durham
Bishop of Landaff
Bishop of Exeter
Willoughby of Brook
Brook
Maynard
Leigh
Craven
Lemster
Gower
Conway

In all 58.

Against the Bill.

Dukes.

Devonshire
Somerset
Richmond
Southampton
St. Albans
Bolton
Newcastle

Earls.

Derby
Leicester
Bolingbroke

Man-

Manchester
Rivers
Peterborough
Stamford
Sunderland
Essex
Feversham
Radnor
Berkley
Portland
Torrington
Scarborough
Bradford
Rumney, *since dead*
Oxford

Viscounts.

Say and Seal
Townsend

Barons.

Abergavenny
Ferrers
Wharton
Paget
Howard of Escrik
Grey of Wark
Lovelace
Mohun
Vaughan
Colepepper
Lucas
Buckingham
Berkley
Cornwallis
Ossulston
Herbert
Haversham
Somers
Hallifax

Bishops.

Canterbury
Worcester
Salisbury
Ely
Litchfield
Norwich
Peterborough
Lincoln
Chichester
Oxford
Bangor

Proxies.

Suffolk
Carlisle
Dorset
Burlington, *since dead*
Mountague
Coventry
Fitzwalter
Eure
Willoughby of Parham
Bishop of Hereford
Bishop of Gloucester
Bishop of Bristol

In all 71

The Question being carried for rejecting the Bill, the following Peers thus (*) marked entered their Dissent.

Godolphin
Rochester
Buckingham
La-Ware
Thanet
Northampton
Marlborough
Winchelsea
Nottingham
Abingdon
Longueville
Weymouth
Guilford
Granville
Guernsey
Jersey
Weston
Carnarvan
Carmarthen
Stawell
H. London
G. St. Asaph
N. Cestrien.

A LIST of those worthy Patriots, who, to prevent the Church of *England* from being undermined by the Occasional Conformists, did, like truly noble *Englishmen*, vote for the Bill to prevent Occasional Conformity.

Names.	Places.	County.
John Anstis, Esq;	*St. Germain*	*Cornwall*
James Andreton, Esq;	*Ulcester*	*Somerset*
Arthur Annesley, Esq;	*Cambr. University*	*Cambridge*
Sir Edward Acton, Bart.	*Bridgenorth*	*Salop*

Thomas

Names.	Places.	County.
Thomas Bulkley, Eſq;		*Carnarvan*
Robert Byerley, Eſq;	*Knareſborough*	*York*
Robert Bertie, Eſq;	*Weſtbury*	*Wilts*
Henry Bertie, Eſq;		
Charles Bertie, Eſq;	*Stamford*	*Lincoln*
James Bertie, Eſq;	*New Woodſtock*	*Oxon*
Sir Edmund Bacon, Bart.	*Orford*	*Suffolk*
Sir Charles Blois, Bart.	*Dunwich*	*Suffolk*
John Bence, Eſq;	*Ipſwich*	*Suffolk*
—— Bilſon, Eſq;	*Peterſfield*	*Southampton*
Sir Jacob Banks	*Minehead*	*Somerſet*
William Bromley	*Oxon Univerſity*	*Oxon*
Sir Geo. Beaumont, Bart.	*Leiceſter*	*Leiceſter*
Orlando Bridgeman, Eſq;	*Wiggan*	*Lancaſter*
Sir Cha. Barrington, Bart.		*Eſſex*
Sir Henry Bellaſys	*Durham City*	*Durham*
John Banks, Eſq;	*Corfe Caſtle*	*Cornwall*
Sir Henry Bunbury, Bart.	*Cheſter*	*Cheſter*
Richard Bingham, Eſq;	*Bridport*	*Cornwal*
James Buller, Eſq;		*Cornwal*
William Cage, Eſq;	*Rocheſter*	*Kent*
William Cary, Eſq;	*Launceſton*	*Cornwal*
John Courzon, Eſq;		*Derby*
Thomas Coulſon, Eſq;	*Totneſs*	*Devon*
Arthur Champneys, Eſq;	*Barnſtable*	*Devon*
John Comyns, Eſq;	*Malden*	*Eſſex*
Charles Ceſar, Eſq;	*Hertford*	*Hertford*
Robert Crawford, Eſq;	*Queenborough*	*Kent*
William Cecill, Eſq;	*Stamford*	*Lincoln*
Sir Walter Clarges, Bart.	*Weſtminſter*	*Middleſex*
William Coward, Eſq;	*City of Wells*	*Somerſet*
Henry Chyvers, Eſq;	*Calne*	*Wilts*
Sir Thomas Caffin, Kt.		*Dorſet*
Sir William Drake	*Honiton*	*Devon*
George Daſhwood, Eſq;	*Sudbury*	*Suffolk*
John Drake, Eſq;	*Agmondeſham*	*Bucks*
Lewis Dimmocke, Eſq;		*Lincoln*
Richard Dyott, Eſq;	*Litchfield*	*Stafford*
Earl of Dyſert		*Suffolk*
Sir Robert Davers	*St. Edmondſbury*	*Suffolk*
James Darcy, Eſq;	*Richmond*	*York*
Sir James Etheridge	*Great Marlow*	*Bucks*
William Elſon, Eſq;	*Chicheſter*	*Suſſex*
Richard Fowne, Eſq;	*Corfe Caſtle*	*Dorſet*
William Fitch, Eſq;	*Malden,*	*Eſſex*
Ralph Freeman, Eſq;		*Hertford*

Names.	Places.	County.
Heneage Finch, Eſq;	*Maidſtone*	*Kent*
Charles Fox, Eſq;	*New Sarum*	*Wilts*
Sir Samuel Garerd, Bart.	*Agmondeſham*	*Bucks*
Henry Gorges, Eſq;		*Hereford*
Richard Gulſton, Eſq;		*Hertford*
John Gape, Eſq;	*St. Albans*	*Hertford*
Sir William Glyn, Bart.	*New Woodſtock*	*Oxon*
Francis Gwin, Eſq;	*Chriſt-church*	*Southampton*
Joſeph Girdler, Eſq;	*Tamworth*	*Stafford*
Thomas Gery, Eſq;	*Coventry*	*Warwick*
Francis Grevile, Eſq;	*Warwick*	*Warwick*
Algernoon Grevile, Eſq;	*Ipſwich*	*Suffolk*
Frederick Hern, Eſq;		
Nathaniel Herne, Eſq;	*Hardneſs*	*Devon*
Richard Halford, Eſq;		*Rutland*
Henry Holmes, Eſq;	*Yarmouth*	*Norfolk*
Thomas Heath, Eſq;	*Haſlemere*	*Surrey*
Sir Chriſtoph. Hales, Bart.	*Coventry*	*Warwick*
Sir Richard Howe, Bart.		*Wilts*
Sir James Howe, Bart.	*Hindon*	*Wilts*
Robert Hyde, Eſq;		*Wilts*
William Harvey, Eſq;	*Rygate*	*Surrey*
Sir Tho. Hanmer, Bart.		*Flint*
Sir Willoug. Hickman, Bt.	*Eaſt Retford*	*Nottingham*
John James, Eſq;	*Brackley*	*Northampton*
Sir Rob. Jenkinſon, Bart.		*Oxon*
Robert Kemp, Eſq;	*Dunwich*	*Suffolk*
Wilfred Lawſon, Eſq;		*Cumberland*
Sir Francis Leigh		*Kent*
Tho. Leigh, of Lime, Eſq;	*Newton*	*Lancaſter*
William Levinz, Eſq;	*Eaſt Retford*	*Nottingham*
Henry Lloyd, Eſq;	*Cardigan*	*Cardigan*
Sir Roger Moſtyn, Bart.		
Thomas Moſtyn, Eſq;		*Cheſter*
Henry Manaton, Eſq;		*Flint*
John Manley, Eſq;	*Taviſtock*	*Devon*
Sir John Mordaunt, Bart.	*Boſſiney*	*Cornwal*
Sir Humph. Mackworth		*Warwick*
John Mitchell, Eſq;		*Cardigan*
Sir Edward Norreys	*Sandwich*	*Kent*
Francis Norreys, Eſq;		*Oxon*
Charles North, Eſq;	*Oxon City*	*Oxon*
Hugh Parker, Eſq;	*Banbury*	*Oxon*
Sir John Packington, Bart.	*Eveſham*	*Worceſter*
Sir Henry Parker		*Worceſter*
Granado Piggot, Eſq;	*Ailsbury*	*Bucks*

Names.	Places.	County.
William Pole, Eſq;		*Cambridge*
Henry Poley, Eſq;	*Camelford*	*Cornwal*
James Praed, Eſq;	*Weſtlow*	*Cornwal*
Thomas Price, Eſq;	*St. Ives*	*Cornwal*
Thomas Polſgrave, Eſq;	*Weobley*	*Hereford*
Henry Portman, Eſq;	*Norwich*	*Norfolk*
Sir John Parſons	*City Wells*	*Somerſet*
Henry Pennel, Eſq;	*Rygate*	*Surrey*
Rohn Roll, Eſq;	*Wotton Baſſet*	*Wilts*
Thomas Rowney, Eſq;	*Saltaſh*	*Cornwal*
John Snell, Eſq;	*Oxon City*	*Oxon*
Sir Edw. Seymour, Bart.		
Sir John Stonehouſe, Bart.	*Exeter*	*Devon*
Peter Sackerley, Eſq;		*Berks*
Charles Seymour, Eſq;	*Cheſter*	*Cheſter*
Sir Hen. Seymour, Bart.	*Weſtlow*	*Cornwal*
William Seymour, Eſq;	*Eaſtlow*	*Cornwal*
Francis Scobel, Eſq;	*Totneſs*	*Devon*
Joſeph Sawle, Eſq;	*Grampound*	*Cornwal*
John Spark, Eſq;	*Tregony*	*Cornwal*
Hugh Smithſon, Eſq;	*Newport*	*Cornwal*
William Stephens, Eſq;		*Middleſex*
Sir Bryon Stapleton, Bart.	*Medena*	*Southampton*
Bertram Stote, Eſq;	*Boroughbridge*	*York*
Tho. Strangeways, Eſq;		*Northumberland*
Henry Thyn, Eſq;		*Dorſet*
Sir Edward Turner	*Weymouth*	*Devon*
Sir John Thorold, Bart.	*Orford*	*Suffolk*
John Toke, Eſq;		*Lincoln*
Sir Richard Vivian, Bart.	*Eaſt Grimſtead*	*Suſſex*
George Vernon, Eſq;		*Cornwal*
John Vaughan, Eſq;	*Haſlemere*	*Surrey*
Edward Vaughan, Eſq;	*Montgomery*	*Montgomery*
Sir Geo. Warburton, Bart.		*Montgomery*
Sir John Williams		*Cheſter*
John Ward, Eſq;		*Hereford*
James Winſtanley, Eſq;	*Bleechingly*	*Surrey*
Sir William Whitlock	*Leiceſter*	*Leiceſter*
Leonard Wyſſel, Eſq;	*Oxon Univerſity*	*Oxon*
		Surrey

The

The Character of a Tacker. To which is added, The Character of an Anti-Tacker. By the ſame Hand. 1705.

The Character of a Tacker.

TACKERS in general are a Sort of Animals ſprung from the Corruption of King *James*'s evil Government, and carrying two Shapes in one Body, like a Centaur, or the *Iriſh* Virgin with a Fiſh in her Tail, half Proteſtant, half Papiſt.

A Tacker loves Grandeur, but little of Nobility; for that would teach him to aſcend to Greatneſs by other Steps than that of his Country's Ruin.

A Tacker is the oddeſt Courtier in the World, to worſhip a Setting Sun (I mean, the *French* Tyrant) and that in his Winter Quarter too, when he can never expect to riſe again, but he muſt be ſurrounded with Miſts and Fogs, Storms and Tempeſts, which his Warmth will never be able to diſperſe.

A Tacker is a Sort of ſoaring Politician, that ſins againſt all the Proſpect of Senſe and Reaſon in the Earth.

A true Tacker is a true *Jefferies*; that is to ſay, an abandoned Slave to the Popiſh Religion.

The looſer Tacker is a Perſon wholly addicted to his Pleaſure, that meaſures his Felicity by his Paſſions; having therefore experienced the Remiſneſs of King *James*'s Reign, like Ivy to a Steeple, he clings to his Miſgovernment, as being that which allowed him the full Swing of his Licentiouſneſs; and rather chuſes with Swine to wallow in the Mire of voluptuous and libertine Bondage, than breathe the Air of Freedom within the limited Impalements of the Law. As for the female Tackers (for there are She, as well as He Tackers) they think it a great Piece of Ingratitude to forſake a Religion (for the female Tackers are generally Papiſts) which has been ſo kind as to canonize ſo many of their Sex, and gives them ſo eaſy an Abſolution from their pleaſing Tranſgreſſions; for a female Tacker cares not that her Conſcience ſhould be heavier than her Fan; and therefore chuſes that Profeſſion that lays the leaſt Weight upon it. By ſuch a Separation as this, of the Goats from the Sheep, it may be eaſy to give a true Judgment of the Tacker's Cauſe in general, by the Favourers of it, and to ſee what Sort of Perſons they are that ſeek for Shelter under the Wings of Tyranny and Popery: And on the contrary it may be with no leſs Clearneſs diſcerned who are the Aſſerters of the Kingdom's Welfare, and the Safety of the Proteſtant Religion, under the happy Auſpices of Queen *Anne*, the beſt of Queens, and beſt of Women. But to be a little more particular in the Tacker's Character.

A Tacker is one that fiſhes for popular Applauſe with godly Books, that he may not be ſuſpected in his Endeavours at the Ruin of his Country. A Tacker

is one, that while he joins with *Sacheverel* to juſtify the *Short Way with the Diſſenters*, pleads Privilege by ſitting in, *&c.* A Tacker is one, that having got an Eſtate by ſtockjobbing of Shares, hopes to make it complete by ſelling the Nation by wholeſale. A Tacker is one, that being choſe by the People to eſtabliſh new Laws, holds they have no Power to depute him to make any. A Tacker is one, that being choſe to guard Liberty and Property, holds that we have no Right to either, longer than it pleaſes the Prince. A Tacker is one ſent to make Fences againſt Popery, yet thinks he is obliged to reſtore its Dominion. A Tacker is one that ſeeks for a Truſt, that he believes is bound to betray. A Tacker is the motley Spawn of the nonjuring Clergy, and with a pious Supererrogation, damns himſelf with Oaths, which he takes to deſtroy. A Tacker is one, whoſe Zeal for his Church, ſhakes Hands with the Devil; and for Fear of *Geneva*, joins the Jeſuit and *Turk* to oppoſe it. A Tacker is one that maintains that we had better unite with a Church we differ from in Fundamentals, than from one we diſſent from only in Circumſtantials. A Tacker is one that holds that Popery, which is condemned by our Laws, is more eligible, than Preſbytery, which our Law allows. A Tacker is one, that to get the Church of *England* an imaginary Security, would put the Nation into a Ferment by fomenting Diviſions. A Tacker is one, that under Pretence of uniting her Majeſty's Subjects, would take away all Means of Union among them. A Tacker is one, that under Pretence of eſtabliſhing the Daughter, aſſerts and promotes Principles that deſtroyed the Father and Grandfather. A Tacker is one, that under Pretence of being a Friend to our Conſtitution, would render one Part of no Uſe by Tacking. A Tacker is one, that aſſerts the Prerogative by oppoſing the declared Will and repeated Deſire of the Queen. A Tacker is an *Engliſhman* with an Heart entirely *French*; and while his grand Monarch is not able to reſiſt our Forces Abroad, endeavours to do his Buſineſs, by our Diviſions at Home. A Tacker is one, that votes large Supplies, on purpoſe to make them of no Effect, by clogging them with irregular Tackings, long before declared againſt. A Tacker is one, that under Pretence of being the trueſt Son of the Church, would render her an Enemy to, and incompatible with the State. A Tacker is a *Jacobite* in Diſguiſe, who having refuſed the Oaths all the late Reign, took them only in this, to deſtroy it. A Tacker is one that is Fool enough to believe (if Abſurdities are properly the Objects of Faith) that the ſuppoſed Son of the late King *James* has a divine Right to be King of *England*; and is Knave enough to take a ſolemn Oath to a contrary Government, and in the Preſence of God, to abjure this divine Right, that he may get into the Legiſlature, and embroil our Affairs, to eſtabliſh it. A Tacker is one that writes and brawls for our Laws and Liberties, that he may make us what he thinks we all ought to be, Slaves; and if he cannot to a domeſtic, he may to a foreign Power. A Tacker is one that makes Uſe of Liberty of Speech to deſtroy thoſe Laws that ſecure it. A Tacker is one, that while he would have all Mankind, but Kings, Beaſts of Burthen, is ſo himſelf *ex confeſſo*; and therefore as he owns himſelf to be a Beaſt, ought to be uſed like one by all true *Engliſhmen*, and juſtly excluded from that Religion and Property, which he declares we have no Right to. A Tacker, in fine, is one who denying that we

ought

ought to live by Law, ought by his own Rule to be hanged without Law.— And so there is an End of the Tacker.

The Character of an Anti-Tacker.

THE Anti-Tacker is the Reverse of the Tacker, and their Characters are Counterparts to each other. He is a sincere Friend to the present Government, and the Protestant Succession; as the other is a professed Enemy to both: He hates Popery, and Church Papists, as he would so many Toads; he is a ttue Lover of Liberty and Property, and does his utmost to keep the Act of Toleration inviolate. He sends neither Provision nor Ammunition to the *French* Fleet, nor does he waste his Estate by buying Horses to mount the *French* Cavalry. He is one who attempts to heal the Breaches at Home, and cut off the Hopes which the common Enemy has conceived from our Division. He is one that has no Manner of Loyalty left within him for the Prince at *St. Germains*; he would venture his Life and Fortune very freely, for the Good of the Common Cause; one who dares, *Pro Patria mori:* He hates Persecution upon the Score of Conscience, and would not have vast Sums raised, for the public Service by chusing Dissenters into Offices, and then fining them for refusing. He thinks fifty Pounds is too great a Forfeiture in all Reason for serving God according to his own Appointment, and for putting his Head once into a Meeting. He has a tender Regard to every Paragraph of her Majesty's most gracious Speech to her two Houses of Parliament, and he would not put a Stop to the publick Business while Dissenters are turned out of Offices. He loves good Men of whatever Persuasion, and hates a designing Knave of what Denomination soever. In short his Heart is truly *English*, and he knows no Enemies but the Devil, the Pope and the *French* King, and their Adherents. He is a Friend to the Memory of the late King *William*. He is loyal to Queen *Anne*, prays for her Life and Government, and he takes the Act of Settlement to be our best Security against Popery, and the Designs of *Lewis*. He takes those to be Enemies of the Reformation who would have us unite with the *Gallican* Church, and that they should abate the papal, and we the regal Supremacy. Lastly, he is no Tacker, and that is enough to make him stand fair for the next Election to the ensuing Parliament.

A CAT may look upon a KING. Printed in the glorious Year 1714.

The INTRODUCTION.

THE unparalleled Transactions of these our late Times have raised in me such a Confusion of Thoughts, that I resolved to look back; as a Man that is stunned with a Stone looks not after the Stone, but after the Hand that flung it.

And

And ſurely I find (by the Help of my Spectacles) King *James* was the Fountain of all our late Afflictions and Miſeries.

It hath been a Cuſtom among our flattering Prieſts (for I know none elſe uſed it) upon Mention of deceaſed Princes, to uſe the Expreſſion *Of bleſſed Memory*; and ſo I believe have uſed it, ever ſince *William* the Baſtard of *Normandy* overran this Kingdom: Which begat another Itch in me, to ſearch the Lives of all our Kings ſince him, to ſee if any of them had deſerved that reverend Remembrance. And firſt for

King *William* the Conqueror.

I Know no better Teſtimony of him than out of his own Mouth, lying upon his Death-bed: His Words take as follow;

'The *Engliſh* I hated; the Nobles I diſhonoured, the Commons I cruelly 'vexed, and many I unjuſtly diſinherited: In the County of *York*, and ſundry 'other Places, an innumerable Sort with Hunger and Sword I ſlew; and thus 'that beautiful Land and noble Nation I made deſolate with the Deaths of 'many thouſands.

William Rufus.

THIS King did not only oppreſs and fleece this Nation, but rather with importunate Exactions did as it were flay off their Skins. His chiefeſt Conſorts were effeminated Perſons, Ruffians, and the like; and himſelf delighted in continual Adulteries, and Company of Concubines, even before the Sun. None thrived about him, but Treaſurers, Collectors, and Promoters: He ſold all Church-Preferments for Money, and took Fines of the Prieſts for Fornication.

Hunting in that moſt remarkable New Foreſt, *Walter Tyrrel* ſhot him to the Heart with an Arrow out of a Croſs-bow, whether of Purpoſe or not, is no great Matter.

Henry I.

IS branded with Covetouſneſs and intolerable Taxations; and Cruelty upon his elder Brother, whom he kept in perpetual Priſon, and put out both his Eyes; and for his moſt exceſſive Lechery, leaving behind him fourteen Baſtards.

King *Stephen.*

INFAMOUS for Perjury; a Hater of this Nation, whom he durſt never truſt, but oppreſſed this Land with Strangers, notwithſtanding that he had received the Crown upon Courteſy; dies, and leaves behind him two Baſtards.

Henry II.

NEVER ſuch a horrid Extractor of Monies from the Subjects, as this King; and is infamous for Perjury, Jealouſy, and Lechery; curſes all his Children upon his Death-bed, and ſo dies, leaving three Baſtards.

Richard

Richard I.

RAKED more Money by unparalleled Taxes upon this Nation, than any King before him: His Voyage to the *Holy-Land* pared them to the Bones by many unjuſt Ways; but his unlucky Return quite ruined it: He dies by a poiſoned Arrow, and leaves two Baſtards.

King *John*.

OF this King we cannot reckon ſo many Impieties as he had: Unnatural to his own Blood, to the Wife of his Boſom; bloody to Nobility and Clergy; Perjury, often ſwearing, but never kept his Word; betrays the Crown and Kingdom to the Pope, and rather than want his Will to ruin both Church, Nobles, and the whole Nation, ſends Ambaſſadors to a Moor, a mighty King in *Africa*, to render unto him this Kingdom of *England*, to hold it from him as his ſovereign Lord, to renounce *Chriſt*, and receive *Mahomet*. In the Heat of his Wars with the Nobility, Gentry, and Commons of this Land, repairs to the Abbey of *Swines-head*, where he is poiſoned, and leaves behind him three Baſtards.

Henry III.

A CHIP of the old Block; for no Oath could bind him; jealous of the Nobility, brings in Strangers, deſpiſeth all Counſel in Parliament, waſtes all the Treaſure of the Kingdom in civil Wars, ſells his Plate and Jewels, and pawns his Crown.

Edward I.

GOverned his Will by his Power, and ſhed more Blood in this Kingdom, than any of his Fore-runners; counted his Judges as Dogs, and died as full of Malice as he lived full of Miſchief.

Edward II.

A MAN given to all Sorts of unworthy Vanities, and ſinful Delights: The Scourge and Diſgrace of this Nation in *Scotland*, againſt a Handful of Men, with the greateſt Strength of *England*. After ſo many Perjuries about his Favourite *Gaveſton*, and Slaughter of the Nobility, he is depoſed and murdered.

Edward III.

TO his everlaſting Stain of Honour, ſurrenders by his Charter, his Title of Sovereignty to the Kingdom of *Scotland*; reſtores the Deeds and Inſtruments of their former Homages and Fealties, though after the *Scots* paid dear for it, to ſupply his Want. Whatſoever he yielded to in Parliament, was for the moſt part preſently revoked: And in that Parliament which was called the Good, they deſire the King, having abundantly ſupplied his Wants, to remove

move from Court four Perſons of ſpecial Prejudice to his Honour and the Kingdom's, with one Dame *Alice Piers*, the King's Concubine, an impudent, troubleſome Woman: But no ſooner ended this Parliament, having gotten their Monies, but thoſe four forbidden return to Court, and their wonted Inſolencies. The Speaker, who had preſented the Kingdom's Grievances, at the Suit of *Alice Piers*, is committed to perpetual Impriſonment.

Richard II.

IT is ſaid of this King, he ſpared neither the Dignity, nor the Life of any that croſſed his Pleaſure; ſpared neither lewd Example, nor vile Action, to follow cruel Councel. A Man plunged in Pleaſure and Sloth; in his private Counſels would alter whatſoever the Parliament had ſettled; neglects his Debts; prodigal to Strangers; deſtroys the Nobility; and for his Hypocriſy, Cruelty, Perjury, and Tyranny, is depoſed and murdered at *Pomfret-Caſtle*.

Henry IV.

SO true is that Diſtych tranſlated out of *Suetonius*:

Who firſt exil'd, and after crown'd,
His Reign with Blood will much abound.

For after he had murdered his Predeceſſor, nothing took up this King's Reign, but Ruin and Blood upon the Nobility and Gentry of this Kingdom, with ſuch unſufferable Taxes as never were before, nor ſince.

Henry V.

THIS King reigned about nine Years and a half, all which Time our Stories mention nothing but his Wars, raiſing of Monies, and ſpending the Blood of this poor Nation.

Henry VI.
AND
Edward IV.

WERE two Men, born as it were for Ruin, Blood, and Miſery to this Kingdom; whoſe Lives and Actions no Man can read with Patience: That ſo much Treaſure and ſo many Lives ſhould be ſpent and loſt, to maintain the Ambition, Luxury, Pride, and Tyranny of but two Men, in ſo many ſet Battles fought in the Bowels of this Kingdom. *Henry* was ſtabbed with a Dagger by the Duke of *Glouceſter* in the Tower. *Edward* died at *Weſtminſter*, and left behind him two Baſtards, and a miſerable Whore *Jane Shore*.

Richard III.

A Monſter of Luſt and Cruelty; whoſe Murders, too many to be here repeated, are at large ſet down in our Chronicles, with his Attempts of Rape and Inceſt. So perfect he was in Villany and Hypocriſy, that he would always

always uſe moſt fair Language, and ſhew greateſt Signs of Love and Courteſy to that Man in the Morning, whoſe Throat he had taken Order for to be cut that Night; and was the firſt I read of in our Stories, that ever uſed that Oath, *God damn me.* He was ſlain at *Boſworth-field*; his Body ſtark naked, and mangled, beſmeared with Blood and Duſt, was brought upon a Horſe to *Leiceſter*, where, for a Spectacle of Hate and Scorn, he lay two Days unburied.

Henry VII.

THIS King, my Lord of *Verulam* hath waſhed his Face ſo clean with good Language, that without a near Approach, he is hardly diſcovered: But ſurely I find no Right he had to the Crown, more than the Conſent of the People, which was not then in Faſhion, whom he never durſt truſt neither, his Heart continually burning to deſtroy all Sparks of the right Blood, and their Abettors. How was the Lord Chamberlain's Life juggled away for his Thoughts, and his Eſtate, which was ſo conſiderable, with many more of our Nobility? And for that Story of *Richard* Duke of *York*, Son to *Edward* IV. under the Name of *Perkin Warbeck*, I do as verily believe he was the ſaid Duke of *York*, as I believe *Henry* VIII. was the Son of this *Henry* VII. the Circumſtances being ſo pregnant from ſo many Perſons of Honour; but nothing more confirms me in it, than this King's indefatigable Pains and moſt infinite Coſt to get him, and ruin him, and with him the harmleſs Earl of *Warwick*, the one beheaded, the other hanged at *Tyburn*; and ſurely though this King did far excel all his Predeceſſors in Craft, yet was he as guilty of Cruelty and Blood as the worſt of them; nor can all the Water in the Sea waſh from him thoſe two monſtrous Sins of Avarice and Ingratitude.

Henry VIII.

TO ſay much of him, were to make you ſurfeit; Sir *Walter Rawleigh*'s Teſtimony of him is ſufficient. If all the Pictures and Patterns of a mercileſs Prince were loſt in the World, they might all be painted again to the Life out of the Story of this King: His vaſt Expence of Treaſure, and profuſe Bloodſhed, made this Kingdom look with a ghaſtly Face; and to expreſs him fully, this remains of him to Everlaſting, *That he never ſpared Man in his Anger, nor Woman in his Luſt.* I do none of them Wrong, for thus I find them branded to my Hand by public Records: And ſurely this puts me in Mind of a Story I have heard in *Spain*: A Friar preached before Don *Pedro* the King, ſirnamed *The Cruel*, took his Text which invited him to extol regal Dignity to its higheſt Pitch, often ſaying, *Few Kings went to Hell*; but in the Cloſe of his Sermon, ſaid, *You may, peradventure, wonder that I ſo often tell you, That few Kings go to Hell: Marry! the Reaſon is, there are but few Kings, for if there were more, they would go all to the Devil.*

Of all theſe our Kings, I would know which was *Of bleſſed Memory*, who ruled by Blood, Oppreſſion, and Injuſtice upon this Nation, in Contempt of God and Man.

Now, if any Man aſk why I have curtailed the Lives and Perſons of theſe thus? I anſwer, that the common People of this Kingdom, who cannot attend

to read Chronicles, may see their *Jus Divinum*. Next, if any Man ask why I make such Mention of their Bastards? I answer, only to let the World see what Foundation these six and twenty Bastards have laid for Honourable, Noble and Right Worshipful Families of a long Continuance, which have been maintained by the Blood and Treasure of this oppressed Nation. If why I mention not *Edward* V. and *Edward* VI? I say they were Children, and so died, affording no Matter for this present. If why I omit Queen *Mary*, and Queen *Elizabeth*? I answer, I have nothing to do with Women, and I wish I never had. But I must not make the Door bigger than the House; and so I address myself to King *James*.

King *James*.

TO write the Life and Reign of this King, requires a better Bookman, and a better Penman: That which I have to observe, is only to render him as great a Tyrant as any of the rest; for though his Fearfulness kept him from Wars and Blood, yet as much as was in his Power, he laid as many Springs to enslave this Nation as ever any; his Will was the sole Rule of his Government; nor had the People any thing to act but submissive Obedience. His first Work was to sound the Prelates and Nobility, whose Ambition and Corruption he found suitable and serviceable to his Intentions; and it was their Infusion, so agreeable to his Disposition, that made him carry himself so majestically to the Parliament of *England* (a Power he might justly fear to offend) but their Counsels, though they then served his and their Ends, came upon them like a Storm; the one voted down Root and Branch, the other voted useless and dangerous.

The King brings with him a general Peace with all Christendom, not considering the particular Interest of this Nation, whether it were honourable or safe, as the Affairs of *England* then stood, his Predecessor having taken upon her to be Head, and Protectress of the Protestant Party wheresoever: But he had his Ends to himself. First he had heard how many and how often Attempts had been used to take away the Life of Queen *Elizabeth*, whom God notwithstanding preserved and protected, by the Diligence of her Servants; but he would rather trust to his Craft, than to God's Providence.

Then having taken away all Thought of Wars, his Design was to luxuriate the People, that so he might more insensibly lay that Foundation of Tyranny he intended.

And now comes tumbling in monstrous Excess and Riot, which consumed many good Families, and more good Hospitality, formerly the Glory both of our Nobility and Gentry; with an incredible Increase of Taverns and Bawdy-houses, for which too we are to this Day beholden to the *Scots*.

And with this King, and this Peace, came the greatest Plague that ever this Kingdom felt before his Time; as if God had told us from Heaven we had deserved it, by betraying ourselves; and which was but a light forerunning Punishment, in respect of what in Time should follow; and yet peradventure that Plague was but a Shadow of himself, the greater.

The

The Kingdom could not afford more Pomp and Glory, than was ſhewn when King *James* came firſt through *London*; and it was ſo much the more conſiderable as to him, that from a naſty barren Country (rather a Dunghill than a Kingdom) he came to be at that Inſtant as great a Prince as any in Chriſtendom: And indeed, it was the Wonder of thoſe Stateſmen, who had had Experience of the Gallantry of this Nation, that a *Scot* ſhould enjoy this Crown without Reſiſtance. If the Temper of theſe our Days had then, as now, taken Head, we had ſaved much Blood, much Money, and in all likelihood been long ſince ſettled to ſuch a happy State as we are juſt entering upon.

Long had he waited for the Death of Queen *Elizabeth*; but longer had they waited, that waited upon him: For had not their Hopes as well as his expected their Shares of Spoils of this Kingdom, we may without doing any Wrong to that Nation, conclude him in the Fate of his many Predeceſſors, whom they murdered. His Stock was odious to the more ancient Nobility of that Nation; and the Cloak of the Kirk would have ſerved without Scruple for ſuch a fatal Covering, as the Grand Signior uſes to ſend Men doomed to Death.

His original Extract I find was this:

Banchoo, a Nobleman of *Scotland*, had a fair Lady to his Daughter, whom *Mackbeth* the King deſires to have the Uſe of; *Banchoo* refuſes, and *Mackbeth* murders him, and takes the Lady by Force.

Fleance, the Son of *Banchoo*, fearing the Tyrant's Cruelty, flies into *Wales*, to *Griffin ap Lhewellin*, the Prince of *Wales*: *Lhewellin* entertains him with all hoſpitable Civility. *Fleance*, to requite his Courteſy, gets *Lhewellin*'s Daughter with Child: *Lhewellin* murders *Fleance*, and *Lhewellin*'s Daughter is afterward delivered of a Son named *Walter*; this Son proves a gallant Man, and falling out with a noble Perſon in *Wales*, that called him Baſtard, *Walter* ſlew him, and for his Safeguard fled into *Scotland*, where in Continuance of Time he gained ſo much Reputation and Favour, that he became Steward of the whole Revenue of that Kingdom, of which Office, he and his Poſterity retained the Sirname, and from whence all the Kings and Nobles in that Nation of that Name had their Original; here is a goodly Foundation!

For his Perſon, a Man might ſufficiently and truly make up a Volume, only to tell of his Lazineſs, and his Uncleanneſſes; but I cannot do it without fouling too much Paper.

He was a great Pretender to Learning and Religion, and for the ſpeculative Part, had as much as any of our Kings upon Record; but for the practical, and beſt Part of it (if we may judge of the Tree by the Fruit) we may without Breach of Charity conclude him not guilty: He was the greateſt Blaſphemer in the World; ſwear faſter than ſpeak, and curſe the People by the Clock: And it appears by the whole Courſe of his Life, that he was a moſt malicious Hater of this Nation.

The King was naturally fearful, even as low as could be; and what he would do, and durſt not own, that he would do by his Favourites, whom, for the Fitneſs of his Deſigns, he would raiſe from low Degree, to oblige them the more, and to deſert them with more Eaſe, and ſhift them often, till he had them fitted to his Purpoſe.

Dunbar was too ſolid, *Hayes* too light, *Northampton* too crafty, *Montgomery* too ſilly (here is two *Engliſh*, two *Scots*, all deſerted). And now he hath found a young *Scot*, that had been one of his young Pages in *Scotland*, and turned off with fifty Pounds in Money and Cloaths, to ſeek his Fortune; having ſpent his Time and his Means in *France*, comes over hither, and for his Faſhion and Language, is entertained by his Countryman, then Lord *Hayes* (another *Scot* of the like Extract) for a Page, where the King takes Notice of him, calls for him, and at the firſt Daſh makes him one of the Bed-Chamber, and ſuddenly his Favourite, and Knight Sir *Robert*, then Viſcount *Rocheſter*, and after Earl of *Somerſet*. This Man the King had wound up to his juſt Pitch, of whom we may juſtly ſay, *Trim tram, like Maſter like Man.* When this Man had long wallowed in his Maſter's Bounty, and the Treaſures of this Kingdom, he fell the fouleſt that ever Man did, upon the Rocks of Diſhonour, Adultery and Murder: Of Diſhonour, to a noble Peer of this Land, and in him to the whole Nobility: Adultery, not only to bewhore her, but to get her divorced, and marry her. And Murder, upon the Body of that unfortunate Gentleman Sir *Thomas Overbury*, only for diſſuading him.

And here it is much to our Purpoſe to inſert, how this Favourite's Carriage had highly offended Prince *Henry*, who underſtanding the looſe Kind of Life this Man lived, eſpecially relating to her, diſtaſtes him, diſreſpects him, and forbears his Company, and flatly falls out with him. *Somerſet* complains to the King: Shortly the Prince falls ſick, and dies.

That he was poiſoned, hath been a common Fame ever ſince: But to ſnuff the Candle, and make it burn clear, take the Teſtimony of theſe famous Phyſicians, that diſſected his Body, and have left it upon Record under their Hands.

The Diſſection of the Body of Prince *Henry*.

FIrſt, *We found his Liver paler than ordinary, in certain Places ſomewhat wan; his Gall without any Choler in it, and diſtended with Wind.*

Secondly, *His Spleen was in divers Places more than ordinary black.*

Thirdly, *His Stomach was in no Part offended.*

Fourthly, *His Midriff was in divers Places black.*

Fifthly, *His Lungs were very black, and in divers Places ſpotted, and full of a thin watery Blood.*

Laſtly, *The Veins in the hinder Part of his Head were fuller than ordinary; but the Ventricles and Hollowneſs of the Brain, were full of clear Water.*

In Witneſs whereof, with our own Hands, we have ſubſcribed this preſent Relation, November 7, 1612.

MAYERN, PALMER,
ATKINS, GIFFORD,
HAMMOND, BUTTER.

This Prince was an active Man, and full of high Thoughts; a Lover of this Nation, and looked upon by them with much Affection and Expectation. What Fears and Jealouſies *Somerſet* might malicioufly infuſe into the King's too fearful

fearful and timorous Soul, we cannot tell: But that Language from *Somerset* to the Lieutenant of the *Tower*, when he told him he must provide himself to go the next Morning to *Westminster* to his Trial, said, *He would not: That the King had assured him, he should not come to any Trial, neither durst the King bring him to any Trial.* This Language, I say, stinks abominably. And when he did come to his Trial, fearing (being enraged) that he might fly out into some strange Discovery, there were two Men placed on each Side of him with Cloaks on their Arms, with peremptory Command, That if *Somerset* did any Way fly out against the King, they should instantly hoodwink him with their Cloaks, take him violently from the Bar, and carry him away; and this could be no Man's Act but the King's. He would often boast of his King-craft; but if his Fears, and *Somerset*'s Malice took this Prince's Life away, it was a sweet Piece of King-craft indeed, but the Fruit of it hath been bitter.

I cannot enough admire that Language he used, when he gave in Charge to the Judges the Examination of Sir *Thomas Overbury*'s Murder.

My Lords,

I *Charge you, as you will answer it at that great and terrible Day of Judgment, that you examine it strictly, without Favour, Affection, or Partiality: And if you shall spare any guilty of this Crime, God's Curse light upon you and your Posterity; and if I shall spare any that are found guilty, God's Curse light on me and my Posterity for ever.*

This Expression has a most honest Outside: But if the King had a Design of Fear, rather to be so rid of *Somerset*, than an inward Desire of Justice, it was monstrous foul; which we shall better judge of by the Sequel.

Seven Persons were by the Judges condemned to die for this foul Murder; four of them of the least Account, and Accessaries, are executed; the three great Ones, and Principals, the King pardons; and to *Somerset* himself, to his dying Day, was most profusely liberal, and suffered to live with that Firebrand of Hell his Wife, under the King's Nose, all the Days of their Lives.

Here's fine Juggling! These must be saved, for Fear of telling *Scotch* Tales of the King. Would the Spirits of those noble Souls of these our Days, put up such a Piece of Injustice in the Master, and such an Affront and Contempt of this Nation, both from the Master and the Man (two *Scots*) without Vengeance? I believe not.

And this Favourite of his, when his Estate was seized upon for this foul Murder, was found to have two hundred thousand Pounds in Money, Plate and Jewels, in his House; and nineteen thousand Pounds a Year in Lands coming in; a fine Advance from a *Scot*'s Page, fifty Pounds, and a Suit of Cloaths! (and can any Man tell for what?) I never heard that all *Scotland* was worth so much; but enough of him.

This King had no Wars; but spent more Money prodigally, profusely and riotously, than any of his Predecessors.

What Swarms of *Scots* came with him, and after him, into this Kingdom? Who perpetually sucked him of most vast Sums of Money, which stand yet upon Record; which put him upon all dishonourable Ways of raising Monies,

to the moſt cruel Oppreſſion of this Nation, to ſerve their Riot and Luxury; the Truth of which was then, and is undeniable: Though they lived a while at ſuch a Height, yet they died like themſelves, contemptible, miſerable Beggars; and at this Day ſcarce one of them can ſhew the Fruits of thoſe vaſt Donatives, either in themſelves or their Poſterity, that are worth looking upon; and ſo let them all periſh, whomſoever, *Scots* or *Engliſh*, whoſe Foundation is ſuch. Though I ſee no Reaſon but an Eſtate may be now queſtioned, which is known to have been raiſed upon the Oppreſſion of this Nation, nor that any Title of Honour, ſo bought, ſhould deſcend to Poſterity.

A Lord is to be a Lord by Merit of Employment in ſome noble Office, for the public Good; not by projecting Tricks, and cozening Devices to fill a Tyrant's Coffers, to the enſlaving of a gallant and free Nation. But, *&c.* to turn to King *James*.

In thoſe Days, it is true, the Biſhops, Nobility, and the Lawyers, had a great Influence upon the People for their Abilities, and ſuppoſed Honeſties; yet amongſt theſe ſuch are found, and others are made ſuch; that whatſoever the King would have, they are fit, and willing Inſtruments to bring it about, and make it paſs for current Divinity and Law. Witneſs,

The burning of a whole Cart-load of Parliament Precedents, that ſpake the Subjects Liberty, that were burnt at the King's firſt coming.

Witneſs the Nullity.

Witneſs the Life of Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, that was taken away in Point of State, whoſe leaſt Part was of more Worth than the whole Race of the beſt of the *Scots* Nation.

Witneſs, the inhancing of Cuſtoms.

Witneſs, Privy Seals, Monopolies, and Loans, Benevolences, Sales of Lands, Woods, Fines, New-Buildings.

Witneſs, the lamentable Loſs of the *Palatinate*.

Witneſs the Treaty of the *Spaniſh*-Match.

In which two laſt, this Nation received more Diſhonour, than in any Action any former Age can parallel, and all under the Colour of an honourable Treaty. His Daughter was undone, and his Son bob'd of a Wife, after the Hazard of his Perſon, and vaſt Expence of infinite Treaſure to this Day undiſcharged.

I could never underſtand what Piece of King-craft it was, to let the Prince his only Son, with *Buckingham* his Favourite, make that Voyage into *Spain*, unleſs it were to be rid of them both: And had he not to do with a noble Enemy, ſurely they had never returned.

He would ſometimes call a Parliament, for Money, not for Buſineſs: But if the Kingdom preſented any Grievances, he would quarrel by his Prerogative, and diſſolve it.

One Letter of his to the Parliament, I cannot read but with Amazement: Which being but brief, take here from his own Hand.

A COPY of his Majesty's LETTER to the Lower House of Parliament.

Mr. Speaker,

WE have heard by divers Reports, to our great Grief, that the far Distance of our Person at this Time from our High Court of Parliament, caused by our Want of Health, hath emboldened some fiery and popular Spirits in our House of Commons, to debate and argue publickly in Matters far beyond your Reach and Capacity; and so tending to our high Dishonour, and trenching upon our Prerogative royal: You shall therefore acquaint the House with our Pleasure, that none therein shall henceforth presume to meddle with any thing concerning our Government, or Mysteries of State: Namely, not to speak of our deareſt Son's Match with the Daughter of Spain, *nor to touch the Honour of that King, nor any our Friends or Confederates; and also not to meddle with any Man's Particulars, which have their due Motions in our ordinary Courts of Justice: And whereas we hear they have sent a Messenger to Sir* Edwyn Sands, *to know the Reason of his late Restraint; you shall in our Name resolve them, that it was not for any Misdemeanor of his in Parliament: But to put them out of Doubt of any Question of that Nature, that may arise among them hereafter, you shall resolve them in our Name, that we think ourselves very free, and able to punish any Man's Misdemeanors in Parliament, as well during their sitting, as afterwards; which we mean not to spare hereafter, upon any Occasion of any Man's insolent Behaviour there, that shall be ministred unto us. And if they have already touched any of these Points which we have forbidden, in any Petition of theirs, which is to be sent to us: It is our Pleasure, that you shall tell them, that except they reform it before it come to our Hands, we will not dain the hearing or answering of it.*

I leave every Reader to comment upon it, according to his own Patience and Passion: But, that a *Scot*, from so beggarly a Condition, to be so peaceably and honourably received to so royal a Government, over so brave a Nation, should use such ungrateful, presumptuous, and proud Language to the Parliament of *England*, is to my Understanding, monstrous, horrible, and not good. But it was his Humour all his Reign; with Impatience over-ruling, with Jealousies threatening, and at Pleasure to dissolve all Parliaments, thereby to lay that Foundation of tyrannical and arbitrary Government, which he intended to bring upon us.

His Favourite *Somerset* being condemned, and quietly laid aside, he was ready provided of another, *George Villiers* by Name, a handsome young Man, lately returned out of *France*, from an Allowance of Threescore Pounds a Year; who comes to Court, is admitted to a Cup-bearer's Place, presently knighted, and made Gentleman of the Bed-chamber, and the same Day a Thousand Pounds a Year out of the Court of Wards given him, and in a Breath made Master of the Horse, then Knight of the Garter, then Baron of *Whadon*, Viscount *Villiers*, Earl of *Somerset*, and a Privy-Counsellor, Marquis of *Buckingham*, Lord Admiral of *England*, Chief Justice in Eyre of all the Parks and Forests on the South Side of *Trent*, Master of the King's-Bench Office, Head-Steward of *Westminster*, and Constable of *Windsor* Castle, and lastly Duke; and

and then he could go no higher in Title; but by his Master's Pleasure and Courtesy, all the Affairs of the Kingdom are steered by his Compass, as is at large made known in many Men's Writings published. Yet when he knew his Master (notwithstanding his slabbering Expressions of Affection, and extravagant Honours and Riches) to be weary of him, he found a Plaister and a Powder, that made him Amends for all his Favours; and here the King-craft met with his Match. How far King *Charles* might be privy to this Business, I determine not; but the private Familiarity between them continued so long after, and protecting him from being questioned for this very Particular in Parliament, is no small Presumption.

But what the King denied (Justice) God sent by the Hand of *John Felton*, who stabbed this Duke at *Portsmouth* with a Tenpenny Knife, that he instantly gave up the Ghost, with these Words, *God's Wounds, I am slain!*

To write all the Actions this Duke did by these two King's Favours, in Prejudice of this oppressed Nation, would make a choloric Man mad, and a Flegmatic stupid; but let him go, the King is the Thing I intend, who made Use of him, the flattering Prelates, the poor spirited Nobility, and corrupt Lawyers, to frame such a Government, as all the Wealth in this Kingdom should be at the King's disposing.

Which Course, with such Instructions, he left to his Son; and how his Son managed them, hath been so clearly published by supreme Authority, fairly written by so white a Hand, that I intend not here to say much of that Prince; only this I can say, He was a Man so wilful, obstinate and uxorious, that he quite forsook his own Interest as a King, and the Honour and Interest of this Nation, through Malice and her Counsel; and did so far incline to the Intererest of *France*, against *Spain* (and no Thanks for his Labour) that by his Means alone *Rochelle* and *Dunkirk* were both lost: But that, and his Father's Instructions, lost him, with the Loss of more Blood and Treasure to this Nation, than all our Wars had spent since *William* the *Norman*.

It hath been to me the greatest Wonder of the World, how this King could be so blind, as not to prevent that Storm that came upon him, till it was too late. Were all his Counsellors false? O unhappy King! Or would he be ruled by none but himself and his Wife? O more unhappy Man! (Surely in this was the Hand of God most visible.) Mischief was in his Heart against this Nation, but it came upon himself and all his, as the World hath seen.

There was about the Time of his Death, a Book published, which was presented to the World, as he the Author; which was so gross an Imposture, that I have much marvelled (the Fraud being so plain and easily detected) that no Course hath been taken to find him out, and punished, that made it; for that it was not his, is as plainly to be discerned, as the Sun at Noon. But that false Perfume lasted but a while, and the Scent was only pleasing to them that could not smell.

So that I may say, That in those Days was seen two the most remarkable, and most eminent Passages of human Affairs, that this Nation hath afforded since the Creation:

The Entrance of King *James* into this Kingdom, with as much Pomp and Glory as the World could afford:

And

And the Exit of his Son, with as much Shame and Misery as could befal a King.

And although God Almighty be the Judge of all Men, yet God's Judgments that are so remarkable, are for our Instructions, and God is to be glorified by us for these Judgments of his upon this King's Family.

I cannot in the best Stories I have read, find who was clearly King *James*'s Father.

Mary, Queen of *Scotland* (a lusty young Widow) marries the Lord *Darnly*, Son to the Duke of *Lenox*, in the Year 1565, or thereabouts; and at the same time had for a Reserve in great Favour with her an *Italian* Fiddler, and *Bothwell*, a *Scotch* Lord. After Marriage, the Queen proves with Child. The King her Husband, that was Lord *Darnly* (enraged by some Informations) comes into the Room where the Queen his Wife was at Supper, and very big; drags the *Italian* Fiddler into another Room, and murders him. The Queen was shortly delivered of a Son, which was our King *James*. The Solemnity of the Christening ended, she and *Bothwel* murdered the King her Husband. Then the Queen marries *Bothwel* (and all this in a Moment of Time) but they are both fain to fly: The Queen came into *England*, and was here beheaded; *Bothwel* fled into *Denmark*, and there lay in Prison all the Days of his Life.

And now (Reader) observe the Fortune of this prodigious Family.

His supposed Father was strangled in his Bed, by the Consent of his Mother, and flung out into a Garden.

His Mother is beheaded.

His eldest Son, Prince *Henry*, by the Jealousy, and Consent of his Father, in the Flower of his Youth, and Strength of his Age, is poisoned.

His Daughter, married to the *Palsgrave*, where shortly her Husband (in Ambition to become a King) is slain, and she with her many Children are driven out of their Estates, and fly for Shelter into *Holland*, where she lived upon the Courtesy of this State.

Her eldest Son, having lived long upon a particular Charity of this Nation, was at last restored to a Feather of his Goose.

Two other of her Sons, after six Years following Arms and Plunder for King *Charles*, turned Pyrates at Sea, and so continued.

King *James* himself (after two and twenty Years Reign, by the Act of his Favourite *Buckingham*, and the Consent of his Son *Charles* that succeeded him) is poisoned.

King *Charles*, after eight Years Wars with the Parliament, is taken, arraigned and condemned, and is beheaded at his own Doors; and his Wife fled home to her Friends, and his Children scattered abroad in the World, to live upon the Charity of others.

Are all these Circumstances to be slighted, or unconsidered? And shall we take the Priest's Word, *King* James *was of blessed Memory?* I challenge the proudest of them; let them publish one clear Act of Honesty from him all the Time of his Reign, or any honest Man that ever he loved, and I'll yield. His Hypocrisy, Perjury, Cowardice, Blasphemy, Malice, are known to all; and base Ingratitude, which comprehends more than all the rest; whereof one

Example of him is well worth our remembering, to Sir *Henry Wotton*, which briefly was thus:

Sir *Henry* (a Man for Perſon and Parts highly eſteemed, and honoured of all that knew him) being in *Florence*, when Queen *Elizabeth*'s Death drew nigh, which King *James* gaped for) the Duke of *Florence* had intercepted ſome Letters, which diſcovered a Deſign to take away the Life of King *James*: The Duke abhorring the Fact, reſolves to endeavour his Preſervation, calls for his Secretary to adviſe by what Means a Caution might be beſt given to the King; and it was reſolved to be done by Sir *Henry Wotton*, who (being well inſtructed) is preſently diſpatched into *Scotland* with Letters to the King, and moſt rare Antidotes againſt all manner of Poiſons, whereby that Miſchief was prevented; and Sir *Henry Wotton* returns into *Italy*, where ſhortly after came the News of the Death of Queen *Elizabeth*, and *James* King of *Scots* proclaimed King of *England*; and away comes Sir *Henry Wotton* to joy the King.

This had been a fit Subject for to have ſhewn his noble Mind upon for a Favourite; but what doth the King? Takes him into two and twenty Years Travel, like a Pack-Horſe, to make him an Agent in Foreign Parts, and leaves him in his old Age in *Eaton*-College, unable to pay his Debts, as may appear by his lamentable Complaint upon his Death-Bed; his Words are theſe, in his laſt Will and Teſtament.

I humbly beſeech my Lord's Grace of Canterbury, *and the Lord Biſhop of* London, *to interceed with our moſt gracious Sovereign (in the Bowels of Jeſus Chriſt) that out of compaſſionate Memory of my long Services, ſome Order may be taken for my Arriers, for Satisfaction of my Debts.*

This Precedent alone is ſo tranſcendently foul, as all his other Actions and Paſſions are Virtues to it. Fellows of no Merit, at home, muſt wallow in his Bounty and their own Luxury, to do his foul Pleaſure, and to execute his tyrannical Actions, whilſt ſuch a noble Soul as this, muſt ſuffer Want, and die in it.

And now lay theſe Things together, and ſee whether this King, any more than any of his Predeceſſors, did deſerve this honourable Memorandum: To conſummate his Character, his Cowardice was as remarkable as his other Qualifications; for the Sight of a drawn Sword, or the Noiſe of a Gun, would have put his Poſteriors into ſuch an Agitation, that the Savour did ſufficiently inform the By-ſtanders what Condition they were in; but though theſe may ſeem ludicrous, yet being plain Matter of Fact, I thought not fit to paſs it by in Silence; but leaving ſo diſagreeable a Subject, I ſhall paſs on to his Son.

Charles I.

WAS as like his Father as one Egg is like another, only with this Odds, his Father had not Courage anſwerable to his Intentions; but this Man durſt attempt any thing, that his perverſe and inflexible Temper put him upon. It has been proved already, that he was ſhrewdly ſuſpected to have had an Hand in his Father's Death, together with his Favourite *Buckingham*, whom he protected to the laſt, againſt the Juſtice of the Kingdom.

As

As he was a *Scot* born, ſo he hated this Nation to the laſt Degree, and was a cruel Oppreſſor thereof, by illegal Methods; raiſing what Money he thought fit without Conſent of Parliament, by what he called his Royal Prerogative. Witneſs, Ship-Money, Loans, Exciſe, inhancing of Cuſtoms, borrowing Money by Force of particular Perſons, and if they refuſed, they were ſent for Soldiers into foreign Parts; nor did ſome of the largeſt Cities and Corporations in *England* eſcape him. The Aldermen of *Briſtol* were laid up for preſenting a Petition, to excuſe the City from the Payment of three thouſand Pounds demanded of them by the King, nor were they diſcharged before the Money was paid.

Beſides theſe Methods, he raiſed prodigious Sums by extravagant Fines in his illegal Courts of Star-Chamber, High Commiſſion, *&c.* erected purely to enſlave and ruin the Nation: In ſhort, it is almoſt impoſſible to reckon up the many unjuſt and illegal Methods this King took, to ruin the poor ſpur-galled Subjects, and to advance himſelf to the higheſt Pinacle of deſpotic and arbitrary Power. He was a moſt inveterate Enemy to Parliaments, as knowing them to be the grand Obſtacle to his towering Ambition; diſſolving them at Pleaſure if they anſwered not his wicked Deſigns; and it was his beggarly Neceſſities that forced him to comply to the Sitting of his laſt Parliament, till they ſhould diſſolve themſelves, the City refuſing to lend a Sum of Money, that was requeſted, without it, having been often baffled by him before in the ſame Manner.

He raiſed two Wars upon his own Countrymen the *Scots*, becauſe they would not ſuffer a Liturgy compoſed by *Laud*, and ſent to *Rome* to be approved, to be impoſed on them. The *Iriſh* Maſſacre is another Inſtance of his Goodneſs, for which the Broad Seal of *Scotland* was produced; which Rebellion broke out in *October* 1641, thus warranted, when the King himſelf was in *Scotland*, by which above a Million of Souls were butchered in cool Blood for being Proteſtants: And though the Odium of this Fact is induſtriouſly ſhifted off to others, yet in the Judgment of Reaſon, we cannot bring in the King, not Guilty; who would never permit any to be called to an Account for it, though preſſed thereto by Parliament; and King *Charles* the Second's Letter on Behalf of the Marquis of *Antrim*, who was thereupon reſtored to his Honours and Eſtate, as an innocent Papiſt, though a Ringleader of that bloody Rebellion, as having done nothing but by the Order, and for the Intereſt of his Royal Father, as the King words it, is no ſmall Proof by what Authority it was committed. At laſt, to fill up the Meaſure of his Sins, as though all the Blood already ſpilt was too little to ſatisfy his Ambition and Revenge, having firſt inſulted his Parliament, with his Band of diſſolute Cavaliers, he ſet up his Standard at *Nottingham*, and endeavoured to bring in foreign Forces into the Kingdom, that ſo he might entirely enſlave it, and be revenged, and at once rid of Parliaments. In ſhort, he was a Man of an haughty, ambitious, inſulting Diſpoſition; an Enemy to Liberty, Property and Juſtice; incorrigible and perverſe in his Temper, cruel, bloody and revengeful, and waſted more Blood and Treaſure of his Subjects, than all his Predeceſſors ſince the Conqueſt. I ſhould not have been thus large and particular, but that this Man is cried up for a Saint and Martyr, by a Party, moſt of whom are ignorant what he was; the Prelacy,

for the maintaining of their uſurped Authority, giving another Character than he deſerved; at laſt he ended his Days with a Lye in his Mouth, as is before hinted, owning a Book for his own, of which Biſhop *Gawden*, and Biſhop *Duppa* were the Authors, and he himſelf wrote not one Syllable, making way, by his Death, for his Son *Charles* II. to ſucceed him.

Charles II.

IN whoſe Reſtoration flowed in that Deluge of Prophaneneſs and Debauchery, under which we groan at this Day. Is noted for his exceſſive Lechery, waſting prodigious Sums of Money in maintaining his Whores, of which he kept no ſmall Number, and thoſe too at the poor Allowance of 1000 *l.* a Week a-piece, by which Means he kept himſelf poor and indigent to the laſt Degree, and became deſpicable Abroad, and the Ridicule of his own Court; *Rocheſter* often bantering him to his Face, and the celebrated Wits of the Age making Paſquils upon him, which were publickly printed and publiſhed; at laſt, after he had ſpent a long Tract of Years in Luſt and Riot, he died not without Suſpicion of being poiſoned by his Brother, leaving behind him ſix Baſtard Dukes.

James II.

HAD the Courage of his Grandfather, and the Religion of his Mother; the Malice and Inveteracy of his Father, and was altogether ruled by Prieſts and Jeſuits; we had an Inſtance of his Clemency in the *Weſt*, whilſt himſelf was Duke of *York*; it was more than ſuſpected that he had the chief Hand in the burning of the City of *London*, and it is well if his Brother had not too: During his ſhort Reign, there were but few Taxes; but Maſs-Houſes were publickly erected, and Seminaries for Prieſts, Nunneries, *&c.* and an Army of *Iriſh* Papiſts raiſed to ſerve his Turn; but having endeavoured to ſham the Kingdom with a pretended Prince of *Wales*, and diſobliged the Nation by *Quo Warranto's*, againſt the Charters of moſt Corporations in *England*, wherein *London* could not eſcape his Hands, the Prince of *Orange* coming over with an Army, upon an Invitation of the Heads of the Nation; rather than ſubmit Matters to the Determination of the Parliament, which was offered by the Prince, he ran away with the Queen and Pretender into *France*; from whence he entered *Ireland* with a *French* Army, and joining with the Papiſts, began the War there; which laſted many Years, and hath coſt *Europe* ſo much Blood and Treaſure; and in him, as the laſt Heir Male of that Family, was finiſhed the Curſe of his Grandfather *James* the Firſt. And now, Reader, I muſt leave thee to judge which of all theſe Kings deſerves that honourable Remembrance *Of Bleſſed Memory:* And I heartily pray, That his preſent Majeſty, from whom we conceive, upon the juſteſt Grounds, the moſt exalted Hopes of our future Happineſs, having hitherto ſo governed in his own Country, that he is become the Darling of his Subjects there, and the Deſire of theſe Kingdoms, over whom God in his infinite Goodneſs has placed him for a Bleſſing, may ſo rule, That he may be the Delight and Happineſs of his Subjects, and the Terror of his

his Enemies; and when at length Heaven ſhall think fit to tranſlate him to a celeſtial Crown of Glory, He may be a ſtanding Pattern to all ſucceeding Princes (for Imitation) and deſerve that glorious Character *Of Bleſſed Memory.*

The Tranſlation of ſeveral Letters to her Majeſty from the King of *Spain*, the Junta of the Military Army in *Catalonia*, and the City of *Vich* in the ſaid Province; together with an Extract of a Letter written to her Majeſty by the Rt. Hon. the Earl of *Peterborow*, General and Commander in Chief of her Majeſty's Land Forces there, and joint Admiral of her Fleet. Publiſhed by Authority. 1705.

Madam, my Siſter,

I HAD not delayed to remind your Majeſty of my ſincere Reſpects, had I not waited for a good Occaſion of doing it, which I have now met with, in having the Honour to let you know, that the Town of *Barcelona* has ſurrendered to me by Capitulation. I make no doubt but you will receive this great News with an entire Satisfaction, as well becauſe this happy Succeſs is but an Effect of your ever glorious Arms, as by reaſon of thoſe kind and tender Sentiments of a Parent, with which you conſider me, and all that may contribute to the Advancement of my Intereſt.

I muſt do this Juſtice to all your Officers and common Soldiers, and in particular to my Lord *Peterborow*, that he has ſhewn throughout this Expedition a Conſtancy, Valour, and Conduct, worthy the Choice which your Majeſty has made of him; and that he could not give me greater Satisfaction than he has done, of the great Zeal and Application which he has equally ſhewn for my Intereſt and Service. I owe the ſame Juſtice to your Brigadier-General *Stanhope*, upon Account of his great Zeal, Attention, and moſt prudent Conduct, of which he has given me Proofs in all Manner of Occaſions; as alſo to all your Officers of the Fleet, and principally to your worthy Admiral *Shovel*; aſſuring your Majeſty, that he has ſeconded me in this Expedition with an inconceivable Readineſs and Application; and that no Admiral can ever make me more content than he has done. During the Siege of *Barcelona*, ſome of your Majeſty's Ships, together with the Troops of the Country, have reduced the Town of *Terragona*, and the Officers remained Priſoners of War. Other Troops of the Country at the ſame Time made themſelves Maſters of the Town of *Girona* by a Stratagem. The Town of *Lerida* has ſubmitted to me, as has alſo the Town of *Tortoſa* on the River *Ebro*; ſo that all the Places in *Catalonia* are

are taken except the Town of *Roſes*. Some Places in *Arragon*, not far from *Saragoſa*, have declared for me; and the Caſtle of *Denia* in *Valencia* ſtill holds out, and has repulſed the Enemy. Four hundred of their Horſe have entered into my Service; and a great Number of their Foot have deſerted. This, Madam, is the Condition in which your Arms, and the Inclination of the People, have placed my Affairs. I need not tell you what puts a Stop to the Courſe of theſe Conqueſts; it is neither the Seaſon, nor the Enemy, thoſe are no Obſtacles to your Troops, who deſire nothing more than to be in Action, under the Conduct they now are. The taking of *Barcelona* with ſo ſmall a Number of Troops, is remarkable enough; but few Examples will be found of what has happened in this Siege. Seven or eight thouſand Men of your Troops, and two thouſand Miquelets, have ſurrounded and inveſted a Place which 30,000 *French* were not able to do.

After a March of thirteen Hours, they climbed up Rocks and Precipices, to attack a Fortification ſtronger than the Town, of which the Earl of *Peterborow* ſends you the Plan; and two Generals entered with the Grenadiers on this Attack with Sword in Hand, where the Prince of *Heſſe* met with a glorious Death, after ſo many noble Actions; and I hope that his Brother and his Family will always have your Majeſty's Protection. With eight hundred Men they forced the Covered Way, and all the Intrenchments and Works one after another, to the laſt Retreat, againſt five hundred Men of the Troops that guarded the Place, beſides the Reinforcement they had received; and in three Days after they were Maſters of the Place. The Town was attacked under the Caſtle, and the Cannon and Artillery were again landed with inconceivable Pains and Labour. Two Camps were maintained, and a Communication preſerved between them, though near three Leagues diſtant from each other, againſt a Garriſon almoſt as numerous as our Army, and who in Horſe were twice as ſtrong as ourſelves. The firſt Camp was ſo well intrenched, that it was defended with two thouſand Men, beſides the Dragoons, while the Attack was carried on with the reſt; and as ſoon as a Breach was made, the Diſpoſition was formed for giving the Aſſault with the whole Army. Theſe, Madam, are Circumſtances that perhaps diſtinguiſh this Action from any other.

There happened another Accident which was never known before: The Cruelties of the pretended Viceroy, and the Report that he intended to carry away ſeveral Priſoners, contrary to the Capitulation, had ſtirred up the Burghers, and ſome of the Country, to take Arms: The Garriſon being employed in loading their Baggage, in order to march out the next Day, found themſelves in a very great Confuſion, and all things tending to a Slaughter, when your Majeſty's Troops entered the Town, with the Earl of *Peterborow*; and inſtead of buſying themſelves with plundering, as is uſual in ſuch Occaſions, they appeaſed the Diſorder, and ſaved the Town, and even the Lives of their Enemies, with a Diſcipline and Generoſity without Example. Nothing remains, but that I return you my moſt reſpectful Thanks for having ſent me ſo great a Fleet, and ſo good and valiant Troops to aſſiſt me. After ſuch happy Beginnings, I thought it proper, according to the Opinion of your Generals and Admirals, to maintain in Perſon the Conqueſts we have made, and to ſhew my Subjects, who are ſo affectionate to my Perſon, that I cannot abandon them. I receive ſo great an Aſſiſtance from your Majeſty, and your generous Nation, that

that I am overcome with your Goodneſs; and in the greateſt Confuſion, that I ſhould be the Occaſion of ſo great an Expence for the ſupporting of my Intereſt: But, Madam, I give up my own Perſon, and my Subjects in *Catalonia*, who expoſe their Lives and Fortunes upon the Aſſurances they have of your generous Protection. Your Majeſty and your Council know better than we what is neceſſary for our Preſervation. We ſhall wait for your Majeſty's Succours, with an entire Confidence in your Goodneſs and Wiſdom. It may be ſeen what Forces are neceſſary: It may alſo be ſeen how great a Diverſion we ſhall give to *France*: It cannot be doubted, but they will make their utmoſt Efforts againſt me as ſoon as poſſible; and I doubt not, but the ſame Efforts will be uſed by my Allies to defend me. What can be ſaid to you, Madam? Your Goodneſs gives you the Inclination, and your Power furniſhes you with the Means, to ſupport thoſe whom the Tyranny of *France* would oppreſs. All I can ſuggeſt to your Wiſdom, and that of your Allies, is, that the Forces employed in this Country will not remain uſeleſs to the public Good, but will be under an Obligation and a Neceſſity to act with the utmoſt Vigour againſt the Enemy. I am ever, with the moſt ſincere Affection, Reſpect, and Gratitude,

Madam, my Siſter,

From the Camp at Senia, *before* Barcelona, Oct. 22, 1705.

Your moſt affectionate Brother,

CHARLES.

A Letter to her Majeſty from the Junta of the Military Army of Catalonia.

Sacred Royal Majeſty,

THE Principality of *Catalonia* being free from the heavy Yoke ſuffered by the violent Oppreſſion of *France*, and reſtored to the Center of its Felicity under the eaſy and deſired Dominion of our adored Monarch *Charles* the Third (whom God protect) whereunto your Majeſty has been pleaſed to contribute ſo powerfully by the Forces of your Crown, is indiſpenſably obliged, proſtrate at the Royal Feet of your Majeſty, to an eternal Acknowledgment of ſo ſovereign a Favour, with repeated Thanks to your Majeſty for the Quality, Number and Goodneſs of the Troops, which have acted with ſingular Regularity, punctual Obedience, and inimitable Valour; as alſo for the Choice of the General, my Lord the Earl of *Peterborow*, who commands them, ſince there is none that can exceed him in Valour, and few who can equal him in underſtanding the Art of War. His Diſcretion, Affability and Gentleneſs, are the attractive Loadſtone of the Hearts of the *Catalonians*, who love and value him as the Inſtrument of their Felicity, reſpect him for his Perſon, and for his Character of your Majeſty's General; and hope, from your Majeſty's Goodneſs, and the generous Strength of the *Engliſh* Nation, a Continuation, with the greateſt Efficacy, of effectual Succours, for maintaining the Principality under the gentle Do-

Dominion of our King and Lord, and for promoting the great Work of reſtoring him to the Throne of his Anceſtors.

Thus all our Felicity, and the Quiet of *Europe*, will be owing to the glorious Conduct and ſovereign Direction of your Majeſty. God protect the Sacred Royal Perſon of your Majeſty, as we deſire, and is neceſſary for us.

From the Camp of Sarria, *near* Barcelona, October 23, 1705.

At your Majeſty's Feet,

The Junta named by the King our Lord of the Military Army of *Catalonia.*

A Letter to her Majeſty from the City of Vich.

MADAM,

WE ſhould be wanting to the Law of good Vaſſals of our King and natural Lord Don *Carlos* the Third (whom God protect) if we did not return your Royal Majeſty the Thanks due to you (as we do hereby give the ſame) for having favoured him in the Conqueſt of this Principality with the powerful Fleet, governed by the moſt excellent the Earl of *Peterborow*, General by Sea and Land; who, by his great Zeal, Direction, Conſtancy and Valour, maſtering all Difficulties, and overcoming Impoſſibilities, which preſented themſelves in the Enterpriſe, has obtained a glorious Triumph over the Caſtle and Fort of *Montjutch*, and over the City of *Barcelona*, and with it, over the reſt of the Principality: We do therefore repeat to your Majeſty our juſt Acknowledgments, aſſuring your Majeſty, That as this good Fortune fills us with Joy and Acclamation, ſo it does however much afflict us, That the Diſtance between your Court and this City deprives us of the Accompliſhment of our Deſires, which is perſonally to throw ourſelves at the Royal Feet of your Majeſty, as we do by this Letter execute it with cordial Affection, there being none ſo much concerned in this ſingular Enterpriſe as the City and ourſelves. May your Majeſty enjoy repeated Congratulations, ſince it has been your Arms that have placed our Catholic Monarch on the Throne of this Principality. And we hope, That in what he has further to do, for conquering the Monarchy, your Majeſty's Royal Protection will not be wanting to him, whereon we rely for Succeſs. We beſeech God to protect your Majeſty's Perſon, as is neceſſary.

MADAM,

Vich, Oct. 25, 1705.

Your Royal Majeſty's,

Moſt obliged humble Servants,

The Counſellors of the City of *Vich.*

Extract

Extract of the Earl of Peterborow's *Letter to her Majesty, dated at* Barcelona, October 13, 1705.

THE King of *Spain* has very obligingly eased me of the Necessity of giving your Majesty an Account of Particulars. Upon the whole, I believe your Majesty's great Goodness will make you graciously accept of my Endeavours. I shall only say, Madam, My Thoughts and Actions shall never have any other View but your Majesty's Glory, and the Good of my Country.

I would say more to your Majesty of your Officers and Troops, of the great Assistance of the *English* Fleet, of the Courage, Chearfulness, and exact Obedience of your Soldiers, if I did not think their Actions did sufficiently recommend them to your Majesty's good Opinion, and to the World: But I must not omit to let your Majesty know how happy we have been in a perfect Agreement with the Officers of the States-General, of Sea and Land: Nothing has been desired from the *Dutch* Admirals, or offered to the *Dutch* Generals, which has not been complied with, even beyond what could be hoped or reasonably desired.

I do not sollicit your Majesty for the necessary Supports of all Kinds for this happy Beginning; your Majesty, your Allies, and your Parliament, can never abandon a King beginning his Reign with an Action of such Resolution and Courage, nor a whole Province; and your own Troops entirely depending upon your Wisdom and Goodness. We all rest assured of the Care and Protection of the best of Princes; and have nothing to desire so earnestly of Heaven, as the Preservation of your sacred Person, and the long Continuance of a Life of such Consequence to the whole World.

A Catalogue of Books to be sold by Auction near St. *James's*.

1. AN Argument proving the *Cevennois* Rebels. By E— of *N*—.

2. Reasons for banishing all Protestant Dissenters, and for a Comprehension between the Church of *England* and the Church of *Rome*. By Sir *J*— *P*———. In Fol.

3. *Solomon*'s Fool, or the Art of Political Thinking. By Ld. *G*———. In 3 Vol.

4. The fortunate Pimp. A Novel. Dedicated to *H*— *G*——. by Mr. *W*—*t*, Doorkeeper to the Treasury. In large Octavo.

5. The Excelleney of *Vigo* Snuff. By Sir *E*— *S*—. In 3 Vol.

6. An Argument against Periwigs, and the Use, Legality, and Beauty of natural Hair. By *H*— *B*—, Esq; *G*— *D*——, and Sir *M*— *D*—.

7. The great Advantage of early Whoring. By Mrs. *S*— *I*—.

8. A Letter from Hell. By the Lord Chancellor *Jefferys* to Ld. C—B— *W*—, relating to *James Taylor*'s standing in the Pillory. In Quarto.

9. An Encomium on Temporizing, dedicated to *A—— H——*

10. An Hiſtorical Account of the great Actions, Fights at Sea, and wonderful Knowledge of the preſent A———ty. By *G—— C——* Eſqrs; dedicated to *R—— H——*

11. The Method of poiſoning Sailors with bad Proviſions. By *T— C—* and *H— V—* Eſqrs; dedicated to the P———s Council. In 3 Vol.

12. A Dialogue between Ch——r *M———*and L. *N———*, concerning the *Portugal* League. Dedicated to the Parliament.

13. The whole Art of War, of encamping, entrenching, retreating, and running away. By the Baron *D'O———m.* Dedicated to D. *M———*.

14. Of the Legitimacy of the Pr. of *Wales*. By the Lady *T—— B.*

15. The Hiſtory of the ragged Serpent. By *Tho. E——*, Eſq; late Commiſſioner of the Exciſe, and preſent Commiſſioner of the Duties on Salt. 2 vol.

16. The Nature of ſplitting Offices. By the R. H. *J— H———* Dedicated to *Wagadary*. 2 vol.

17. Of Modeſty and Temper of Mind. By the ſame Author.

18. A Diſcourſe of political Divinity. By the Revernd D. *B—h.* Dedicated to the B. of *L—*. 10 Vol. *Folio.*

A Catalogue of Books to be ſold by Auction at the City-Godmother's in *Mincing-Lane*, on the 29th of *May* next, being the Anniverſary of the Reſtoration of Bleſſed Memory.

1. SOAP and Suds: or, The *Æthiopian*'s Addreſs to the Queen of *Sheba*, for a little of her Majeſty's White-Waſh.

2. Fair Play: or the Houſe of Commons vindicated from the Charge of Injuſtice and Tyranny, in refuſing a new Election to the Town of *Maidſtone* in *Kent*, in 240. Written by the Right Honourable *R. H.* Sp——r to the H. and C. and dedicated to the *Kentiſh* Petitioners.

3. The Eagle and Fly; a Fable occaſioned by the H. of C. Order for taking the Obſervator into Cuſtody.

4. Puſs in the Corner: or, The old Game revived. A Comedy, as it was acted in St. *Stephen*'s Chappel by the H. of C. Written by *Heraclitus Ridens*, and dedicated to *Harry St. J——*

5. The Uſefulneſs of *Corinthian* Braſs. By the Right Honourable *J. H.* Eſq; dedicated to the Com——'er of her Majeſty's Houſhold, 10 vol. in *Fol.*

6. The Tale of a Tub: or, The Art and Myſtery of poiſoning Reputations by Impeachments without Proſecution. Dedicated to the Commons.

7. A Pindarick Ode in Praiſe of Darkneſs, clean Straw and Water-gruel. Written for the Uſe of the H. of C. By Mr. *Prior*, at the Deſire of a noble Peer. In *Fol.*

8. The Excellency of Wooden Shoes, Pottage and Fetters: To which is added, the Uſefulneſs of an Inquiſition in *England*, for the better Eſtabliſhment of High-Church. By Sir *H. M.*

9.

9. Of Patience under Sufferings: In 5 Vol. *Octavo.* By *H. St. John*, Esq; occasioned by his losing 500 *l.* on the Lords damning the Occasional Bill.

10. A Hymn to the Praise and Glory of High-Church. By Sir *J. Pack——n.* Dedicated to *Jon. Tr——ny* Bishop of *E——*

11. The Art and Mystery of Gingerbread-making: or, Gingerbread improv'd, by the indefatigable Care and Endeavour of the lower H. of Convocation; together with an Account of their great Zeal for the Church and Religion. By *Heraclitus Ridens.*

12. Passive Obedience kicked to the Devil by the lower H of Con. being an Account of their humble and dutiful Carriage to the Upper H. To which is added, a Comparison between the first Fathers of the Church, and the latter. In a Letter written by Mr. *John Toland* to *Andrew Marvel*, Esq; at his Mansion-house in *Elysium.*

13. *England*'s Glory retrieved: being a congratulatory Poem on the signal Courage and Success of those two great Commanders, the D. of *M.* and Sir *G. R.* Translated from the Original of Monsieur *Poussin*, and dedicated to the Suburbians of *Wapping* and *Hockley in the Hole.* In 24*o.*

14. Sailing Orders; or Battle without Bloodshed: Being Part of some political Maxims written for the Good of Old *England*, and Safety of his Majesty's Subjects. By the E. of *N——*, and containing a full Vindication of Admiral *Grayden*, and Sir *J. Munden.* Dedicated to the Heirs and Executors of Admiral *Bembow*, deceased. In 24*o.*

15. The Art of Secrecy. By her Grace the D. of *M.* dedicated to the Widow and Children of Monsieur *Frenan*, late Governour of *Dunkirk.*

16. Of Humility and Self-denial. In small 12*o.* With a Comparison between *Windsor* Venison and *St. Albans* Mutton. By the same Hand.

17. Bowling and Building, the two great Qualifications of Statesmen: With a Pindarick Ode in Praise of Swearing and Gaming. By his Grace the Duke of *B.* in 4 vol. in *Folio*, large Paper gilt.

12. The Insipidness of old-fashioned Virtues, or the Advantages of being an early Rake. To which is added, by Way of Appendix, the Necessity of occasional Conformity to Whoring and Gaming. By his G. the Duke of *B——d.*

19. The Way to Preferment, being a choice Collection of Ribaldry, Defamation and Scandal, on the Memory of the late K. *William.*

20. Scaramouch, or the Church's Scarecrow. By a Priest of the Order of St. *Alphage.*

21. *Harlequin*, or the Humours of High Church; a Farce, as it was acted with Applause before the University of *Oxon.* By Mr. *Sach——l.*

22. The Church supported, and Piety promoted, by the *Sunday*'s Cavalcade to *Hide Park.* Being an elaborate Piece of the Right H. the Ld *C——y*, and written in his Coach *en passant.*

23. The *Chameleon* to that famous Civilian Dr. *Davenant*, occasioned by his late Essays.

24. Two Treatises; the one of fair Dealing, the other of good Breeding. By Sir *Sim——ll.* Dedicated to Mr. *D. Defoe.*

25. *Roſtrorum Fulcimen*, or ſome new Eſſays for the better Reputation of of the Pulpit and Playhouſe. By *George Powel* Servant to her Majeſty.

26. Good Houſekeeping. By Sir *Sam. D——d.* Dedicated to the Coxcombs that choſe him Lord Mayor. In 24o.

An Account of the Proceedings againſt Dr. *Titus Oates*, at the Quarter-Seſſions held in *Weſtminſter-Hall* on *Thurſday*, *July* the 2*d*, 1702, for ſcandalizing and aſſaulting Mrs. *Eleanor James*; and of his being found guilty, and fined for the ſame. To which is added, Mrs. *James*'s Caſe relating thereto.

ON *Thurſday* laſt, being the 2d Inſtant, *July*; Dr. *Titus Oates*, and Mrs. *Eleanor James* had a Hearing at the Quarter Seſſions held for the City of *Weſtminſter*, relating to an Aſſault that was made by the ſaid *Titus Oates* on the Body of Mrs. *James*: As alſo for ſeveral ſcandalous and reflecting Expreſſions, the Particulars of which were to this Effect, That the Plaintiff Mrs. *James* happening to meet the ſaid *Oates* ſome time ſince in the Court of Requeſts, where only asking him ſome modeſt Queſtions, he was ſo enraged, that in a violent and riotous Manner ſtruck her on the Head with his Cane, putting her in bodily Fear; and not only ſo, but attempted to repeat his Blows a ſecond Time, tho' prevented; after which, her Council having declared the cuſtomary Scandals that the Defendant had been guilty of, as well againſt the Dead as living (beſides the Matter in Queſtion) and of the evil Conſequences that has attended them. Mrs. *James*'s Evidence were called, who made it appear, that *Oates* had aſſaulted her as aforeſaid; has alſo proved the ſaid reflecting Expreſſions, tho' *Oates*'s Council endeavoured to inſinuate that ſhe made the firſt Aſſault, by pulling him by the Sleeve; but it being made appear that her taking him by the Sleeve was done by Way of Admonition, in a friendly Manner, without the leaſt Appearance of Anger; the Court, after ſome Conſideration, gave it in Favour of Mrs. *James*, and thereupon was ordering a conſiderable Fine to be paid by the ſaid *Titus Oates*, for committing the ſaid Aſſault and Scandal: But upon the Doctor's acknowledging the Crime, and promiſing to refrain from ſuch like Scandals for the future, and withal alledging he was above a Thouſand Pounds in Debt, and conſequently uncapable to pay a large Fine, but muſt be obliged to lie in Priſon all his Life for its Payment; and upon his engaging that he would never affront, ſcandalize or aſſault Mrs. *Eleanor James*, or any other Perſon whatſoever in the like Nature any more, he was only fined ſix Marks and diſmiſſed the Court, but not without a ſevere Check for acting ſo irreverently and unbecoming his Profeſſion.

The

The chief Heads of Mrs. *James*'s Caſe, relating to the Occaſion of her differing with *Titus Oates*, as aboveſaid.

MRS. *Eleanor James* having heard the aboveſaid *Oates* ſpeak very diſreſpectfully of K. *Charles* II. and alſo of the Word of God, ſhe was troubled to ſee him wear the canonical Habit, and therefore, meeting him in the Court of Requeſt (as aboveſaid) ſhe asked him why he preſum'd to wear the Robes of the Church, when he knew himſelf an Anabaptiſt? In Anſwer to which he returned her (as a Mark of his Favour) a dreadful Blow on the Head, and had he not been prevented by a Gentleman (ſomething civiler than himſelf) he would have repeated his Strokes; upon which ſhe was pleaſed to petition the Houſe of Lords about it, to this Effect, *viz.*

'I humbly intreat your Lordſhips, for the Love of God, and for the Sake 'of Religion (to which *Oates* is a Scandal) to forbid him wearing the Gown, 'and order his Cane to be burnt, that it may no more be an Inſtrument of Miſ-'chief. And as it is in your Lordſhip's Power to leſſen his Penſion, he having '300 *l. per Annum*; if Part of that was given to poor Miniſters Widows, it 'would glorify God, and bring a Bleſſing on your Lordſhips and the Nation: 'Indeed he was made an Inſtrument to diſcover the Popiſh Plot, and had he 'kept to Truth, he might have done ſome Service; but telling Lies which 'the King knew to be ſuch, made him not believe what might be true, and 'ſo thought his Brother and the Roman Catholicks were injured, ſo that *Oates* 'was an Inſtrument to carry the Plot on under the Pretence of preventing it: 'And this is the Man who ſome has idoliz'd as Saviour of the Nation.

'I wiſh it was ſeriouſly conſidered what great Evils ſuch Scandals do, eſpe-'cially when it happens upon Magiſtrates, to aſperſe them with Popery when 'they are innocent; for by that Notion the Jews deſtroyed Chriſt, pretend-'ing he would bring in the *Romans*, and King *Charles* the firſt fell under that 'malicious Pretence, *&c.* Therefore, ſeeing Lying does ſo much Miſchief, 'it ought to be ſeverely puniſhed.

And in another Paper ſhe ſays thus,

'Is there any Reaſon (quoth ſhe) I ſhould be ſcandalized and abuſed for 'my innocent Intentions and good Endeavours, by *Oates*, that uncircumciſed '*Philiſtian*, whoſe Actions are as black as Hell, one whom Juſtice, for the 'Blackneſs of his Crime, excluded him from the common Benefit of Mankind, 'that his Oath might not be taken in any Court of Juſtice.

'And was it a Crime in me to take him by the Sleeve and ask him a 'Queſtion, when I have taken Kings, Princes and Governours by the Hands. 'Sure he ſhowed himſelf more like a Devil than a Doctor, in endeavouring to 'beat out my Brains with his Cane; therefore I think there's not any Man 'that has any Senſe of God and Goodneſs can be on his Side; for what is 'worſe than a lying Tongue? St. *James* ſays, *It is ſet on Fire of Hell.* And 'Chriſt compares falſe Teachers to devouring Wolves, and Dr. *Oates* is 'known

'known to be such, and why should he wear the Church Livery? I hope all 'good Men will be against it. And as I am innocent of all his Accusations, so 'I desire I may obtain Justice; for all hope now to see Justice appear in her 'perfect Beauty, and that Lying will not be encouraged, nor Perjury rewarded.'

It was signed ELEANOR JAMES.

England's Path to Wealth and Honour; in a Dialogue between an *Englishman* and a *Dutchman*. 1700.

Luke v. 4. *Launch out into the Deep, and let down your Nets for a Draught.*

To the most noble Thomas *Duke of* Leeds, *Marquis of* Carmarthen, *Earl of* Danby, *Viscount* Latimer, *Baron* Osborne *of* Kiveton; *and Knight of the most noble Order of the Garter; Governour of the Royal Fishery of* England.

May it please your Grace,

NO Person having spent more Money and Pains than your Grace to re-establish the Fishery of *England*; I presume to dedicate to you the following Dialogue: Not that I have the Vanity to believe this my poor Mite can make any Addition to your Grace's great Treasure of Knowledge: But as believing the Fact in this little Book contain'd, so true it might safely appear before the best of Judges.

With all Respect I am,

Your Grace's most Humble, most Faithful,
most Obliged and most Obedient Servant,

JAMES PUCKLE.

PREFACE.

THE Highlands of Scotland, Wales, Biscay, Switzerland, *and other Countries, (not worth the conquering) continue still in Possession of their* Aborigines: *Whereas* England *being a Country (as was said of the Tree of Paradise) good for Food, pleasant to the Eyes, and to be desired, hath been possessed by five several Nations, and coveted by many more.*

Yet view its Coasts they'll appear bold, and but thinly inhabited, and the Civil Wars of our Island having occasioned the demolishing its strong Holds, in Case of an Attack how can we be defended against foreign powerful Enemies, but by a naval Power.

Allowing us Masters of more tall Ships than any of our Neighbours, What Security can a numerous Navy afford, if Mariners be wanting?

Whether England *wants Mariners best appears by our turning 'em over from Ship to Ship, by our long, long Embargoes, and yet excessive Charge in Pressing, (and by so many of our Ships being lost, during the late War) for Want of their Complement.*

*Nor can the Number of our Seamen be readily encreased, with establishing a-*Fishery. *For Men of War and Merchantmen spend many Mariners and breed few,*

few, the great and best Nursery for Seamen is the Fishery; *where each Dogger brings up (it may be) six, eight, or ten new Men every Year, and the Fishermen's Business lying where our Ship's Danger lies, makes them know how the Sands shift, where the Rocks and Shelves are, consequently most able Coasters and admirable Pilots.*

Besides by frequent riding out great Storms in small Busses and Doggers, Fishermen become so steeled and habituated to Danger, that in Tempests and Engagements they work Wonders; and the Fish lying upon our own Coasts, the Men we employ to catch them) though out of his Majesty's Pay) will be ever at Hand, and so ready for Service, as to make our watchfullest Enemies despair of surprizing us.

Again, '*A due Care for our Poor is an Act of great civil Prudence and* '*political* **Wisdom, for Poverty in itself is apt to emasculate the Minds of Men, or* '*at least it makes Men tumultuous and unquiet, where there are very many poor;* '*the Rich cannot long or safely continue such; Necessity renders Men of phlegmatick* '*and dull Natures stupid and indisciplinable, and Men of more fiery or active* '*Constitutions, rapacious and desperate.*'

The Poors Rates of England (*besides voluntary Charity*) *amounts to near a Million* per Annum; *by which it is evident, what vast Numbers of Beggars and idle Persons live upon the Publick without Return of Labour for their Bread; now Beggars Children (if not destroyed in the Womb, or at the Birth) being bred up in Want and Laziness, become of unhealthful Bodies, and more than ordinary subject to many loathsome Diseases, whereof Abundance die in their tender Age; and such as attain to riper Years, by idle Habits contracted in their Youths, are rendered for ever unapt and undisposed for Labour, and serve only to stock the Kingdom with Thieves and Beggars: So that without a due Care for Relief of our Poor in a Way of Industry, they'll daily encrease.*

Suppose, to employ our Poor any one Manufacture be encouraged, it may perchance remove the present Trade of one City or County to another, and occasion such Complaints as the Button-Makers (*not long since*) *made against Cloth Buttons, yet leave the Generality of our Poor destitute of a convenient Support and Provision.*

Nay, could we at once encourage every Manufacture in England, *encreasing our Manufacture and not our Food would only lessen the Misery of our present Poor, by sharing it amongst all the People in the Kingdom.*

The most effectual Expedient then to employ our Poor, is to establish a Fishery; which by affording them at once both Food and Employment, would quickly turn the great Burthen of our Nation into an equal Benefit.

Much more might be said to this Purpose; but at present shall only add that within thirty Years past, our active Neighbours the French *have encreased their Navigation to a Proverb. Given* Europe *much disquiet, and cost* England (*in particular*) *abundance of Blood and Treasure. But had not* Englishmen *been guilty of more than* Spanish *sloath in not putting forth their Hands to take that rich blessing, (the Fishery) which Providence by placing upon our Coasts, courts us (as it were) to receive all our Sovereigns (as well as Queen* Elizabeth,) *might have bounded the Numbers of the* French *Fleet, and by the Blessing of God have been*

Pacis Europæ Arbitri, Maris Domini & Vindices.

* L. C. Justice *Hale* in his Discourse touching Provision for the Poor.

A new Dialogue between an Engliſhman *and a* Dutchman.

D. M. GOOD-morrow Friend, what art muſing on?

En. M. Conſidering the Extent of theſe your Dikes, I was thinking what exceſſive Charge and Pains, *Holland*, is yearly at to defend itſelf againſt invading Waves: Whereas the Sea that encircles happy *England* (Barrier like) fenceth it againſt Surprize and Ravages, exempts us from the Charge and Terrour of Garriſons and Fortifications, and (with our floating Caſtles) continues to us that quiet Liberty and Security the reſt of *Europe* more or leſs have loſt.

D. What though *England* be fenced in by the Seas, happier *Holland* hath a mighty Ocean of Wealth to defend it, and Money you know is the Sinews of War.

E. The cold Winds (being moiſtened by the Vapours, or ſoftened by the Warmth of the Sea's Motion before they reach our Iſlands) are leſs fierce, and the Air is far more Mild and Temperate, if not more healthy, than any Part of the Continent under the ſame Climate; ſo that we have no neceſſity for Grotto's in Summer, or Stoves in Winter.

D. In my Opinion, that Country is ſtill happieſt that is ſtored with the richeſt Growths and Products for Trafic and Commerce, and the Air ever beſt were moſt Money is ſtirring; for Poverty and Want will render People unhealthy in all Climates.

E. England abounds with Mines, Rocks, Pits and Quarries of (*a*) Alabaſter, (*b*) Antimony, (*c*) Ardois, (*d*) Black-lead, (*e*) Chalk, (*f*) Cryſtal, (*g*) Tobaccopipe-Clay, (*h*) Coals of divers Sorts, (*i*) Copper, (*k*) Fullers-Earth, (*l*) Freeſtone, (*m*) Iron, (*n*) Lapis Calaminaris to make Braſs, (*o*) Loadſtones, (*p*) Lead, (*q*) Marble, (*r*) Milſtones, (*ſ*) Plaiſter harder than that of Paris, (*t*) Potters-Oar, (*u*) Slate, (*w*) Salt, (*x*) Steel, (*y*) Tin, (*z*) Whetſtones, *&c.*

Upon

(*a*) *Darbyſhire, Nottinghamſhire, Staffordſhire.*
(*b*) *Darbyſhire.*
(*c*) *Cornwall.*
(*d*) *Cumberland.*
(*e*) *Suſſex.*
(*f*) *Darbyſhire.*
(*g*) *Dorſetſhire.*
(*h*) *Carmarthenſhire, Cumberland, Durham, Lancaſhire, Leiceſterſhire, Northumberland, Shropſhire, Staffordſhire, Yorkſhire.*
(*i*) *Cornwall, Cumberland, Darbyſhire, Staffordſhire, Yorkſhire.*
(*k*) *Bedfordſhire, Surry.*
(*l*) *Dorſetſhire.*
(*m*) *Darbyſhire, Durham, Glouceſterſhire, Hampſhire, Shropſhire, Staffordſhire, Warwickſhire.*
(*n*) *Somerſetſhire.*
(*o*) *Devonſhire.*
(*p*) *Cardiganſhire, Carmarthenſhire, Darbyſhire, Devonſhire, Durham, Staffordſhire, Yorkſhire.*
(*q*) *Darbyſhire, Dorſetſhire.*
(*r*) *Angleſey, Cheſhire, Darbyſhire, Flintſhire.*
(*ſ*) *Nottinghamſhire.*
(*t*) *Carmarthenſhire.*
(*u*) *Cornwall.*
(*w*) *Cheſhire, Cumberland, Worceſterſhire.*
(*x*) *Glouceſterſhire.*
(*y*) *Cornwall, Devonſhire.*
(*z*) *Darbyſhire.*

Upon its Coasts are found (*a*) Amber, (*b*) Ambergrease, (*c*) abundance of Copperice Stone, (*d*) Jet, (*e*) Pearls, (*f*) fine Pebbles, transparent like Diamonds; also Flint, Varrack, *&c.* to make Glass: Besides (not to mention the rich Commodities yearly imported from its fruitful Plantations, that are to it as so many Mines of Treasure,) *England* affords Plenty of Corn, Cattle, Fowl, Fruit, Pulse, Leather, Wool, *&c.* Whereas, *Holland* produceth nothing but a few Hops, Madder, Butter and Cheese.

D. The whole Product of your Island is nothing, when compared to the (*g*) golden Mines of our Provinces, which have yielded us more Treasure than the Mines of *Potosi*, or both *Indies* to *Spain*.

E. The Golden Mines of your Provinces; pray where do they lie?

D. In *Neptune*'s Store-pond, which the *English* call their Seas.

E. Our famous *Edgar* with a Navy of four Hundred Sail, vindicated his Dominion on our adjacent Seas, and Records mention his Successor *Canutus* to have laid that ancient Tribute called *Danegelt*, upon all (whether Strangers or *Denizens*) trading on our Coasts or Seas.

Egbert, *Althred* and *Ethelfred*, all stiled themselves supreme Lords and Governours of the Ocean, surrounding the *British* Shore.

King *John* (*h*) challenged the Honour (or rather Duty) of the Flag, universally paid us, not barely as a Civility, but as a Right (*debitâ Reverentiâ*) acknowledging our Title and Dominion.

The famous Record entitled *Pro hominibus Hollandie*, shews how obsequious your Ancestors were, not only in acknowledging (*i*) *Edward* the First's Dominion on the Sea, but craving his Protection and Permission to fish on the Coast of *England:* And had not the Sovereign of the *British* Seas in Fact been in the Crown of *England*, why did the (*k*) Earls of *Holland* petition *Edward* the Third (and the (*l*) *French* our *Henry* the Sixth) for leave to fish therein? And why did your (*m*) Skippers use to purchase License from *Scarborough* Castle, before they presumed to cast a Net upon the North Coasts of *England?* Wherefore did *Philip* the Second of *Spain*, (*n*) obtain License of Queen *Mary* for his Subjects to fish upon the North Coasts of *Ireland* for the Term of Twenty-one Years, for which, was yearly paid One thousand Pounds into the Exchequer of *Ireland* as by the Records appear?

D. A Fig for your mouldy Records: I say the Sea is as free to fish in as——

E. ——As the Roads of *Holland* are to travel in, where both Natives and Foreigners are forced to pay Passage Ghelt.

D. Don't interrupt me Sir; I say, the Sea is as free to fish in as the Air to breathe in, who doubts it, may read our great *Hugo Grotius*'s *Mare liberum*.

(*a*) *Norfolk.*
(*b*) *Cornwall.*
(*c*) *Whitstableshallow.*
(*d*) *Norfolk.*
(*e*) *Cumberland.*
(*f*) *Cornwall, Gloucestershire.*
(*g*) So the *Dutch* in a Proclamation 1624 stiled the fishing Trade;
(*h*) *Anno* 1200.
(*i*) *Anno* 1295.
(*k*) *Rot. Par.* 23. *Ed.* IIst. *memb* 5.
(*l*) *Rot. Par.* 22. *Ed.* IVth. *memb.*
(*m*) *Camden's Brittannia.*
(*n*) 1552.

E. Grotius in his *Sylvæ* upon the Inauguration of King *James* (before he was perverted by the Importunities of his Country Men,) ſpeaking his Thoughts freely ſays,

——Tria Sceptra profundi
In magnum coiere Ducem.

The Rights of the *Engliſh*, *Scottiſh* and *Iriſh* Seas, are united under one Scepter; neither is he ſatisfied with that bare Profeſſion:

Sume Animos à Rege tuo qui dat Jura Mari.

Take Courage from the King that giveth Laws to the Seas.

And in the ſame Book in the Contemplation of ſo great a Power, he concludeth.

Finis hic eſt qui fine caret, &c.

This is an End beyond an End, a Bound that knows no Bounds, which even the Winds and Waves muſt ſubmit to.

And if you remember when King *James* obſerved your Encroachments, he enjoined his Ambaſſador Sir *Dudley Carleton* to expoſtulate it with your States, as may be ſeen in Mr. Secretary's Letter, (*o*) wherein he tells them, 'that unleſs they ſought leave from his Majeſty and acknowledged his Right, as other Princes had done, and did, it might well come to paſs, that they who would needs bear all the World before them by their *Mare Liberum*, might ſoon endanger their having neither *Terram*, *nec Solum*, *nec Rempublicam liberam*:' So much did that wiſe Prince diſdain to be wrangled out of the ancient Rights, and Regalities inherently annexed to his Crown, by the ſubtle Arguments of Wit and Sophiſtry.

D. Don't tell me of King *James*, I ſay, that the Sea is free for every Body, and defy you to ſhow the contrary.

E. Why then do the *Venetians* exerciſe Dominion in the *Adriatick*, and the *Tuſcans* lord it in the *Tyrrhene* Seas? How comes it to paſs that all your Skippers pay Toll to *Denmark* for paſſing the *Sound*, and to *Sweedland* for ſailing in the *Baltick*? Wherefore doth the Republic of *Genoa*, let to Farm the Fiſhery for *Teunies* in their Neighbouring Seas: And the Emperor of *Ruſſia* compel all Fiſhermen, (within his Seas) to pay him Tribute: How is it that the like is done by the Duke of *Medina Sidonia* in *Spain*, and by all the Princes of *Italy* bordering on the Seas? Nay, wherefore do the *Dutch* ſtile themſelves Lords of the ſouthern Seas, and allow far leſs Liberty in *India* than they take upon the *Engliſh* Coaſts.

But to wave this Diſpute: Pray Sir, how many Labourers have you in your golden Mines as you called 'em.

D. Upon taking an Account of the ſeveral Trades and Employments, by which the *Dutch* ſubſiſted, in order to find which beſt deſerved the Protection and Encouragement of the Public, it appeared that in *Anno* 1668. The Subjects of the States General were (*p*) Two Millions, Four Hundred and Fifty Thouſand,

(*o*) 21 *Dec.* 1618.

(*p*) *Pol. Gron. & Maxims Van Holl. p.* 43.

Thouſand, of which (beſides thoſe employed in the inland Fiſhery,) Four Hundred and Fifty Thouſand were then maintained by fiſhing at Sea, and the Trafic depending thereon; ſince which time we have much increaſed the Numbers of our fiſhing Buſſes and Doggers to the great Encouragement of our Navigation, and all Trades depending on the Fiſhery?

E. Which are they?

D. Anchorſmiths, Bakers, Ballaſtmen, Baſket-makers, Blackſmiths, Brewers, Butchers, Carpenters, Caulkers, Clapboard-ſplitters, Compaſs-makers, Coopers, Duck-weavers, Hemp-dreſſers, Hook-makers, Hoop-ſlitters, Joyners, Line-makers, Mariners, Maſt-makers, Net-makers, Net-tanners, Plumbers, Pully-makers, Pump-makers, Rope-makers, Sail-makers, Sawyers, Ship-chandlers, Ship-wrights, Tallow-chandlers, Thread and Twine-ſpinners, *&c.* to the no ſmall Profit of the Makers and Venders of all Materials, Tools and Utenſils belonging to thoſe Trades, and of all Tradeſmen that make or ſell Culinary Wares, Bedding, Cloathing, *&c.* for Mariners; to which may be added, Packers, Tollers, Dreſſers and Couchers to carry, ſort, and make the Herring lawful Merchandize; alſo Porters, Carmen, *&c.* in a Word, you can hardly caſt an Eye upon any Sort or Condition of People, but are the better for our Fiſhery, and the Community moſt of all.

E. Pray where, and at what Times of the Year do you fiſh for Herrings?

D. In the Beginning of *June*, the Herring riſing about two Leagues off *Cranehead* (the outermoſt Part of *Bratio-ſound*,) ſtay there about fourteen Days, thence to *Farry Iſlands* (ſeven Leagues to the Southward of *Shetland*,) round which they remain one and twenty Days, thence to *Buffinneſs*, (about thirty Leagues to the Southward of *Farry Iſland*) the fiſhing Place is called *Buffin-deeps*, and is twenty Leagues to the Northward of the *Firth*, where the Herring abide about fourteen Days, in the fiſhing Ground under *Chivit-hills* and *Chivit-chace* about fourteen Days, thence we follow them to the *Dogger-bank*, where they ſtay about thirty-ſeven Days; about the beginning of *September*, they come into *Yarmouth* Seas, where they continue near ſeventy Days, from whence they fall to the Southward, followed by ſmall Fiſhermen, it being dangerous for Buſſes.

E. What Quantities of Fiſh are yearly taken by the *Dutch*?

D. About (*q*) three hundred thouſands Laſts.

E. This confirms Sir *Walter Raleighs* Obſervations preſented to King *James*, (*r*) and ſhews that the learned Sir *John Burroughs* in his Sovereignty of the *Britiſh* Seas, upon good Grounds affirmed that the Fiſh yearly taken by Strangers upon our Coaſts, did amount to (*ſ*) above ten Millions of Pounds Sterling: But pray Sir, where have you vent for all your Fiſh?

D. At *Artois*, *Brabant*, *Bremen*, *Cleveland*, *Cologne*, *Dantzick*, *Denmark*, *Elbin*, *Embden*, *Flanders*, *France*, *Frankfort*, *Germany*, *Gulickland*, *Hamburgh*, *Hainault*, *Holſtein*, *Italy*, *Liefland*, *Lithuania*, *Lubeck*, *Nerva*, *Norway*, *Poland*, *Pomerland*, *Portugal*, *Pruſſia*, *Quinſbrough*, *Revel*, *Riga*, *Ruſſia*, *Spain*, *Stade*, *Stratten*, *Sweedland*, *&c.*

E. Are you never afraid of glutting the Markets.

(*q*) *L. v. Aitzma. Anno* 1653.
(*r*) *Anno* 1633.
(*ſ*) *Page* 140.

D. No more than we are that People will leave eating, great Part of the trading World being yet unſerved, which is the Reaſon we yearly ſo much increaſe the Number of our Doggers.

E. What Returns are made for your Fiſh?

D Allum, Armour, Baratees and other *Frankfort* Commodities, Brandy, Bullion, Clapboard, Coin, Corn, Copper, Currants and other Grocery Wares, Damaſks, Deal-boards, Dollars, Flax, Fruit, Furs, Fuſtians, Glaſs, Hemp, Honey, Hulſop, Iron, Lace, Linnen, Mill-ſtones, Oil, Pitch, Plate, Pot-aſh, Prunes, Raſhes, Reſin, Sarſenets, Sattins, Silks, Skins, Steel, Tapeſtry, Tar, Timber, Velvets, Wainſcots, Wax, Wines, and other Things in abundance; the exporting of which Commodities again to other Countries, gives our Ships full Employment, ſo that they need not go in Ballaſt to ſeek Freight, but by the Profit of our outward bound Voyages are enabled to ſerve Foreigners ſo cheap, as to render us the common Carriers of the World, conſequently Maſters of the moſt certain Profit in Trade; for when the Ships arrive ſafe in Harbour, though Merchants happen to looſe by their Goods, yet Seamen are paid their full Wages.

Beſides by continual Bartering of ſuch Exports, *Holland* is rendered the mighty Storehouſe, and Empory of all foreign Products and Manufactures, from whoſe infinite Miſcellany of Goods its Inhabitants are compleatly furniſhed with ſuch ſortable Wares, as enables them to Trade from Port to Port without danger of glutting Markets.

And thus as our Fiſhery hath encreaſed our Trade and Navigation; conſtant Employment hath ſtill made Foreigners flock to us in ſuch Numbers, that out of our Multitudes, ſupplying (from time to time) the loſs of ſo many Lives as the Change of Climates, Succeſſes againſt the *Portugueze*, and Victories againſt the *Indians* have coſt us; we have forced Treaties of Commerce, excluſive to all other Nations: built Forts upon Straits and Paſſes that command the Entrances into Places of great Traffick; monopolized all the Spice Trade, and mightily advanced towards engroſſing the whole Commerce of the *Eaſt Indies*.

E. Well may you boaſt that *Amſterdam* is founded upon Herring Bones; and no wonder that notwithſtanding your ſo frequent and chargeable Wars ever ſince your Revolt from *Spain*, there is hardly a Beggar in your Streets.

But if in *Holland*, which contains not above five Millions of Acres, its Bogs and Sandy-Downs excluded.

Holland, where you have no Minerals, and where it is in vain to dig for any thing but Turf and Clay.

Holland, where you have no Tree but what you planted, nor Stone but what you brought thither.

Holland, ſo much lower than the Ebbings of the Tides and Rivers, that at vaſt Expence you are obliged with Mills to drain the very Floods occaſioned by Rain.

Holland, where notwithſtanding your continual Charge (as was ſaid) in repairing Banks and Dykes; frequent Inundations deſtroy Man and Beaſt for ſeveral Miles together, and then vaſt Sums (and whole Years) are ſpent ere the Land can be regained.

Holland, where the east Winds coming to you o'er a mighty length of dry Continent, extream Cold, and long Winters, put you to the Expence of much Fire, Candles, Food and Rayment; and to great Charge and Pains in housing and foddering your Cattle, all which time (living on dry Food) they yield little Milk.

Holland, so exposed to bleak Winds, that blast the Blossoms of its Trees, and Storms that shatter off ere ripe their Fruit.

Holland, where that little arable Land you have, lying generally on sand or light Bottoms, requires much Soil, and where Seed-time is so short, that unless it be exactly nicked no Profit can be reaped; for when the Seed rots in the Ground (as by great Rains it frequently happeneth) the Season is generally past before it can be sown again.

Holland, whose whole Product is scarce sufficient to serve (*t*) one eighth Part of its Inhabitants, consequently the rest are obliged to purchase the so necessary Commodities, Food and Rayment of neighbouring Countries, at the Rates they can get them.

Holland, whose Territories extending upon powerful Neighbours, to defend its Frontiers, and draw out a War in length by Sieges, in order to determine it, by Force of Money rather than of Arms; you are obliged to be at vast Expence in Fortifications and standing Troops, to defend them even in the time of the profoundest Peace, for instance *Anno* 1670. After all Reforms, you had ten Regiments of Horse and Nineteen of Foot, making together twenty-six thousand two hundred Men, the constant Charge of which Forces was 556281*l.* Sterling *per Annum*.

I say, if in *Holland* naturally loaded with these Disadvantages and Misfortunes, and all their ill Consequences; notwithstanding you are (*u*) bridled with hard Laws, terrified with severe Executions, environed with foreign Forces, and oppressed with the most cruel Hardships and Variety of Taxes that were ever known under any Government, your People are become so numerous and wealthy, by fishing upon our northern Coasts.

Did we in *England* diligently apply ourselves to the fishing Trade, what a continual Sea Harvest might we reap whose, Coasts so abound with Cod, Hake, Conger, Whitings, Scate, Sprats, Soals, Oysters, Salmon, Pilchards, Turbets, Thornbacks, Mackerel, Herrings, or Ling all the Year long.

D. Why e'en just such a Sea Harvest as the *Hamburghers* did (who after five or six Years trial to imitate us in the Herring Fishery,) found to their cost we still outdid them, and so we shall you.

E. The Reason why you outdid the *Hamburghers*, was because they were yearly frozen up (*w*) somewhat longer than you, but seeing by that Start you could out strip them, surely we need not fear the Goal; who (besides what has been said,) have in Fishing many more Advantages of you, than ever you had of the *Hamburghers*.

D. The generality of your Countrymen are of another Opinion.

E.

(*t*) *Pol. Gran. & Maxims van Holland, p.* 44.

(*u*) Sir *William Temple*'s Observation on the united Provinces.

(*w*) *Lex. Mercator. Fol.* 171.

E. I am not ignorant what Induſtry has been uſed to poiſon my Countrymen with an Opinion, that none but *Dutchmen* can thrive by fiſhing: But unprejudiced Perſons upon examining the Matter will find,

The *Dutch* have above an hundred Leagues to ſail before they come to the Herring Fiſhery, which is only in the *Britiſh* Seas, and when there, muſt lie at the Mercy of the Winds for Want of a Port to Friend, and in caſe of unloading have as far back again, which takes up a great deal of Time, hinders Buſineſs, and endangers the Loſs of their Markets: Whereas, in *England* we have the Fiſh upon our own Coaſts, ſo near our Shores, that in Caſe of Storms, Unloading, taking in of Proviſions, or the like, it is but four or five Hours Work (commonly not ſo much) to recover an Harbour, and without Loſs of Time put to Sea again; the Work of Unloading, Repacking, and ſending our Fiſh to Market going on in all Weathers.

D. And have not we Dogger Boats to take off our Fiſh at Sea, and refurniſh the Fiſhermen with Caſk, and other Neceſſaries.

E. Yes Sir, and you have the Charge and Riſque of thoſe Dogger Boats too (both which the *Engliſh* ſave) after all if it happens to be a rolling Sea, you muſt lie by and wait for a Calm.

D. What other Advantages can you boaſt?

E. England hath many convenient Tidehaven-Ports, as at *Hull*, *Harwich*, and *Holy* Iſland to the Northward, and *Dover*, *Rye*, *Portſmouth*, *Southampton*, *Cowes*, *Weymouth*, *Dartmouth*, *Catwater*, *Hamoſe*, *Fowey*, *Falmouth*, *Hilford*, *Scilly*, and *Milford Weſtward*, where at low Water all of them are ſmall Chingle or hard Sand; ſo that our Veſſels may eaſily haul a Shoar, and waſh and tallow at Pleaſure; nor are Creeks and commodious Places wanting in *England* to lodge our Buſſes and Doggers ſafe when not employed, ſo as to prevent Wear of Cables, Charge of Watching, Danger of Fire, *&c.*

D. What elſe?

E. The Shores of *England* are bold, its Coaſts high Land, eaſily diſcovered, ſeveral of our Cape-Lands oppoſite to *France* and *Holland*, make Eddy-Bays whoſe Depth of Water is mean as ſix, eight, ten, or twelve Fathom the Tides; on our own Coaſts, are ſmall Anchor hold, generally ſtiff Clay, Chalk or hard Gravel, ſo that we need not dread Winter Storms; beſides the Advantage we have lying in a moderate Climate, and in the very Center of the Trade of *Europe*, affords us opportunity of ſending to foreign Parts, from divers of our Ports at all Seaſons of the Year: Whereas, the Coaſts of *Holland* are extreamly low, ſubject to be Hazy and Foggy, have many Shoals and Sands, ſome of which lie ſo far off at Sea, that frequently Ships are ſtranded before they ſee Land; its Ports are bad, and often choaked up with Quick ſands; its Havens yearly frozen up two or three Months together: And the north-weſt Wind (uſually blowing the greateſt Part of the Year) makes *Holland* a Lee, and *England* a Weather-ſhoar, ſo that oft times, whilſt you are Wind-bound or frozen up at Home, we can ſupply the Markets abroad.

Beſides, wanting Wood at reaſonable Rates, you cannot ſhare with us in the Red-herring Trade.

As for Pilchards, they cannot be well cured unleſs brought freſh on Shore, and being taken on our Coaſts will be ſtale ere they can be carried to yours.

Not

Not to mention our rich *New England* Fishery, our western Ports are incomparably situated for the *Newfoundland* Fishery, and the Country itself belonging to the Crown of *England*, you can have no footing there.

Near the Pile of *Foudray* in *Lancashire*, and in several other Places along the Shores of *Wales*; we can fish even without the Charge of Busses, for by only setting Nets on the Sands at low Water, great Quantities of Herrings are taken next Tide of Ebb.

D. Those Herrings on the Coasts of *Lancashire* (coming newly out of the Ocean) are so fat they will not take Salt kindly, consequently are apt to Reast.

E. We now find by Experience, that fat Herrings being pressed and cured like Pilchards, take Salt kindly, and yield Store of Oil, to the great Encouragement of our Ship-wrights, Curriers, Soap-boilers, *&c.*

D. How chance this Method was not found out sooner?

E. Dies Diem docet; those noble salt Rocks in *Cheshire*, (sufficient to supply all *Europe*) have not been many Years discovered.

Besides, of a Stone abounding in *Shropshire*, much Pitch is now made of so excellent a Nature, Heat only causeth it to penetrate deeper into Plank, and Cold cannot crackle off; both which are Advantages *Holland* cannot pretend to.

D. What more?

E. The Coasts of *Wales* abound with Ash; which as far excels other Wood for drying Herrings, as its Bark doth all others for tanning Nets: Nor do we in *England*, (as you) want Willow Hoops from *Hamburgh*.

D. Notwithstanding all the Advantages you speak of, your chief Fishing Towns, *Yarmouth* and *Layston* are beholden either to us at *Enckhuijsen*, or to the *French* at *Dieppe*, for selling them Nets?

E. Before the late War, they used to buy Sail-Cloath of you too, but that now made at *Fulham*, *&c.* is brought to equal Perfection with your best *Holland* Duck; and as for Nets, the Towns you mention, have these seven Years last past made most they used; and who knows, but that our Artisans (universally allowed the best upon Earth for Improvements) may in a little time as much excel you in these Things, as they out-do the *Germans* in fine Steel Works; which though they first invented, yet we now make and sell to them:

But seeing you talk of being beholden: I think you are beholden to us, for selling you our *Thames* Lamprons wherewith you bait for North Sea Cod, or else you might go——whistle for 'em.

D. Have you any more Advantages of us?

E. I omitted to tell you, that upon Exporting our Fish, we have the Benefit of a considerable Drawback upon Salt.

D. If that were all, rather than suffer that Tide of Wealth that flows in our Fishery to be diverted to another Channel, no doubt but our States will allow the *Dutch* the like Encouragement: But now I find you have told me all your Advantages.

E. Excuse me Sir, *England* affords Timber, Iron and Hemp; whereas, you are forced to purchase those Commodities in foreign Countries.

D. Nevertheless, we have all naval Stores in Barter for Herrings, which costs us little, but the Trouble of Hauling up out of the Sea, which being considered,

conſidered, and how much the catching ſuch Herrings (by employing and encreaſing our Ships and Mariners, adds to the Wealth and Strength of our Country) it conduceth far more to our Advantage, then if *Holland* had naval Stores of its own Product: Whereas, to purchaſe Eaſt Country Wares, the *Engliſh* are yearly forced to export much Coin, to the great exhauſting of their Treaſure.

E. We do not (as you) depend ſolely upon the eaſt Country for naval Stores; no, in Caſe of Exaction or Rupture, we can be ſufficiently ſupplied from our *American* Plantations.

But if a Fiſhery be eſtabliſhed in *England*, what ſhould hinder us from having naval Stores in Exchange for Herrings as well as you?

D. Your white Herrings are not ſo bright and good as ours.

E. Whilſt your Clapboard is floating from *Germany*, the Rhine draws out its Sap, and if we alſo ſoak the corroſive Sap out of our Clapboard, which now diſcolours and preys upon our Fiſh, and like you, gip and ſalt the Herrings as ſoon as taken, they will be every whit as bright, and good as yours.

D. We build cheaper in *Holland* than you do in *England*, and ſail our Veſſels with fewer Hands.

E. Our Ships are much ſtronger and abler to brook the Seas than yours, and will laſt twice as long; and as to your ſailing with fewer Hands, we envy not your Happineſs, whilſt (in Proportion to your Tonnage and Number of Mariners) you yearly looſe (by ſlight building and undermanning) far more Ships and Men's Lives than we; for which Reaſon, in above three Parts of the World, our Ships yield better Freight; where then lies the Odds? Which were there any, could be only in Merchantmen to carry our Fiſh to Market; Buſſes and Fiſher Boats carry more Men to catch Fiſh than are needful to ſail them: And in the *Greenland* Trade, each Ship muſt have three times the Crew that can navigate her, to Man their Shallops when a fiſhing, were not this true ſince in building, *Engliſh* Shipwrights know no Maſters, ſurely we might eaſily cauſe our Ships to be built and manned after your Mode.

But ſuppoſing your Aſſertion true, if as all Ships that carry Corn to *Venice*, are permitted to load Currants at *Zant*; ſo all Bottoms which exported *Engliſh* caught Fiſh, might be allowed to return with a loading of naval Stores, without paying Aliens Duty: That would ſet us upon even Ground with you, as to the Buſineſs of our Fiſhery.

D. Two thouſand five hundred Perſons are hardly able in a whole Year, to make a Fleet of Nets for five hundred Buſſes: Now *England*'s many Waſtes and unimproved Lands, ſhews its not half peopled, and of thoſe in it,

Conſider.

How many Women and Children do juſt nothing, only learn to ſpend what others get.

How many are meer Voluptuaries, and as it were Gameſters by Trade.

How many live by puzzling poor People with unintelligible Notions.

How many by perſuading credulous, delicate and litigious Perſons, that their Bodies or Eſtates are out of tune or in danger.

How many by Trades of meer Pleaſure or Ornament.

How many by fighting as Soldiers.

How

How many by Myſteries of Vice and Sin, or in a lazy Way of Attendance upon others, where then can you hope to find Hands to carry on your Fiſhery?

E. In *England* we have Numbers of *French* Proteſtants who fled from *Dieppe* and the Coaſts of *Normandy*, *&c.* (bred to the Buſineſs of the Fiſhery from their Cradles) that (if ſettled in our decayed fiſhing Towns) would as certainly make them flouriſh as the *Walloon* and *Burgundean* Refugees planted by Queen *Elizabeth* (z) at *Norwich*, *Canterbury* and *Colcheſter* (then ſo poor Cities) to ſuch great Trade, Riches and Plenty.

In *England* we have no ſumptuary Laws; ſo that Mercers not foreknowing Faſhions, dare not lay out their Stocks till the *Spring*, at which time their ſudden great Demands render Journeymen ſcarce, and oblige Weavers to draw in Numbers of Apprentices, who in few Months ſupply the Trade of the Nation: when being turned off, many (like the Inhabitants of the *Bath*, *Epſom*, *Tunbridge*, *&c.* who live by exacting on Strangers in *Summer*) are ready to ſtarve for Want of Employment before the next *Spring*.

Were a national Fiſhery eſtabliſhed in *England*, our Gentry by cauſing their Footmen and Servants to riſe early and employ their idle Hours in making Nets, might not only reap the Profit of their Work, but by accuſtoming them to Buſineſs in their Youths, beget in them ſuch induſtrious Diſpoſitions as would prevent (what now too frequently happens) their becoming Beggars, or worſe in old Age.

The time of labouring, and induſtrious People well-employ'd, is the beſt Commodity of any Country; and were a Fiſhery eſtabliſhed in *England*, how advantageous would it be to the Publick: when all our disbanded Soldiers, poor Priſoners, Widows and Orphans, all poor Tradeſmen, Artificers, and Labourers, their Wives, Children and Servants, each vacant Interval may be getting a Penny by braiding and beeting of Nets, *&c.*

The far greateſt Part of *England*'s Droans are neither ſo young, nor yet ſo old or decrepid but that they may either turn Wheels, ſpin Twine, braid or beet Nets, cut Corks, caſt Leads, make Herring-Spits, Norſels, Swills, or Baskets, gip, ſpit, ſalt, hang or pack Herrings, or at leaſt tend Fires to ſmoak or dry them, pick Oakum, or the like; and as a conſtant Employment of our Poor will be a continual Eaſe and Comfort to them, by amuſing and diverting them from thinking of their Poverty or other Miſery, ſo will it alleviate the Nation's Burden, and in ſome Meaſure be a re-peopling of us too, by adding ſo many loſt Hands to the Service of the Publick.

D. But ſtill you want Mariners; whereas Sailors in *Holland* are as common as Beggars in *England*.

E. It is owned our Want of Mariners enough at once to man our Navy, and Colliery coſt *London* and the Dependancies upon the River of *Thames*, (during the late War) above ſeven hundred thouſand Pounds, only in the Price of Coals; by which may be gueſſed, how detrimental it was to the Trade of our Nation in general.

But the more we want Mariners, the greater Reaſon we have to eſtabliſh a Fiſhery which (as is ſhewn in the Preface) is the beſt Way to encreaſe their Number.

(z) 1568.

The many Thouſands *Engliſh*, *Scotch* and *Iriſh* Mariners, who now yearly fiſh for you, would hardly ſeek Work abroad, if a Fiſhery afforded them full Employment at home, and 'tis odds but a finer Country, cheaper and better Food and Raiment, wholeſomer Air, eaſier Rents and Taxes, will tempt many of your Countrymen to croſs the Herring-Pond.

Since the Peace is concluded, and our great Ships laid up, we have Mariners enough to begin a Fiſhery, and as that goes forwards it will proportionably encreaſe their Numbers.

D. Fiſhing is a Work for which the *Engliſh* are unfit, and requires ſuch ſkilful, induſtrious and robuſt Seamen as no Country breeds but *Holland.*

E. Your learned *Keckerman* ſays, *Omnibus hodiè Gentibus, navigandi, Induſtriâ & Peritiâ ſuperiores eſſe Anglos.*

'Tis certain, our Mariners do as cheerfully undergo Hardſhips, and are as bold in Danger as any, and for hard Labour, the working of a Mine is incomparably harder than that of a Buſs. No Country but *Great-Britain* can boaſt, that after twelve Hours hard Work, its Natives will, in the Evening, go to Foot-Ball, Stool-Ball, Cricket, Priſon-baſe, Wreſtling, Cudgel-playing, or ſome ſuch vehement Exerciſe for their Recreations; and as for their Genius, it is remarkable, that ſuch Lads and Country-Fellows as at *Yarmouth*, *Layſtoffe*, &c. are once hired into the Fiſhing Trade, and come to feed on the Fiſh they catch, it improves them at ſuch a rate, that of pitiful Weaklings at Land, they become healthful, ſtout and hardy Perſons, and upon Trial find it ſo much to their liking, that not one in twenty but take to the Sea for good and all.

D. Engliſhmen are dainty chap'd, and when a fiſhing cannot fare like ours.

E. It is certain, they need not for Meat and Drink in *Ireland*, and in many Parts of *England* are above as cheap again as in *Holland*, which produceth no other Proviſions, for Traffick, than Butter and Cheeſe, and thoſe too are cheaper with us than with you: Beſides it is obſerved, that whatever *Dutch* Fiſhermen ſave by eating of *Grout*, they drink more than ours in Brandy.

D. The Act of the 18. *Car.* II. prohibits the Importation of *Iriſh* Cattle, to keep up Rents: Now catching much Fiſh (by hindering the Conſumption of Fleſh) will make Lands fall.

E. Doubtleſs Plenty of Food is a great Bleſſing of God, and no good *Engliſhman* will deſire to grow rich by a Famine.

It is generally the landed Men bear the Burden of the Poor, without finding them work they muſt maintain them idle: where the Poor's Rates are high, Lands will fall, and Rents be ill paid.

The cheaper Proviſions are, the leſs Taxes will ſerve in Time of War, Houſekeeping will be leſs chargeable, and a leſs Rate maintain our Poor: But where Proviſions are dear, Work and Wages will riſe in Proportion to the great Detriment of Huſbandry, and ſtop to Improvements; which (*pro tanto*) will fall Rents and raiſe all Manufactures, yet leſſen their Conſumption both at home and abroad, and neceſſitate Maſters for Want of Vent, by turning off their Journeymen, to make whole Families of Beggars at once.

Catching much Fiſh will morally ſpeaking, render *England* leſs ſubject to Famine, which generally exhauſteth more of our Wealth in one Year than War doth in two.

Catching

Catching much Fiſh will give work to many Thouſands of both Sexes that now are cloathed in Rags, and through Poverty live only on Bread, Water, Pulſe, Roots, and the like, who when they come to have the Rewards of their Labours in their Hands, will encourage the Woollen Manufacture, by buying new Cloaths; and our Farmers, by a greater Conſumption of the Product of the Earth, by drinking ſtrong Beer, will advance the King's Exciſe, by encreaſing the Number of Tenants, raiſe our Rents, yet leſſen our Poor's Rate and Taxes, by helping to pay them.

Catching much Fiſh will occaſion the Expence of much Butter, and make our Farmers run much upon Dairies, the Buſineſs whereof though performed by Women, turn to as good Account as the hardeſt Labour the Huſbandman can employ his Time in: Put the Caſe, the Market ſhould be overſtock'd at home, *Engliſh* Butter is too good a Commodity in *Flanders*, *France*, *Spain*, *Portugal*, *&c.* ever to want Vent abroad.

The Cheaper our Proviſions are, the more Navigation will be encouraged, more foreign Ships will victual with us; fewer of ours in *Ireland*, and the more Beef, Pork, *&c.* ſhall we export to *Barbadoes*, *Jamaica*, &c. ſo that ſuppoſing Meat ſhould not always remain at a very exceſſive Rate, yet where a greater Conſumption cauſeth a quick Market, though at a middling Price; if the Proverb be true, light Gains will make a heavy Purſe.

It is cheap Proviſions that enables the *Indians* to ſupplant the *Europeans* in their Manufactures; and ſhould a Fiſhery make Proviſions in *England* but one tenth Part cheaper, Wages would fall in Proportion, and our Artiſts grow never the poorer, yet our Merchants be enabled (by underſelling) to beat all the reſt of *Europe* out of the Woollen Trade, and then our Farmers would gain far more by the Riſe of the Fleece than they would loſe by the Fall of the Fleſh.

After all, the Profit of Land in *England* doth not wholly conſiſt in breeding; abate in grazing, and plough up more Paſture, and Fleſh will hold its Price.

D. Corn is ſo cheap in *England* your Farmers are often broke by it, what then could you do with greater Quantities?

E. The Reaſon why Farmers ſometimes wans Vent for their Grain, is becauſe we have not always Store, and therefore Merchants make no Proviſion for the Trade. But if we yearly ſow ſuch Quantities of Corn beyond the Expence of the Nation, as Merchants may be no leſs certain of a conſtant Supply here than they are in the Sound (where the Country depends as much upon their Harveſt, as *France* does on its Vintages) Plenty would ſoon create a Trade, and the Advantage of *England*'s lying ſo much nearer than *Dantzick* to the Places where foreign Corn is exported, together with the Allowance granted by the 25 *Car.* II. upon the exporting thereof, will ſufficiently encourage Merchants to deal therein.

Moſt of our Ships are now ſent light to *Bilboa* and *Lisbon* (now what loads our Ships helps our Navigation) and our Exports to *Lisbon* not anſwering our Imports from thence, the more we ſend them in Corn, the leſs their Wins will coſt the Nation in ready Money, or Bills of Exchange which is all one.

Gold and Silver Mines *England* hath none, and in Times of Peace no Way to get Bullion, but by foreign Traffick; to which nothing can more conduce than cheap fiſhing, and cheap working and manufacturing the Commodities, which compoſe the Exports of our Kingdom, and that is, not to be effected except Labour be cheap, which it can never be where Proviſions are dear: but the cheaper our Proviſions are, the cheaper our Exports may be afforded, conſequently the more Vent we ſhall have for them, and much Vent will cauſe many Workmen, and when the Wheel is ſet a going, Trade begets Trade, as Fire begets Fire; and the more Trade encreaſeth, the more will induſtrious People from all Parts flock to us and tenant our Houſes, encloſe our Waſtes, improve our Lands, encreaſe our Manufactures, and enlarge our Products, far beyond the whole Expence of our Nation, and thereby in Proportion add to its Wealth and Treaſure, for Merchants exporting the Surplus, will in Returns bring back Gold, Silver, and other valuable Commodities, which in *England* that hath Property by Succeſſion of Contracts, will diffuſe among its Inhabitants, and thus as the Number of Perſons made rich by their Labour and Induſtry encreaſe, and the Choice of Tenants and Chapmen are enlarged, a Kind of Competition amongſt them muſt and will make Rents and Lands advance in Proportion: Witneſs *Holland*, and ſuch of our Lands as lie near great and populous Corporations. So true it is, That Trade and Lands are Twins, that always wax and wain together.

D. Notwithſtanding what has been ſaid, I adviſe all your Countrymen not to be concerned in a Fiſhery, for in *Holland* we have Money at three, whereas the Trade of *England* is burthened with Six *per Cent.* Intereſt, conſequently you can never keep Pace with us.

E. Why do you not, (for the ſame Reaſon) adviſe us to forbear trading to the *Eaſt-Indies*, *Turkey*, *Spain*, *France*, *Italy*, *Portugal*, &c. nay, to quit all Navigation, and abandon ourſelves to the next Comers. Was it not the fiſhing Trade gave Riſe to all your Wealth, and as Money grew plentiful in *Holland*, did not Lands riſe gradually to near forty Years Purchaſe, and Intereſt fall by Degrees from eight to three *per Cent?* Why then may not we expect that a Fiſhery will do the ſame in *England*, and be a Means to regain our *Muſcovy*, *Greenland*, *Norway*, and *Eaſt* Country Trades? For, ſtill as Trade by encreaſing of Wealth cauſeth an Abatement of Intereſt, will yet cauſe a further Encreaſe of Trade.

D. The *Dutch* are already ſettled in the fiſhing Trade.

E. Stately *Genoa*, that once employed forty thouſand Hands in the Silken Manufacture, declines now as faſt, as her formerly neglected Neighbour *Leghorn* riſeth: And if the *French* King continues to court all the World with popular Immunities, *Leghorn* (in time) muſt give place to her Siſter *Marſeilles.*

The King of *Portugal* having diſcovered the Paſſage to the *Eaſt-Indies* (*a*), by the *Cape of Good-Hope*, and ſo diverted the Courſe of Trade driven by the *Venetians*, from *Alexandria*, and the *Red Sea* to his Port of *Lisbon*; kept Factors at *Antwerp* to vend there his *Indian* Commodities; which drew ſeveral Merchants from diverſe Parts to reſide there, and made that pleaſant ſeated City the

(*a*) *Anno* 1500.

the Pack-houſe of *Europe:* But when the *Dutch* (*b*) alſo found the Way to the *Indies*, and began to rival *Portugal* in that Trade, Merchants reſolving not to loſe the Advantage of their Skill in *Indian* Commodities by removing to *Amſterdam*, improved their own Eſtates but ruined *Antwerp*.

Trade like the Sea, its Element often ebbs and flows from one Place to another; not many Years ſince, we imported Silk Stockings from the *Levant*: But now the Tide is turned, and we ſend them thither.

D. Projects in *England* have of late proved very unſucceſsful.

E. What though ſome Men have run upon wild Notions, and catching at Shadows loſt their Subſtance, that's no Objection againſt our Fiſhery, which is a Certainty; for the Sea yields her Fiſh, as well as the Earth her Fruit in due Seaſon: and *Neptune* hath been far more bountiful to you than *Ceres*.

D. Have you drawn up a Method for Employing the Poor of *England* in a national Fiſhery?

E. I have attempted it, but find the well contriving the Buſineſs requires far better Heads than mine.

D. However, let's ſee your Eſſay?

E. Here it is, Sir, and may receive Alterations and Additions upon Conſideration.

THE PROPOSAL.

1. THAT towards raiſing a Joint Stock for employing the Poor in a National Fiſhery, a Million be ſubſcribed.

2. That the Money ſubſcribed be called Stock, and be aſſignable.

3. That every Subſcriber, at the Time of ſuch their Subſcriptions, pay to ——— One full fourth Part of his, her or their reſpective Subſcriptions; and in Default of ſuch Payment every Subſcription to be utterly void and null.

4. That the Reſidue of the ſaid Subſcriptions be paid by ſuch Proportions, and at ſuch Days and Times, as by a general Court of the ſaid Subſcribers, ſhall from time to time be appointed: And in Default of ſuch Payment, that then the fourth Part firſt paid, as aforeſaid, be forfeited to the Uſe of the Corporation, herein after mentioned, their Succeſſors and Aſſigns.

5. That the Subſcribers be incorporated by Act of Parliament (by the Name of the Corporation for employing the Poor of *England* in a national Fiſhery) with perpetual Succeſſion.

6. That at a General Court to be held for the ſaid Corporation, thirty be choſen out of the ſaid Subſcribers, by Plurality of Votes, and preſented to the Parliament.

7. That out of the ſaid thirty, ten be nominated Fathers of the Poor, and Directors of the national Fiſhery, by both Houſes of Parliament, approved by his Majeſty, and accountable to them for their Truſt.

8. That in Caſe of Vacancy (by the Death, or Miſdemeanor) of any one of the ſaid Fathers of the Poor (during Seſſions of Parliament) the ſaid Corporation to preſent three, out of which His Majeſty and Parliament to nominate one as before, and ſo *toties quoties*. But in Caſe the Parliament ſhall not then be ſitting, that ſuch Vacancies be filled up by the Majority of the ſurviving Fathers

(*b*) *Anno* 1602.

Fathers until next Seſſion of Parliament; and then the Corporation to preſent, and the King and Parliament to approve, as before.

9. That ſuch Fathers be impowered to conſtitute, under the Seal of the ſaid Corporation, a ſufficient Number of Deputies in each County in *England*; and that ſuch Deputies be, and be called, the Stewards of the Poor.

10. That the ſaid Fathers and ſuch Stewards of the Poor be exempted from all Pariſh Offices.

11. That the ſaid Fathers, and ſuch their Stewards be veſted with all Authority now in Juſtices of the Peace; and that all Pariſh Officers be ſubordinate and accountable to the ſaid Fathers, and ſuch their Stewards, in all Things (only) relating to employing the Poor.

12. That the ſaid Fathers and Stewards have Freedom to ſet the Poor on Work, about ſuch of the ſaid Trades relating to the Fiſhery as they ſhall think fit, with a *non obſtante* to all Patents that have been, or ſhall be granted.

13. That to prevent People from being oppreſſed and ground to Poverty by Pawnbrokers that ſkrew out of them 40 or 50 *per Cent.*; the ſaid Fathers may be allowed to erect Lumber-Offices in every City and Town in *England*, excluſive of all others, upon Condition they take not above —— *per Cent. per Annum.*

14. That in all Churches, (as in *Holland*) at every ſolemn Aſſembly, the Churchwardens with a long Staff, Bag and Bell, during the Sermon, receive the charitable Benevolence of the whole Congregation, and pay the ſame to the ſaid Fathers, who ſhall cauſe a true Account to be kept thereof, and apply it to the erecting Hoſpitals in *London* and other great Cities, wherein poor Women near the time of their Travel may be received and carefully delivered, and remain 'till they are in a Condition to return home and follow their Work: And if at the Year's End, any Overplus of ſuch Collections remain, that the ſame be yearly applied for marrying poor Maids.

15. That until the Buſineſs of the Fiſhery be ſufficient alone to give Employment to all our Poor, (or at leaſt during ten Years next after the eſtabliſhing a national Fiſhery) the ſaid Fathers and Stewards of the Poor may be empowered to employ ſuch of them as they ſhall think fit, in erecting Free-Schools, Hoſpitals, Workhouſes and Warehouſes, for the Corporation, in making Encloſures, in repairing Sea-Banks, draining Fens, cleanſing and deepening Rivers and Havens, in building and repairing Churches, Bridges and Cauſeways, in mending Roads, in planting Oaks near navigable Rivers, and Fruit-Trees, in Inland Countries, alſo in cleanſing of Streets, Common-Shores, and the like.

16. That the ſaid Fathers of the Poor be empowered to ſend ſuch refractory Poor as they ſhall hink fit, to ſerve in his Majeſty's Plantations, taking Security for their comfortable Maintenance during their Service, and for their Freedom afterwards.

17. That all the Poor's Rates in *England* be collected as formerly, by the Churchwardens of each Pariſh, and by them quarterly paid into the Treaſury of the ſaid Corporation, as a Recompence for their providing for the Poor, and freeing the Nation from Beggars.

18.

18. That the Million ſubſcribed be always kept entire, as a Security to indemnify the Nation againſt the Charge of the Poor; and the Income and Profits be only divided amongſt the Subſcribers.

19. That the Treaſure of the ſaid Corporation be accounted as ſacred, and that it be Felony to imbezzle, lend, convert, or apply the ſame to any other Uſe, than maintaining the Poor, or carrying on the Buſineſs of the Fiſhery.

20. That the ſaid Fathers may buy up, when cheap, a certain Quantity of Corn, Coals, *&c.* yearly, and lodge the ſame in their Granaries, for the Uſe of the Poor, but not make Merchandize of them, or ſell them again in *England.*

21. That the Stock in the ſaid Fiſhery be not chargeable with any Rates, Duties, or Impoſitions whatſoever.

22. That Debts due to the Fiſhery for Goods by them, *bona Fide* ſold and delivered, take Preference of all others, except thoſe due to the King.

23. That all Perſons may fiſh as formerly, and ſell what they catch in *England*, but none export any Fiſh but the national Fiſhery without paying them ——— *per Cent.*

24. That the ſaid Fathers and Stewards be impowered to bind ſuch ſingle Perſons to the Company as the Church-wardens and Overſeers of the Poor by the Statutes of 43 *Eliz.* 2. 1 *Jac.* 25. 21 *Jac.* 28. and the 3 *Car.* 4. are empowered to put out Apprentices, the Boys to ſerve till twenty-four, and the Girls till twenty-one Years of Age; at one of the two and thirty Trades more immediately relating to the Fiſhery.

The Companies Intereſt will oblige them to provide the beſt and ſobereſt Maſters.

How to prevent their Deſertion can be ſhown beyond Objection.

The Boys being in the Fiſhing Seaſon employed at Sea, and working at other Times at that Trade relating to the Fiſhery to which they were bound, when their Time is out, will be able to get their Livelihoods either at Sea or Land; and if to render them more capable of ſerving their Country, the ſaid Fathers or Stewards (at four o' Clock each *Saturday* in the Afternoon) ſhould cauſe them when (on ſhore) to muſter, and exerciſe although only with Staves,) and for Diverſion to play at Cudgels, or fence, and reward the Conqueror with Liberty of wearing a ſmall Ribbon, whoſe diſtinguiſhing Colour of Red, Blue, *&c.* ſhould entitle them to be called Captains, Lieutenants, *&c.* by the reſt of their Fellows, till next Week's Trial of Skill: How ſoon would Emulation beget Addreſs? And what a Treaſure and Strength to *England* would ſuch a Sea-Militia be, always ready for Service both by Sea and Land, and yet no Charge to the Nation till actually in it?

That his Majeſty may be addreſſed to grant Leaſes to the ſaid national Fiſhery, of all Waſtes and derelict Lands to be by them uſed in building Warehouſes, curing Fiſh, ſpinning Twine, and drying and beeting their Nets and the like; and alſo to be by them diſtributed amongſt ſuch of their Apprentices, their Heirs and Aſſigns as ſhall have faithfully ſerved them eight or more Years, not more than five Acres a piece.

D.

D. Upon the whole, I confeſs, that *England* may out-fiſh us, but then you muſt have nothing to do with Companies, only make it every particular Man's Intereſt, and they'll ſoon make it their Buſineſs.

E. It is dangerous taking a Rival's Advice, and well known why Fiſh was ſo cheap this Year in *Spain*, *Portugal*, *Italy*, and other *Engliſh* Markets; yet ſold ſo well in the *Eaſt* Countries.

Glutting Markets may ruin particular Men, but it is far more difficult to put Tricks upon Companies.

D. After all, where can you find a Set of honeſt Men to carry on a national Fiſhery in *England?*

E. In *Amſterdam* you have your Church-wardens, Directors of *Bethlehem*, of your Raſp-houſe, of your Spin-houſe, *&c.* Commiſſioners for your ſmall Differences, and thoſe of your *Levant* Trade, your Sea-Affairs, *&c.* alſo your Vroed ſchap, your Schepens, and your Burgo-Maſters, which are Places of far more Trouble than Profit, yet (being the uſual Steps to Preferment) are generally (like that of Common-Council-men in *London*) officiated without Reproach. Not for that the *Dutch* are honeſter Men than their Neighbours, but becauſe ſuch as are found tardy in thoſe Employments are barred all future Hopes of Advancement. And ſhould our Parliament addreſs his Majeſty to prefer in the Cuſtom-houſe, Exciſe, *&c.* ſuch as behaved themſelves well in the Fiſhery, and make Breach of Truſt therein, to incapacitate Men from ſerving the Government in any Employment, Military or Civil, for..... Years (how ſmall Wages ſoever the Corporation allowed,) the Company would never want Servants that, voluntier like, would vie with each other, who ſhould beſt ſerve their Country by moſt promoting its Fiſhery.

D. An honeſt Man is a Citizen of the World. Gain equalizeth all Places to me. And when you ſettle a Fiſhery upon better Terms than ours (as my Grandfather left *Antwerp* when its Trade began to decay, and removed to *Amſterdam*) I'll bid adieu to *t'Vaderlandt* and remove to *London* in the *Interim*: Farewell.

CONCLUSION.

SEEING in the Preamble of an Act paſſed in the 14 *Car.* 2. It is declared, *That the publick Honour, Wealth and Safety of this Realm, as well in the Maintenance and Support of Navigation as in many other Reſpects, doth in an high Degree depend upon the Improvement and Encouragement of the Fiſhery.*

And ſeeing the Way to all this Honour, Wealth and Safety is ſo plain and eaſy, that by only a frugal and induſtrious Management of Affairs (without quarrelling with our Neighbours,) we may quickly become ſole Maſters of the fiſhing Trade.

For Shame let not *Engliſhmen* longer ſay, with *Solomon*'s Sloathful, * *There is a Lion in the Way.*

* Prov. xxvi. 13.

AN

INDEX

TO THE

TWO COLLECTIONS of Scarce TRACTS.

NB. *The Reader is desired to observe, that some of the Folio's being, by Mistake, printed twice over, those that are wrong are included in Brackets thus,* [ ].

First Collection.

A — Vol. Pag.

ABARIS, Story of his riding thro' the Air upon an Arrow iii 146
— his Visit to *Phalaris* in *Sicily* — 160-1
— came into *Greece* 563 Years before CHRIST — — — 165
Abbey Lands, a good Security against Popery — — — i 98
— not lawful to possess, according to the Council of *Trent* — iv 225
— a great Part of still possess'd by Papists — 226
— but can't be confirm'd to them by the Pope, nor alienated by him — 227
— Opinions of the Popes *Damasus* and *Julius*, upon the same — *ib*
— no Bull granted by Pope *Paul* for that Purpose — — — 228
— when alienated by the Pope, were transferr'd to other religious Uses *ib*, &
— Possessors of, excluded from the Pope's general Absolution on *Good-Friday* — — 229 1
— Anathema denounced against those who detain them — — *ib*
— Papists who hold them guilty of Sacrilege — — *ib*
— are secured by the Pope to the present Possessors — iii 293
Abdication, a strange and mysterious Word, when first made use of — 470
— interpreted by Mr *Somers* and Serjeant *Holt* — — 589
Abscission of Members from Parliament rarely practised — — i 12
Absolution, horribly abused — — iii 382
Abusers of Princes, who — i 127
Academy, one proposed for the Sea iv [257]
Account of the Proposals made to the King by the Archbishop and Bishops 289
— of the Ships annually employ'd by the Queen and the *Dutch* ii 186
Accountants (in the *Exchequer*) Difficulties of, in passing their Accounts 56
Accounts, passing of by Privy Seal, censured — — — 57
Acolothi, an Order in the *Romish* Church iii 367

Acqui-

Second Collection.

A — Vol. Pag.

A *Facto ad Jus*, no good Argument ii 463
A verbo Regis in Criminibus & *Pœnis non est recedendum* — — 456
Abdication, a hard unintelligible Word iv 54
— its natural Import — — 252
— vacates the executive Power of the Law — — iii 445
Abhorrors, a List of — — 326
— and Addressors, a Letter to 327
— an Answer thereto — — 330
Aborigines still continue in Possession of their Countries — — — iv 422
Abraham, his Peregrinations — i 244
— Children of, their Settlements 245
— Latitude and Longitude of those Countries — — — *ib*
Absenters in *Ireland*, their Shops and Houses plunder'd — — iv 18
— an Act passes for seizing their Estates — — — 33
Absolution (the Pope's) Form of — i 90
Accident, with regard to Matter, Meaning of — — — iii 416
Account of the Forces in the Service of K. *James* and K. *William* — iv 59
— of some Transactions in *Scotland* concerning the E. of *Broadalbin*, &c. 88
— of the Acres and Houses, with the proportional Tax, &c. of each County in *England* and *Wales* — 80
Achilles, his Character an Abstract of Imperfections and Defaults 152
Act of Toleration for Dissenters, too much limited — — 74
— of Settlement, an additional Injury to K. *James* — — 252
— of K. *Charles* II. in relation to Petitions — — — 357-8
Action, preferable to Oratory and Painting — — — i 177
— has Power to new mould the Hearts of the Spectators — — 178
— in *Greece* permitted only to young Noblemen — — 181
— Usefulness of in civilizing the People — — — 182

A — also

	Vol.	Pag.
Acquiescence with the Parliament, the best way to a happy Issue —	i	168
Act prohibiting the Importation of *Irish* Cattle, how carried — —		68
— against seditious Conventicles, ill Effects of — —		169
— for farther Limitation of the Crown, by whom made —	ii	568
Acts, Draughts of, concerning Proceedings at Law, printed by order of Parliament, 1653 —	i	497
— Cause of their not passing into Laws — — —		*ib*
— List of the Committee who drew them up —		*ib*
— Draught of one for taking away Fines on Bills, Declarations, *&c.*		499
— touching Marriages, Births, Burials		*ib*
— against customary Oaths —		502
— for taking away Common Recoveries — —		*ib*
— for ascertaining arbitrary Fines upon Descent and Alienation of Copyhold Lands — —		504
— for more speedy Recovery of Rents		505
— for regulating of Pleaders, and their Fees — —		*ib*
— for more speedy Recovery of Debts and Damages not above 4*l.* —		*ib*
— for the Prevention of fraudulent Contracts and Conveyances —		508
— against the Sale of Offices —		*ib*
— for Recovery of Debts owing by Corporations —		509
— against Challenges, Duels, *&c.*		510
— to make Debts assignable —		511
— to prevent Solicitation of Judges, Bribery, Extortion, *&c.* —		*ib*
— for putting in Execution the Laws against Drunkenness, prophane Cursing, *&c.* — —		513
— for Country Registers, Wills, Administrations, *&c.* with a Table of Fees — —		514
— touching the Chancery, its Officers, Process, Suitors, *&c.* with a Table of Fees — —		528
— touching Common Law, and Country Judicatures, with a Table of Fees — —		539
— touching Criminal Causes, with a Table of Fees —		579
— touching Appeals —		586
— for Forms of Declarations —		591
Act of Uniformity made severe for the Security of the Publick Peace —	ii	526

— at

	Vol.	Pag.
— also in forming Students in Universities — — —		*ib*
— Advantage of in Rhetorick —		183
— the principal Requisite in an Orator — —		*ib*
Actions at Law, Cheapness of, occasions a Multiplicity — —	iii	194
Actors their antient Dignity —	i	184
— the most famous in *Rome*		190
— *English*, the most renowned of any Country — —		202
— the most noted in Q. *Elizabeth*'s Time — —		192
Acts of the Apostles, represented in a Theatre — —		184
— of Parliament, repealed because the King's Consent was forced —	iii	247
Adam gave Names to Creatures according to their Natures; applied by Parliament —		126
Adamer, Bishop of *Winchester*, banished by Kings, Lords, and Commons —	ii	108
Address of *Colchester*, never seen, nor presented by the Inhabitants	iii	360
Addresses, importing an Abhorrence of an Association, said to be seiz'd in the Earl of *Shaftsbury*'s Closet —		321
— for dissolving Parliaments, and abhorring Associations, countenanced and promoted — —		*ib*
— those on the contrary forbid by Proclamation — —		323
— Nature of those made to *O. Cromwell* — —		324
— the most preposterous that Protestants could make —		328
— a second Return thereto —		334
Admiral, *Spanish*, cast away with a vast Treasure — —		385
Admirals turn'd out, tho' justified in Parliament — —	iv	115
Adoniah, the Means he took in aspiring to the Kingdom — —	ii	238
Advice of Parliament has great Force and Authority — —	iii	129
Ægyptian Architecture incomparably grand — —	i	284
— Manner of windowing Rooms —		*ib*
Æsopus, a famous Tragedian, very rich		202
Ætna, a prodigious Earthquake and Eruption of — —	iii	72
— preluded by the Paleness of the Sun		74
— Images of St. *Annunciata* destroyed by it — —		75
— many Towns and Villages laid in Ruins — —		*ib*

— de-

Vol. Pag.

— at the Inſtigation of Jeſuits, and the Court Party — *ib*
— of Parliament become void by Time iv 482
Adam permitted to make his Defence i 171
Addreſs to both Houſes of Parliament concerning the Succeſſion — 115
— from *Colcheſter*, not ſeen nor preſented — — 123
— Form of, expreſſing the Senſe of Diſſenters and Proteſtants — 174
— of the Lords to the Queen, on their being attack'd by the Houſe of Commons, 1703 — — iii 128
— her Majeſty's Anſwer thereto 134
— of the Houſe of Commons in Anſwer — — 135
— of the Clergy to the Queen, full of extravagant Abſurdities — 598
— and favourable to the Pretenſions of the Popiſh Line — 599
— great Art uſed in procuring as well as wording it — 601
— of Parliament to K. *Richard* II. 314
Addreſſes, menacing, not to be preſented to the King — — i 96
— divided and dividing, not to be countenanced — 203
Adminiſtration, Abuſes in, unknown to the Queen — — ii 268
Advertiſement to the Royal Party i 165
Advertiſements for the new Election of Burgeſſes — — 32
Ærius, an Heretick, holds the Identity of Epiſcopacy and Preſbytery — iii 368
Æſop died 561 Years before CHRIST 165
Æſchilus, the Poet, born 525 Years before CHRIST — — 169
Agreement between conforming and non-conforming Proteſtants — i 367
Alexander and *Cæſar* compar'd — iii 551
— ſlew thoſe that had ſlain *Darius* iv 431
Alkindus, his Diſcourſe of Beams emitted by the Elements — — ii 437
Allegiance, Oath of, binds us to the King's Heirs — — — i 325
— what it imports — 432
— Force and Extent of, alterable by Statute — — 434
— means no more than Obedience 439
— which muſt be Paſſive Obedience 440
— Obedience to a King while he rules according to Law — — 441
Allies (of Q. *Anne*) Diſunion between ii 88
— kept ignorant of the Terms in a Negotiation for a Peace — 123

Alphon-

Vol. Pag.

— deprecated by the Prieſts carrying their Reliques in Proceſſion *ib*
— occaſions a great Number of Murders and Robberies — 76
— drives the People out of the Country into the City — — *ib*
— cauſes a violent Agitation in the Sea — — *ib*
— Rivers of Liquid Fire run thro' the Country — — 77
— Reliques expos'd, and Exorciſms us'd to prevent its Progreſs — *ib*
— vomits Rivers of a thick and fiery Subſtance — — 78
— its Flame like Brimſtone, and its Motion like Quickſilver — *ib*
— melts and deſtroys all in its Courſe *ib*
— Birds and Fowls lay dead in Heaps — — *ib*
— a Liſt of the Towns, &c. deſtroy'd by it in *Catania* — 79
Affection in Painting, what — i 287
Agathocles, and others, from being Generals become Tyrants — iii 358
Aglaophon, one of the firſt Painters in *Greece* — — 288
Albert Durer, his Rule for placing Sculpture — — 292
Albigenſes withdraw from the Pope, and withſtand the whole Power of *France* — — 112
Alexander, inſpired with the Valour of *Achilles* on ſeeing the Siege of *Troy* acted — — i 177
— works upon *Nebuchadnezzar*'s Foundation in the Siege of *Tyre* — iii 28
— VII. Pope, Life and Death of 58
— his Education, Learning and Preferment — — *ib*
— ſtudies Popularity, and refuſes all Preſents — — *ib*
— zealous for the Intereſt of the See of *Rome* — — 59
— his Reſolution and Conſtancy in his laſt Sickneſs — *ib*
— makes an excellent Diſcourſe to the College of Cardinals — 60
— his admirable Patience — *ib*
— is preſented with a Picture of the Holy Paſſion to arm him with Patience — — 61
— his laſt Words and Death — *ib*
— his grand *Mauſolum*, with the Inſcriptions on it — — 62-3
Allegory, a Figure much uſed by the antient Poets and Orators — i 3

Allen

	Vol.	Pag.
Alphonſo, K. of *Portugal*, depoſed by the Eſtates, and his younger Brother put in his Room	iii	583
Alſop, Ald. his Speech to K. *James* II.	i	236
Alva, D. of, a haughty, cruel Tyrant	iv	59
Amaſis, King of *Egypt*, flouriſh'd 525 Years before CHRIST	iii	169
Ambition anatomiz'd by Sir *Fr. Walſingham*	iv	390
—— in itſelf no Fault		391
Ambroſe, St. miſrepreſented by *Petavius*	iii	377
—— exclaims againſt *Valentinian* for medling in Spirituals		382
Americans, their ſtrange Notion of Paper and Letters		112
Amſterdam refuſes K. *William* to be their Stadtholder	i	357
—— its Magiſtrates better inſtructed formerly		358
—— always averſe to the Houſe of *Orange*		*ib.*
—— threatned with the King's Reſentment		359
Anabaptiſts, their Opinion of a Comprehenſion		267
Anacharſis Scytha, came to *Athens* 592 Years before CHRIST	iii	162
Anaxagoras, born 500 Years before CHRIST		171
Anaximander flouriſh'd 547 Years before CHRIST		166
Andrews, Biſhop of, his revengeful Temper	i	385
—— an Account of his Murder		386
—— Biſhop, his Reaſons for celebrating Chriſt's Birth-day in Preference to all others	iv	333
Andromeda, a Tragedy, an odd Accident at the acting of	iii	213
Angleſey, Earl of, his State of the Government	i	186
—— his Character		188
Anglorum Orientalium Epiſc. Chronolog.	iv	355
Anima Animus, how diſtinguiſhed	ii	232
Animalcles in pepper'd Water, a Porof of an omnipreſent Principle	ii	239
Animals, derived from *Animus*		233
—— produced from Putrefaction, accounted for		239
—— Parts of might be inoculated as well as Vegetables		243
—— equal Man in the ſenſitive Faculties	iii	207
Annandale, Marq. of, affects to be diſcontented	i	455
— changes		

	Vol.	Pag.
Allen Edward, a celebrated Actor	i	192
—— Card. aſſerts it lawful to take Arms againſt Prince and People, being Hereticks	iii	292
Alteration of States without Violence, Cauſe of	ii	236
Ambition, natural to Princes	i	246
—— breaks thro' the moſt ſacred Ties	ii	6
Ammonites invade *Judea* after the Fall of *Jeruſalem*	iii	34
Amo, King of the Verbs	i	9
—— aſſerts his Superiority over King *Poeta*		10
—— proclaims War againſt him		12
—— his Leaders and Forces		*ib.*
—— pitches his Camp in the Plains of *Conjunctions*		13
—— propoſes a Treaty for Peace		17
D'Amours John, an Accomplice in, diſcovers the Plot to aſſaſſinate King *William*	iv	82
Amſterdam founded upon Herring Bones		428
Amſterdammer, ſooneſt caught by the Belly	iii	87
Anabaptiſts, Quakers, *&c.* encouraged to the Deſtruction of Orthodox Divines		2
Annaſtro, his Letters relating to the Deſign on the Pr. of *Orange*'s Life	i	53, 57
—— his Letters on the Prince's ſuppoſed Death		59
Antichriſt, his Character in the *Revelations* fits the Pope		91
Antimonarchiſts, Cauſes of Fears and Jealouſies in the Kingdom	iv	238
Antiphilus, an ancient Painter, excell'd in free Facility		289
Antonio di Barbarim, his Anſwer to the Pope's Remonſtrance		332
—— condoles with his Holineſs the Miſchiefs occaſioned by the Covenant		333
—— fears the dreadful Conſequence of its paſſing the Sea		334
—— can ſee nothing but Calamities, all from *Scotland* and the Covenant		336
—— fears the Covenant will be metamorphos'd into a flying Dragon		*ib.*
—— ſees Hope even thro' Deſpair		337
—— deprecates the Event of a Patriarch in *France*		339
Antrim, E. of, fruſtrated in his Attempt to ſeize *London-Derry*	iv	23
—— Marquis of, try'd for and prov'd an *Iriſh* Rebel, but declar'd innocent by the King's Letter	ii	374
—— joins		

	Vol.	P.
——changes his Party ſeveral Times		157
——propoſes an Addreſs to the Pr. of *Orange*		463
——his arbitrary Proceedings		464
——turns again to the King's Party		467
Anne, Q. gave 100,000 *l.* of her Revenue to eaſe the public Burthen	ii	6
——would ſuffer no Miſapplications		7
——communicates the Terms of Peace to the Parliament		90
——her Letter to the *French* King		135
——impoſed upon by her Miniſtry		149
——particularly relating to the Peace		150-1
——and to the Promiſes made to the Allies		152
Army of the Parliament inſiſt upon the Excluſion of their Members	i	25
——grow more inſolent		27
——march triumphantly through *London*		*ib.*
——mutiny againſt the Parliament and demand Juſtice againſt the King		28
——ſeize ſeveral Members of the Houſe of Commons		*ib.*
——can give no Credit, the Navy c an	ii	44
Articles recommended by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* to the Biſhops in his Juriſdiction, 1688	i	286
——of illegal Proceedings alledged againſt K. *William*'s Parliament	iii	115
——of Faith impoſed on the Diſſenters, the Cauſe of furious Wars		333
——of Peace agreed on, and a Treaty ſigned at *Utrecht*	ii	37
Arundel, Mayor of, puniſhed for miſbehaving at an Election —	i	379
Aſſembly of Divines erected —		20
——diſagree about their Plans of Church Government		21
Aſſizes ſuſpended in the Protector's Time	iv	427
Aſſociation, three ſeveral Sorts	i	21
——Draught of one found in the Earl of *Shaftſbury*'s Cloſet —		144
——Notes upon it		145-6-8
——Inſtrument of in Q. *Elizabeth*'s Time		151
——Notes upon it		152
Atheiſm the Root of all other Miſchiefs		42
——profeſſed by our young Noblemen and Gentlemen —		536
Atheiſts, or Epicureans, their Addreſs to K. *James*		261

---prefer

	Vol.	P.
— joins the *Iriſh* Rebels by Inſtructions from K. *Charles* I.		376
— what he did therein approved by that Prince		377
— not mentioned, as in any Poſt, till after 1643		384
— his Name not found in any Catalogue of the *Iriſh* Rebels		406
— exclaim'd againſt the Rebels themſelves		*ib*
— uſes his good Offices to aſſiſt the Proteſtants		*ib*
— viſits, and is kindly received by the Marq. of *Ormond*		*ib*
— is ſent by the Queen to treat of a Ceſſation of Arms with the Rebels		407
— comes into *England* and ſettles at *Oxford*		408
— is ſent into *Ireland* to raiſe Forces for the King		*ib*
— is ſent to *France* to the Queen and Prince		*ib*
— oppoſes the Peace propoſed to be concluded with the Rebels		409
— carries on an Intrigue with *Cromwell*		*ib*
— declares he knew nothing of any Commiſſion from the King for the *Iriſh* Rebellion		*ib*
— recommended by *Ireton* to the Council of State		*ib*
— his Services to K. *Charles* I. and II.		410
— forfeits his Eſtate by joining with the Nuntio againſt the Peace		418
— is reſtored by the King		*ib*
Antwerp, made the Pack-houſe of *Europe* by the *Portugal* Trade from the *Eaſt-Indies*	iv	437
Apelles, a famous Painter, excelled in Invention and Grace	i	289
Apology for Actors, by *Tho. Heywood*		162
Apoſtles have all the Flowers of *Greek* Elegance	i	138
Arbitrary Power and Tyrannical Government, if by the People, what it is	ii	24
Arbitrium boni Juris, ſhould ſerve inſtead of Laws in caſe of Neceſſity	iii	148
Arches and Vaults deſcribed	i	276
Archimedes required but one to ſtand upon to turn the World	iii	91
Architect of the World, his Skill in the Formation of Man	i	265
Architecture, Elements of, by Sir *Henry Wotton*		262

Vol. P.

——prefer the *Romish* Religion to all others —— *ib.*
——their Reasons for it —— 262
Athelstan, the *Saxon* King, a Bastard 76
Atkins, Alderman, his Speech before Dinner at *Grocer*'s Hall iv 412
Atra-bilis, or Melancholy, its Effects iii 218
Augustus, though an Usurper, commanded Allegiance —— 94
——resumes his Grants made to his Friends and Favourites 107
d'Aumont, Duke, his Speech to Q. *Anne* —— iv 400
Austin, St. his Reasons for continuing in the Catholic Church and Religion of Christ —— 62
—— gives a Rule how to read his and other pious and learned Works —— iii 369

B

Bacon, Lord, of the different Kinds and Modes of Putrefaction ii 240
——Sir *Fr.* advises K. *James* to expunge Penal Laws —— iii 273
——Sir *Nicholas*, on Innovations in Religion —— —— iv 300
Balzac's Politics —— ii 482
——of *French* Favourites —— 483
Bank, how formed —— 13
——some Things suggested for the Advantage of —— 585
——Number of Subscribers to, and Sums subscribed —— *ib*
——Subscriptions to, how made *ib*
——Power of a General Court 536
——Advantage to the Nation from *ib*
——Reputation of, by what Means increased —— 587
——None can lose by it —— 589
——Objections to, answered —— 590
——Extortioners and Oppressors alarmed at it —— *ib*
——restrained from trading —— 593
——Subscribers Contract with the Lords of the Treasury —— 596
Baptists and Quakers, unlikely to be made Justices, Parliament-Men or Judges —— iii 432
Barnacles, little Birds bred of the Putrefaction of shipwrecked Planks ii 239
Bashfulness in Men not agreeable to Women —— —— iv 386

Bastardy,

Vol. P.

— End of —— —— 263
— a famous Piece of, at *Capralola*— 268
Aristocracy, how many Sorts of —— ii 225
Armagh burnt, and 500 Protestants murdered —— —— iii 93
Army, which the Seditious call Cutthroats, were our Deliverers—— iv 231
— an invisible one, quartered underground —— —— i 405
Arnisæus, his Distinction between *Rex* and Tyranny —— iii 240
Artisans, the Mimicks of Nature —— i 265
Asa, K. of *Judah*, had the Gout —— iv 138
Asia, the Middle of the World—— i 246
Assassination Plot against K. *William*, who were concerned in it—— iv 82
— the whole unravelled —— 83-87
Associations to revenge the Death of Q. *Elizabeth* if perpetrated, esteemed a Piece of Loyalty —— iii 324
— abhorring all of this Nature, accounted the Character of a good Subject —— 325
— those who countenance the Abhorrence of such, expose the King to the Designs of the *Romish* Faction— *ib*
— all not abhorred in the Addresses 338
Astyages made Governor of *Media* iii 25
Athenians allowed their Senators and Judges competent Rewards —— 149
Atkins, Ald. brought from *Norwich* to assist his Brethren in *London* —— 399
Atrium Græcum, a stately Anti-porch at *Venice* —— i 275
Attalus, K. famous for his rich Arras 195
d'Avaux, his Memorial to the States General —— iv 263
— complains of their Preparations for War instead of hearkening to Terms of Peace —— 264
— that they set up themselves for Arbitrators between *France* and *Austria* —— 265
— that they blindly submit to the Sentiments of the King of *England* —— *ib*
— declares, that his Master had neglected many Advantages for the sake of Peace —— 266
Aviaries, large and expensive in *Italy* 195
Auricular Confession, an Invention to get Money, and be Masters of all Secrets —— 87
Austria, People of, once half Protestants, but now all destroyed — iv 247

Authority,

	Vol.	P.
Baſtardy, no Obſtruction to wearing the Crown	i	76
Baxter, Richard, tried for a Libel		205
Beaſts more readily obey their Maſters than Men their Magiſtrates	iv	300
Beauty, the Excellencies of	ii	405
Benſon, Mr. Commiſſioner of the Treaſury		257
——his Character		274
Bias, living 541 Years before CHRIST	iii	167
Bierly, Col. his hard Caſe		554
Bill of Excluſion, whence it took its Riſe	i	72
——the Juſtice of		96
——the King's Intereſt to paſs		99
——Refuſal of, attended with bad Conſequences		*ib*
——Objections to anſwered		*ib*
——conducted with Bitterneſs on both Sides		115
——rejected by the Houſe of Lords		120
Bill for regulating Elections, Draught of		63
——of Indemnity (after the Revolution) bad Conſequences of		66
——contrary to the King's Intereſt		69
Biſhops, Proteſtation of, the Cauſe of their Deprivation	i	22
——ought to viſit in Perſon, not by their Chancellor		56
——of *France,* oppoſe their Prince though Heir to the Crown		98
——K. *James*'s, ſummoned out of the Country to attend the King		289
——Heads of their Petition to the King		290-1
——not of Divine Appointment		383
——their Diſſatisfaction with the new Oath, not the Effect of Pride, *&c.*	iii	79
——Reaſons of their Diſſatisfaction		80
——Form of their Election, a Mockery		181
——all, except one, oppoſe the Court of Q. *Elizabeth*		293
——not diſtinguiſhed from Prieſts in Scripture		361
——of the ſame Order with Presbyters		*ib*
——how they came to be exalted above Preſbyters		365
——St. *Jerome*'s Opinion upon the Subject		370
——Bounds of their Dioceſe in primitive Times		385
—— acknowledge their Diſſimulation in ſubmitting to the regal Supremacy of *Edward* VI.	iii	912
Black Box, Myſtery of explained	i	72

---a

	Vol.	P.
Authority, not to be diſobeyed or reſiſted becauſe thought faulty	ii	76
— nor becauſe hurtful to the Church of God		77
— nor tho' it commands Things unlawful		78
— Reſiſtance in every Caſe ſinful		*ib*
— even in Defence of our Laws, Liberties and Religion		179
— none committed to the People if the Prince fails of his Duty		82
Aviſoes from ſeveral Places		384
Axioms or Rules for preſerving the State		216
— and an hereditary Dominion		222

B

BABYLON, its prodigious Strength	iii	44
— Deſtruction of propheſied 200 Years before it happened		48
—its vaſt Extent and Magnificence		*ib*
— Conqueſt of in Scripture attributed to *Darius*		51
Bacon, Sir *Nicholas,* famous for his Wit, Wiſdom, and Knowledge in the Law	i	366
—*Anthony,* gets a large Bounty of the E. of *Eſſex* to conceal his Secrets		389
Bactrians, their barbarous Cuſtom to ſick and aged Parents	iii	177
Bajazet, the proud, humbled in an extraordinary Manner	i	224
Bail, extravagant required in Suſpicions of Treaſon	iv	71
— often continued to a great Length of Time without Remedy		72
Balſamum, why ſo ſcarce	i	24
Barbeſieux, Marq. Secretary to the *French* King, employs *Grandvall* to murder K. *William*	iv	18
Barclay, his Notions of Reſiſtance	iii	239
—Sir *George,* undertakes to aſſaſſinate K. *William*	iv	177
Barones Regis, why ſo ſtiled	ii	106
— *Comites,* of an inferior Degree		*ib*
Baruch wrote *Jeremiah*'s Propheſies	iii	27
Bates, Dr. his congratulatory Speech to the King	iv	130
Battle, a fierce and bloody one between the Armies of *Poeta* and *Amo*	i	20
— attended with a fearful Earthquake		21

---vaſt

	Vol.	P.
——a Fable invented to discredit the Marriage of the King with the D. of *Monmouth*'s Mother		74
——started first by the D. of *York*		*ib*
Blood, his Character of Lieut. Gen. *Ludlow*	iii	394
Body, affected with the Actions of other Beings		211
——fruitful in Virtues or Vices according to its Organization		220
Bodies politic, declared dissolved at the King's Pleasure	ii	269
Bolingbroke, Lord, his Journey to *France*		132
——Instructions for his Behav. there		*ib*
——tells Mr. *Prior* of his particular Services to *France*		135
——changes an Article of Commerce, which is rejected by Parliament		136
——he and the rest of the Ministers in great Distraction		137
——complains of the *French* Chicanry		*ib*
——presses the Plenipo's at *Utrecht* to sign the Peace		138
——begs Mr. *Prior* to give the best Turn to his Countrymen's Blunders		140
——declares against the *Catalans*		*ib*
——quarrels with the Lord Treasurer		147
Boniface III. Pope, wants to be Emperor	iii	180
Booth, Mr. an Evidence against the E. of *Shaftsbury*	i	142
Boroughs, Antiquity of	ii	438
——which sent Members to Parliament before 1483		445
——which never did till afterwards		448
——Increase of, no Breach of the Constitution		449
——Table of such as are over and under represented		453
——Inequality of	i	68
Blowing towards the Altar, and placing lighted Candles on the Communion Table, not enjoined	ii	462
——unfit for Protestants	iii	204
——superstitious		347
Bracton, one of the most famous antient Lawyers	iv	503
Breton, Cape, given up on Condition the *French* quit *Newfoundland*	ii	156
Breviate for the Convention	i	339
Bristol, Bishop of, declares Obligations void between the Queen and the States	ii	132
Britain, antient and modern	iii	452
Britain, antient, barbarous and uncivilized	iv	22

----had

	Vol.	P.
— vast Losses on both Sides		22
Battles of the Lord (in the Bull) mean the Battles of our Lord the Pope—		73
Baxter, Richard, charges K. *Charles* I. with the *Irish Massacre*	ii	380
— quotes his Authority from *Murder will out*		384
— canonizes those as Saints who brought K. *Charles* to the Block		385
— prov'd a notorious Liar		386
Bellum Grammaticale, by *William Haywarde*		1
— a Retreat founded		24
Bedlow, brought in to support *Oates*	iii	277
Belisarius, who sav'd *Rome*, suffer'd to beg	iv	233
Belshazzar, makes a great Feast		45
— carouses in the Cups and Vessels taken from the Temple at *Jerusalem*		46
— is affrighted at the Hand-writing on the Wall		*ib*
— he with his Nobles are kill'd in the Palace		47
Benbow, Capt. sentenced for Treason against the Commonwealth	ii	506
Benyon, Sir *Geo.* fined, imprison'd and disfranchiz'd for framing a Petition to Parliament about the Militia—	i	414
Berkley Sir *Robert*, Judge, advises a tyrannical Government		281
— assisted in causing the Miseries in the Star Chamber		282
— his unjust Judgments were given in the Face of the whole Kingdom		283
— his unrighteous Proceedings		284
Bernardino Baldi, his Method of building Roofs	i	283
Biggar, John, swears to many Practices of the Papists in the *Irish* Rebellion	ii	284
Bill for Liberty of Conscience in *Ireland*, repeals all Statutes in Favour of Protestants	iv	18
— of Rights, Reasons for a new one, by Sir *Barth. Shower*		64
— Goodness and Defects of the old one		65
— for regulating Trials in Treason, a new one necessary		66
—that of 25 *Edw.* II. defective		67
— Objections to answered		*ib*
— oppos'd by those who a Year or two before would have procur'd one at any Rate		68

---ore

	Vol.	P.
Britains had no Sort of Build. whatever		23
——no Walls nor Cities, but thick Woods fenced round with Banks and Ditches		24
——all other Nations once as uncultivated, even the *Romans* themselves		25
——uncertain when the Christians began to bury here		27
——but supposed to be about the Time of the *Antonines*		26
——Christians very careful to distinguish themselves from the Pagans		*ib*
Briton, a bold, his honest Advice to K. *William*	iii	71
Britons will not be governed by a Papist	i	27
Brooke, Lord, his Speech		10
——is thanked by the House of Peers		18
Brutus often encouraged by *Portia*	ii	410
Brydges, Paymaster, his Accounts of the Service		59
Buckingham, his Letter in Answer to a nameless, harmless, angry Scribler—		107
Bull, John, his Last Will and Testament drawn by a *Welch* Attorney		307
——the Codicil annexed		399
——of Excommunication, brought into *England*, adjudged High Treason by the antient Common Law	iii	435
Burgess, Dan. his fruitless Application for the Protection of his Meeting-House	ii	264
Burnet, Bishop, inconsistent with himself about the Exclusion Bill	i	115
——his Character of the Clergy		116
——his Reflections on K. *Ch.* II. false		130
Burthogge, Rich. on the Soul of the World	ii	229
Buys, M. Minister from the States, empowered to hear, not to speak	ii	84

C.

CAbal, formed of five Ministers of State	iii	301
Cabalists, their Designs and Practices	i	22
Cæsar promulges a Law to make himself Dictator	iv	433
Call Home the King, the Cry of the Jacobites	iii	465
Callathus, a Presbyter, takes upon him to ordain others		370
Cambyses died 522 Years before CHRIST		169
Campbell, James, charged with taking exobirtant		

	Vol.	P.
Bill one Design of the Revolution —	iv	*ib*
— seasonable now if ever		77
— Objections to, answer'd		78
Bilson, Dr. marrs several Texts of Scripture	i	134
— perverts, *Acts* II. to Blasphemy		135
— makes *Moses* imperfect		*ib*
— feigns our Saviour in greater Danger in Hell than upon Earth		*ib*
Bishops, why they have Seats in Parliament		429
— in K. *Henry*'s Reign, add Fuel to popular Fires	ii	180
— one of them incurr'd Excommunication at *Rome*, and Treason at Home		*ib*
— in all Parliaments, since we had any		482
— in *England*, ever since it was Christian		18
— often of Opinions of opposite to the rest of the Peers	iii	209
— in *England*, after the Revolution of another Stamp than the Church of *England*		49
— War may raise War, for the Faith against those that are excommunicated		292
—*Irish*, dissent to the Act repealing the Act of Settlement, *&c.*	iv	13
—new-made, formerly fanatical Preachers		116
— make a contemptible Figure in the House of Lords		129
— in *Scotland*, preferred to the Temporal Nobility		121
— not interrupted by temporal Courts		*ib*
Blondel, a Jesuit, begins a Fire in *Wapping*	iii	265
Blood, Col. of creditable Parentage		219
— made a Justice of Peace in *Ireland* very young		*ib*
— does good Service for his Prince in the Civil Wars		220
—disgusted, puts himself at the Head of the discontented *Irish*, *Scots*, and *English*		*ib*
— plots the Surprizal of the Castle of *Dublin*		*ib*
— escapes to *Holland* on Discovery of the Plot		221
—gets acquainted with Admiral *de Ruyter*		*ib*
— associates with the fifth Monarchy Men in *England*		222

	Vol.	P.
exorbitant Premiums for remitting Money to the Sufferers of *Nevis*, &c.	ii	115
—*Daniel*, Collector for *Glasgow*, accused with defrauding the Customs		116-7
Canada, Expedition to, on what grounded —		146
Canterbury, Archbishop of, impeached of High Treason —	i	9
Cantuar. Archiepisc. Chronol.	iv	357
Canute put *Edrick* to Death for murdering *Edmund Ironside*	iii	457
Captivity, none so miserable as of a Prince in his Closet	ii	486
Cardinals, when first empowered to elect Popes —	iv	366
Carisbrook Castle, Treaty of	i	26
Carlisle, Bishop of, his Speech concerning deposing Princes	iv	429
—his Character —		435
Carols, whence derived		330
Carolastadius, his Sense of Christ's Words in the Eucharist —	i	60
Cartesians believe Beasts are only Machines —	ii	242
Carthaginians agree not to make War without Leave of the *Romans*		[388]
—how to be construed		[389]
Case between *Sweden* and *Denmark*	ii	582
Casnaet, Bishop of, his Speech to the *French* King about maintaining the Catholic Cause in *England* and *Holland* —		281
Cassart invades the Leeward Islands after Peace was concluded —		135
Castile, King of, his miserable Slavery to his Ministers —		487
Catalans, inclinable to revolt		91
—promised in the Queen's Name a Security for their Liberties —		*ib*
—State of the Queen's Engagements to —		*ib*
—how they came to be left without Terms in the Peace —		92
—Care taken by the Queen for their Security —		*ib*
—Obstinacy of, an Obstruction to obtaining their Privileges		93
—not charged with want of Zeal for the public Cause —		139
—first fatal Step to their Ruin		140
—how well they deserved of King *Charles* III. —		142
—their miserable Condition —		*ib*

	Vol.	P.
Blood, Col. like to have been betrayed	iv	222
— turns Doctor, and practises Physic —		223
— resolves to rescue his Friend Capt. *Mason* from Execution —		*ib*
— assaults the Guard of the Prisoner on the Road —		224
— unhorsed three Times, and in great Danger —		225
— a Reward set on his Head —		226
— resolves to seize the D. of *Ormond*		*ib*
— miscarries and flies —		*ib*
— resolves to steal the Crown, and disguises himself for the purpose		227
—gets acquainted with the Keeper of the *Regalia* —		*ib*
—knocks down the Keeper and seizes the Crown —		228
— is seized before he could carry it off —		*ib*
— is carried before the King and examined —		*ib*
— he and his Accomplices are pardoned —		229
— is accused of corrupting two Fellows to swear Sodomy against the D. of *Buckingham* —		231
— is committed, found guilty, and sued by the Duke for *Scandalum Magnatum*, and takes Refuge in the *King's Bench* —		232
— falls into a deep Melancholy, and dies —		233
— is buried, taken up again, and known only by his Thumb —		234
— his Character —		*ib*
Bohemia, in the last Age, almost all Protestants, now all Papists —	iv	247
Booth, the most notorious Villain the *Netherlands* produced —	iii	329
Bowyer, Gentleman Usher of the Black-Rod to Q. *Elizabeth*, a remarkable Action of —	i	352
— his bold Address to the Queen		153
Bricks of a triangular Form recommended —		267
—whether to be burnt or gently dried		*ib*
Bridges, W. his Fast Sermon before the House of Commons —	ii	91
Bridgman, Sir *Orl.* his Charge to the Jury at the Arraignment of Twenty Regicides —	iii	23
Bristol, E. of, his Speech on the Bill of Indemnity, 1660 —		12

Vol. P.

Catalans hang up the Queen's ſolemn Declaration on their High Altar ii 142
Catalogue of all the Archbiſhops and Biſhops in *England* and *Wales*, eſtabliſhed by K. *Charles* II. — 360
—of the Peers of *England*, 1660 — 582
Catechiſm, compoſed from High Church Principles — iii 234
Catechizing, Uſefulneſs and Neceſſity of — 381
Catholics, as much countenanced by K. *William* as K. *James* — 480
—of *England*, never able to endanger our Religion or Liberty — 502
— Cauſe, or the murdering of Kings juſtified — iv [201]
—Faith and Church in general [212]
—controverted Points of Faith [216]
—Abſolution, Satisfaction and Indulgence — *ib*
—Purgatory, Merits and Tranſubſtantiation — 217
—Adoration of Pictures, Bible, Croſs, Saints, *&c.* — 218
Catholic Noblemen careſs'd by K. *James* I. — iii 297
Cauſes, Ignorance of, ſubjects us to Miſtakes — 308
—made odious to both Parties in K. *Charles* I's Reign — 229
Cecil, Sir *William* (afterwards Lord *Burleigh*) his firſt Paper or Memorial — i 158
Celeſtine, xxi. Pope, the firſt created by the Clergy — iv 356
Celier, Mrs. a popiſh Midwife to K. *James*'s Queen, Character of 253
Celſus, his Aſſertion that Chriſt and his Apoſtles Miracles were Fictions, confuted — iii 145
— ranks their Miracles with the moſt incredible of Impoſtors 146
Ceremonies, indifferent may become ſinful — 200
—a Relict of Popery — *ib*
—*Jewiſh*, ſome of them impoſed as a Puniſhment — *ib*
—*Romiſh* retain'd by Q. *Elizabeth* *ib*
— ought to be aboliſhed — 203
— to be zealous for, has more of Paſſion than Religion — 345
Ceremony of laying on of Hands uſed on ſeveral Occaſions — 376

Cevennois,

Vol. P.

Briſtol, moves for a Committee to draw up an Act purpoſely to revenge the King's Murder — iii 13
— exclaims againſt the Bill of Indemnity, as drawn by the Houſe of Commons — *ib*
Broadalbine, Earl of, quits the Title of E. of *Caithneſs* — iv 90
—impeached of High Treaſon — 190
Broghill, Lord, recites the Parliament's Reaſons for offering *Cromwell* the Title of King — 128
——anſwers the Protector's Objections thereto — 150
Bromley, Sir *Henry*, and other Members, ſent to the *Fleet* about petitioning Q. *Elizabeth* to entail the Succeſſion — 244
Buckhurſt, Ld. Favourite to Q. *Elizabeth*, famous for his excellent Talents — 377
Buckingham, D. of, in K. *Rich.* III's Time, corrupted by *Morton* Bp. of *Ely* — 257
—rebels, and is beheaded — 258
—(in K. *James*'s Reign) ſuſpected of bad Practices in the Match with *France* — 300
— his Speech to K. *Charles* I. on the Aid granted by Parliament — 303
—juſtified from a Deſign of poiſoning ſome Noblemen — 393
—graced by the Queen at *Tilbury* above the E. of *Leiceſter* — 394
—an Inſtance of his Valour — *ib.*
—his Lenity in the Army — 395
—a Murderer and Traitor — ii 130
—his Scroll of Noblemens Names deſigned for Deſtruction 132
—miſleads the King to his Shame and Diſhonour of the Nation 133
—made General of the Forces in an Expedition to the Iſle of *Rhee* ii 465
—his timorous Behaviour — *ib*
—his obſtinate and ridiculous Carriage at Sea — *ib*
—his Men repulſed for want of ſuccouring them — 466
—raiſes a Faction againſt Sir *John Burrows* — 467
—ſuffers the Garriſon to be relieved *ib*
—lets his Men be braved without ſtirring — 461

Buckingham,

Vol. P.

Cevennois take Arms againſt their bloody Perſecutors — iii 589
— unſuccesful Attempt of Q. *Anne* to ſuccour them — 590
Chaiſe, F. his Anſwer to F. *Petre's* Letter — — i 256
— his Correſpondence with *Coleman* ii 278
Chancellor, his Oath — iv 497
Chancellors, their Power to excommunicate Biſhops — iii 381
Character of an honeſt Man and a Knave — iv 279-289
— of the wiſeſt Men — 308
Charity, Want of, the Original of the Sufferings of the Royaliſts — i 167
Charles I. diſſolves all Parliaments 4
— Steps previous thereto — 5
— Sends for the Serjeant with his Mace, but is prevented by the Houſe — 7
— ſends Black-Rod to diſſolve the Parliament, who is not admitted *ib*
— iſſues Orders of Council for the offending Members to appear before them — *ib*
— paſſes an Act to make the Parliament indiſſolvable, except by themſelves — 9
— crowned in *Scotland* — 10
— Murmurs thereupon — *ib*
— directs the Attorney General to accuſe five Members of High-Treaſon — *ib*
— retires to *Hampton-Court* — *ib*
— and from thence to *Theobalds* — 11
— offers to go in Perſon againſt the Rebels in *Ireland*, but is denied — 12
— refuſes to truſt the Parliament with the Militia — *ib*
— beſieges *Hull* — 14
— marches with his Army to *London* 15
— retreats to *Oxford* — 16
— ſends the E. of *Southampton* and Sir *John Culpeper* with Propoſitions of Peace — 19
— ſurrenders himſelf to the *Scots* — 25
— is ſent to *Holden-Houſe* — 26
— eſcapes, retaken, and carried to the *Iſle of White* — *ib*
— his great Abilities *ib*
— his Misfortunes owing to the diſcontinuance of Parliament — 193
— flies to *York* — 427
— tempted with unheard-of Propoſitions — 429

Vol. P.

Buckingham attires a Soldier in his own Dreſs, and gets privately on ſhip-board *ib*
—the Army is attacked and overthrown *ib*
—the Conſumer of our Treaſury, and the utter Confuſion of the Proteſtant Cauſe in *France* — 470
—yet continues in Favour with the King — *ib*
Bunce, Ald. his Speech to the Lord Mayor, and touching the King's Reſtoration iii 6
—confeſſed that he at firſt joined in the Rebellion — *ib*
—affirms that the King was more inclinable to forgive Injuries than to avenge them — 8
—and that he will not uſe foreign Force to recover his Kingdoms *ib*
—his Reaſons for declaiming againſt the uſurping Powers — *ib*
—his Principles and Reſolution 9
Burghs, in *Scotland*, compoſed of Merchants and Craftsmen — ii 198
Burleigh, Lord, his wife Saying to Q. *Elizabeth* — i 299
Burrows, Sir *John*, an active Commander at the Siege of *Rhee* ii 566
—reſolves to beſiege the Place and the Garriſon — 467
—is ſhot dead by an unknown Hand *ib*
Butler, *Sam.* in a Letter from *Mercurius Civicus* to *Mercurius Ruſticus* 395
Burnet, Dr. a zealous Proteſtant, ill uſed by the Papiſts — iii 454
Bygot, *Hugh*, the firſt Earl of the *Eaſt Angles* — ii 110
—from whom deſcended the Earls of *Norfolk* — *ib*

C

CÆSAR, fam'd for Learning as well as Arms — i 5
— emulates *Alexander* — 177
— his pompous and coſtly Theatre 186
— was an Actor for his Pleaſure — 192
— his Fall owing to Envy and Malice — iv 233
— *Caius Curio* erects a Theatre of a ſtrong Form — i 186
— *Calvin*, calls *Henry* VIIIth's Supremacy, a blaſphemous Prerogative i 507
Calamy, Dr. revives *Baxter's* Slander againſt K. *Charles* I — ii 383

Vol. Pag.

Charles I. his marrying a popish Princess the Occasion of the Civil Wars — ii 350
—Concessions of the nineteen Propositions not agreed to, ill Consequences of — iii 12
—a Saint and Martyr of a new coining — 174
—impiously compared to our Blessed Saviour — 175
—his Death made the Occasion of all the Evils we have suffered since — *ib*
—the Book under his Name, whether his or Dr. *Gauden*'s — 177
—he and his Council assist the Duke of *Braganza*, though not the right Heir, in obtaining the Crown of *Portugal* — 582
—strains the Prerogative too far, which gave Rise to the Civil War — 274
—panegyrized on his Return from *Scotland* — iv 151
—his Reasons against the High Court of Justice, 1648 — 168
—his Case; or, an Appeal to all rational Men concerning his Trial — 170
—his early Design of subverting the Government — 175
—his restless Desire to destroy Parliaments — *ib*
—protects the Duke of *Buckingham* suspected of poisoning King *James* I. — 176
—called no Parliament for twelve Years — 177
—responsible for the Mal-Administration of his Judges and evil Counsellors — *ib*
—his Treachery to the *Scots* — 178
—breaks up the Parliament and declares he will never call another — *ib*
—forced to call another, and to make it indissolvable except by themselves — *ib*
—prohibits all Commerce between *London* and other Parts of the Kingdom — 179
—orders the Corn that could not be brought into *Oxford* to be burnt — *ib*
—fights for the Militia, and the Power of

Vol. Pag.

Campbell, Charles, deposes to the Burning of *Lisgowle* Castle with 140 Protestants — 365
Canon Law must be preferred to Civil — iii 304
Canterbury, A. B. of, charg'd with making Innovations in the Kirk of *Scotland* — i 305
— orders Galleries and Walls to be taken down in the Kirks to make way for Altars, *&c.* — *ib*
— obtrudes upon them a Book of Canons and Ecclesiastical Constitutions — 506
— those Canons arbitrary and contrary to the Constitution of the *Scots* Kirk — *ib*
— endeavoured to establish Auricular Confession and popish Absolution there — 507
— orders the Book of Common-Prayer to be received there — *ib*
— hastens and encourages Printing the Common-Prayer at *Edinburgh* — 303
— introduces several popish Ceremonies into it — *ib*
— particularly that relating to Christ's Corporal Presence in the Sacrament — *ib*
— answers the Kirk's Supplications with terrible Proclamations — 310
— procures the Complainers to be called Rebels and Traytors — *ib*
— stigmatizes their Covenant, and rails at their National Assembly — *ib*
— advises the breaking up of Parliament — 311
— orders the Clergy to preach against the Doctrine and Proceedings of other reformed Churches — *ib*
—causes six Subsidies to be levied on the Clergy — *ib*
— orders a Prayer to be said in all Churches against the *Scots* Nation — *ib*
— Relation of his Sufferings and Death — ii 287
— his Life and Person long threaten'd — 288
— yearly abus'd with Libels and Scandals — *ib*
— his House at *Lambeth* assaulted by Night — *ib*
— declared by the *Scots* as the chief Cause of their invading this Realm — *ib*
— accused of High-Treason, and committed to the Tower — 289
— his long Imprisonment contrary to Law — *ib*

Vol. Pag.

of calling Parliaments as he lists — iv *ib*
—pretended to a Power of making as many Lords and Corporations as he pleased — 180
—his new Way of pardoning Murder by granting the Murderer a Leaſe of his Life — *ib*
—challenges a Prerogative of making Leather paſs for Money, and 6 d for 20s — 181
—juſtly condemned by the Fundamental Laws of this Kingdom, *&c.* — 183
—waged War in Defiance of his Sovereign Lord the People — 185
—ſtrong Preſumptions of his having a Hand in the *Iriſh* Maſſacre — 187
—a Copy of his Commiſſion for it in the Parliament's Hands — 188
—further Proofs of it — *ib*
—prevents the Earl of *Leiceſter* from going to *Ireland* to ſubdue the Rebels — 189
—ſeizes the Cloaths and Proviſions ſent by Parliament to relieve the poor Proteſtants there — *ib*
—charged with betraying *Rochelle* — *ib*
—his Perfidiouſneſs in that Affair — 190
—his lame Excuſe for it — 191
—Blame of it laid on the Duke of *Buckingham* and Admiral *Pennington* — 192
—muſt never ſee the Face of God in Comfort, unleſs he dies reconciled to the Saints — 194
—guilty of more tranſcendent Treaſon and enormous Crimes than all the Kings in this Part of the World ever were — 195
—his Death an Execution of Juſtice — 197
—his Caſe truly ſtated in Anſwer to the foregoing Charges, by *S. Butler*, Author of *Hudibras* — 198
—demands of the High Court by what Authority they judged him — 199
—his Alteration of the Judges Commiſſion an imaginary Evil — [201]
—impoſſible to prove his Deſign to deſtroy Parliaments by his Deſires — *ib*
—though he made his Judges, he did not make them wicked — [202]
—his Proteſtations rather to be believed than

Vol. Pag.

Canterbury deprived of his Archiepiſcopal Juriſdiction — ii 290
— his Rents ſequeſtered for Maintenance of the King's youngeſt Children — *ib*
— his Goods, Books and Papers ſeiz'd upon — *ib*
— found the greateſt Contentment under Reſtraint — 291
— a Deſign to ſhip him for *New-England* — *ib*
— cruelly uſed by his Enemies — 292
— meets with hard Meaſure from the Houſe of Commons — 293
— the firſt ever put to Death by Ordinance of Parliament — 294
— Fundamental Laws of *England* violated in the Proceedings againſt him — 295
— his Preparation for Death — 296
— meets Death with Courage and Chearfulneſs — 297
— his Speech upon the Scaffold — *ib*
— defends the King from a Deſign to bring in Popery — 300
— laments the ſad Caſe of the Church of *England* — *ib*
— makes Profeſſion of his Religion — 301
— proteſts his Innocence as to Treaſon — *ib*
— his laſt Prayer — *ib*
— his Behaviour on the Scaffold — 303
— anſwers ſeveral Queſtions put to him by Sir *John Clotworthy* — 304
— is executed — *ib*
— a remarkable Occurrence at his Execution — 305
— his Elegy — 306
— Letter of, to the King concerning the Plot — iii 268
— *Canutus* laid the Tribute *Danegelt* on all Traders on our Sea Coaſts — iv 425
Capricorn, a malevolent Sign to the *Roman* Empire — i 335
Carte, Rev. Abſtract of his Sermon on K. *Charles*'s Martyrdom — ii 391
— his Letter to Mr. *Chaundler*, proving K. *Charles*'s Innocence of the *Iriſh* Maſſacre — 395
— preſſes Mr. *Chaundler* to vindicate the Royal Martyr from the Calumny — 397
— his Reply to Mr. *Chaundler*'s Letter — 399
— calls upon him to fulfil his Promiſe — 420-1
Caſaubon's Curſe againſt the Condemners of *Homer* — iv 163

Caſe,

Vol. Pag.

than the Pretences of his Parliament — iv [203]
—ſo far from being the Cauſe of the War, that he was forced into it — [204]
—that he killed his Father a moſt unjuſt Calumny — [207]
—his Reaſons for protecting the Duke of *Buckingham* — [208]
—his having a Hand in the *Iriſh* Maſſacre improbable — *ib*
—his ſeizing the Proviſions ſent to the Proteſtants in *Ireland* juſtified [209]
—his Execution not to be juſtified [210]
—his Character by Mr. *Butler* *ib*
—Narration of his Title, Government, and Cauſe of his Death [212]
—covetous in Times of Peace — *ib*
—intrudes the new Liturgy on the Kirk of *Scotland* — *ib*
—orders the Communion Tables to be ſet Altarwiſe — *ib.*
—impoſes Tonnage and Poundage [213]
—ſtrives to get rid of his Parliament *ib*
—ſends his Queen beyond Sea — *ib*
—ſtirs up Commotions after his Impriſonment — [214]
—unwillingly depoſed by his Parliament — *ib*
—Proteſtant and Catholic Attempts in his Reign — iii 297
——his Match with *France* a hopeful Prelude to the Catholic Cauſe 299
Charles II. his Declaration in Council concerning the Black Box — i 73
—the firſt King that ever excluded his own Son from the Throne 77
——in Danger from the Intrigues of his Brother and the Papiſts 78
——diſavows his Marriage with the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Mother 82-3
——Remarks thereon — 84
——his Expreſſion about the Importunity of his Brother — 85
——his Moderation on his coming to the Throne — 117
——proved to be no Papiſt — 119
——diſables all Papiſts from bearing Office — *ib*
——marries the elder Daughter to the Crown to the Prince of *Orange*, in Preference to the Dauphin — *ib*
——parts with the Courts of Wards and Livery — 120

Charles

Vol. Pag.

Caſe, Mr. his prophane Invitation of the People to the Lord's Table i 415
Caſimire, K. of *Poland*, the third Sovereign Prince in the Jeſuit's Order, is a cruel Perſecutor — iv 459
—ends his Days in the Character of an Abbot of St. *Germains* — *ib*
Cat may look upon a King — 397
Catalogue of Books to be ſold by Auction near St. *James*'s — 417
— *Ditto*, at the City Godmother's in *Mincing-Lane* the 29th of *May* — 418
Catholic Regiment ready to reſiſt K. *James*'s Return — 260
Cato, laboured hard to inſtruct his Country for its Good — 89
Cauſes preſerving a State and Commonwealth — ii 219
Cecil, William, Secretary to Q. *Elizabeth*, his Original and Riſe at Court i 361
— Sir *Robert*, afterwards E. of *Saliſbury*, Son and Succeſſor to Lord *Burleigh* — — 379
— a little crooked Perſon, but the Staff of the Queen's declining Age 380
— his Letter to the Lord *Devonſhire* *ib*
— his Death — — 381
— his cunning Fetch to deceive the Queen in a Piece of Intelligence from *Scotland* — — 389
Ceilon, K. of, a ridiculous Story about iv 220
Chaloner and *Tompkins* murdered for Obedience to the King — i 418
Chambers, Faſhion of in *Italy*, very incommodious — 283
Chancellor, Ld. his Speech to Q. *Elizabeth* on preſenting a Petition from the Lords and Commons 62
— cannot ſet the Great Seal to foreign Alliances without Conſent of the Privy-Council — iv 334
Chancery, wants the Bridle of an Act of Parliament — — 69
Charles I. his firſt Speech to his Parliament — — i 145
— in him were united the two Houſes of *York* and *Lancaſter* — 147
— his harſh Opinion of the Puritans and Noveliſts — — 150
— acknowledges the *Roman* to be our Mother-Church — — *ib*
— ſtudied to eaſe the *Roman-Catholicks* 151

Charles

Vol. Pag.

Charles II. in a better Condition than his Father to oppose his Enemies — i 122
— his Declaration sent from *Breda* 60
— his Promises to the Kingdom 161
— an Example of Charity while in Exile — — 167
— breaks his Promise of a Toleration to the Nonconformists 169
— his Revenue larger than any King had before — 193
— promises Liberty of Conscience 366
— keeps a poor House — 201
— assents to an Act for exchanging Tenures in *Capite*, held of the Crown, for an hereditary Excise — — ii 32
— content to become the *French* King's Pensioner — 278
— suspected for a Papist — 350
— his Profuseness and Inadvertency saved *England* from Destruction iv 122
— the Arcanum of his Court, never to part with his Parliament *ib*
— how he observed the two grand Maxims of keeping the Ballance of *Christendom*, and protecting the Protestant Interest — *ib*
— Q. whether he would assist the States? answered negatively 124
— his Parliament and People for it — — *ib*
— his Birth and Descent — 467
— his Court and Attendants while in Exile — 468
— his happy Endowments and great Improvements — *ib*
— his Clemency and Goodwill to his Subjects — — 469
— strictly religious — *ib*
— naturally inclin'd to Virtue — 470
— the Pattern of Piety, but more of Patience — *ib*
— a perfect Enemy to all Debauchery 471
— punctual to his Promises — *ib*
— a Picture of him and his Court while abroad — 273-4
— his Declaration dated at *Breda* 475
— his Letter to Gen. *Monk* — 477
— charged with turning out the old Officers and Soldiers — 479
— a necessary Measure — *ib*
— called Home out of Necessity *ib*
— whether he ought to dispossess the Purchasers of Crown Lands — 482

Charles

Vol. Pag.

Charles I. would be content to meet mid-way — — i 152
— a Friend to their Persons, but an Enemy to their Errors — *ib*
— his Directions to the Judges — 153
— professes his Duty as a King — 154
— his Apology for not satisfying the Humours of particular Persons — 155
— his Speech to both Houses of Parliament, 1607 — — 157
— presses and explains the Union he desires between *England* and and *Scotland* — — 159
— answers Objections to — 161
— excuses his Liberality — 162
— his Distinction between *ante* and *post nati* — — 163
— his Reasons for not preferring *Scotsmen* to the Prejudice of *Englishmen* — — 165
— expresses his Satisfaction for the Supply granted by Parliament — 303
— insulted by the Populace in his Return from the City to *Whitehall* 409
— retires to *Hampton-Court* for his Safety — — 410
— comes to the H. of C. and demands the five Members — ii 15
— Mr. Speaker's Reply — *ib*
— comes to *Guild-Hall*, and makes a Motion to the Lord Mayor — 16
— his Lordship's Reply — 17
— his Speech to the Court of Aldermen and Common Council — *ib*
— is pleased, and returns to *White-Hall* 18
— his Speech before the University and City of *Oxford* — 121
— his Speech in the Convocation at *Oxford* — — 123
— his Speech to his Parliament — 253
— his Speech to the Lords, &c. in his Tent — — 285
— to the Soldiers — — *ib*
— to his Army immediately before the Battle — 286
— his Commission to examine into the Robberies and Violences of the Papists in *Ireland* — 324-5
— vindicated from the *Irish* Massacre 380
— no Mention of that Massacre at his Trial — — 382
— Reasons for treating with the *Irish* Rebels — — 412
— Treachery no Part of his Character

Charles

	Vol.	Pag.
Charles II. better he come in without than with		485
—— would call a Synod to reconcile Differences in the Church		486
—— whether he did Right in turning out the Presbyterian Ministers		*ib*
—— Reasons of, for making *Reynolds*, *Calamy* and *Baxter* Chaplains at Court		487
—— Manner of celebrating his Coronation at *Bath*		517
—— his Message to the K. of *Spain*		579
—— Protestant and Catholic Attempts in his Reign	iii	300
Charles, K. of *Spain*, chosen Emperor	ii	36
—— could not be K. of *Spain* after his Brother's Death		87
Charles V. Emp. quits his Government	iii	85
Charlton, Mr. a Paper found in his Custody about the Black-Box	i	74
Charter of *London*, Pretences for its Forfeiture		178-9
—— its Antiquity		179
—— Loss of, a Dissolution of the Body Corporate and Politic of the City		*ib*
—— other fatal Consequences		180-1
—— *Magna Charta*, as to *London*, must be lost with it		183
—— its Last Will and Testament		184
—— declared by the Judges to be forfeited	ii	[272]
—— Proceedings and Judgment against		600
Chelsea College, what due to it on the Sale of Commissions		114
Child, Sir *Josiah*, his Proposal for Relief and Employment of the Poor	iv	537
Chillingworth, his Religion	ii	482
Chimney Money, a Shoe-horn	iii	36
Choler, how it operates on the Body		217
Choriscopi, by whom and for what constituted		371
CHRIST a Priest and a Bishop		372-3
Christiana, Queen of *Sweden*, an Instance that a Prince may quit his Government		85
Christian Liberty, as described by St. *Paul*		193
Christians should not condemn one another for Difference in Judgment		195
—— Primitive, censured in the same Manner as Churchmen now	i	272

Christ-

	Vol.	Pag.
Charles I barbarously murdered in his Memory	ii	*ib*
— redresses all Grievances, yet is opposed with an armed Force		453
— Parliament of, raise Money by Ways unknown to this Kingdom		*ib*
— Party of, their Actions and Opinions maintained by various Statutes		454-5
— not his Fault that his Ministers were not punished		455
— his Reasons for leaving the Parliament		464
— declares he had no Concern in the *Irish* Massacre		388
— imprecates a Curse on himself and Family if guilty		*ib*
— when Pr. of *Wales*, corresponded with the Pope		481
— his Penitence for the E. of *Strafford*'s Death		*ib*
— in his Treaties of Marriage, took solemn Oaths to maintain the *Romish* Religion		*ib*
— raised a bloody and unnatural War against his Protestant Subjects		482
— permits the Papists, Priests and Jesuits, during the *Scots* Troubles, to call a Parliament in *London*		*ib*
— issues Royal Orders, *&c.* to stay Proceedings against Papists both in *England* and *Ireland*		483
— admits *Can*, the Pope's Legate, into familiar Conference		*ib*
— proclaims the Parliament Traitors, and enlists Papists		*ib*
— agreed to Articles of Pacification with the *Irish* Rebels		484
— sent for many Thousands of the *Irish* Rebels to massacre the Protestants here		*ib*
— Narrative of the Proceedings at his Trial		485
— the Charge against him		486
— demands by what Authority he is called there		488
— asserts, that *England* was never elective, but always hereditary		489
— while the Charge is reading the Head of his Cane falls off		490
— is answer'd, he was try'd by the Authority of the Commons of		

Vol. Pag.

Christmass, in Answer to sixteen Queries about it —— iv 311
—— Custom of, whether religiously binding —— *ib*
—— Proofs that CHRIST was born *December* 25 —— —— 312
—— whether warranted by Scripture —— —— 314
—— if warranted by universal Tradition —— —— 313
— if not a human Invention and Will-worship —— —— *ib*
— whether Days and Times commanded by Men under the Gospel are lawful —— —— 315
— whether it may not be interpreted *Christ-man* —— —— 316
— whether we are bound to rejoice in the Birth of CHRIST more on that Day than any other —— —— 317
— if to be respected more than other common Week Days —— 326
— whether the Parliament and Assembly were Fools in rasing out Holidays 327
— cannot be vacated by a Vote of the House of Commons —— *ib*
— Observers of it not chargeable with Superstition or Blindness —— 328
— whether it did not take its Rise from the mad Feasts of *Saturnalia* 329
— not observ'd in Conformity to the Heathenish Customs —— 331
— whether the Practice of it, if not to be prov'd, ought not to be quitted *ib*
— founded on universal Tradition — 332
Church, true Sons of, branded with Nick-names —— i [114]
— of *England*, her Remonstrance to both Houses of Parliament —— 205
— a Second Remonstrance — 212
— deems the Dissenters her worst Enemies —— —— 206
— charges them with Plots and evil Practices —— —— 207
— her Encomium on K. *James* II. *ib*
— her Character of the Papists — *ib*
— Truth her Foundation —— 210
— Test of her Loyalty —— 222
— claims Inerrability in point of Obedience —— —— *ib*
— not so loyal as Roman Catholicks 223
— always of a persecuting Temper *ib*
— murder'd *Mary* Queen of *Scots* *ib*
— her Behaviour to King *James* II. 224
—— her

Vol. Pag.

England in Parliament —— ii 491
— offers to give Reasons for not answering their Charge, but is interrupted —— —— *ib*
— demands to put in Demurrers to the Proceedings —— 492
— denies the Commons of *England* to be a Court of Judicature —— *ib*
— insists, that the Court shew their Jurisdiction —
— is required by the Lord President to make a positive Answer —— 495
— his Reply —— —— *ib*
— persists in denying the Jurisdiction of the Court —— —— 496
— Lord President's Answer —— 497
— desires, before Sentence, to be heard in the Painted-Chamber, before the Lords and Commons —— *ib*
— is acquainted with the final Resolution of the Court —— 499
— his Reply thereto —— 500
— the President's last Speech to him *ib*
— compar'd to *Caligula*, who wished the People of *Rome* had but one Neck —— —— 501
— his Sentence of Death is read — 502
— too tenacious of his Purposes — iii 432
— his Concessions would have effectually secured the Rights of *Englishmen* —— —— 436
— wilful, obstinate and uxorious—— iv 408
— the Book published in his Name a gross Imposture —— *ib*
— hated this Nation, and a cruel Oppressor of it —— 401
— a most inveterate Enemy to Parliaments —— —— 411
— raised two Wars on the *Scots*, because they would not receive *Laud*'s Liturgy —— —— *ib*
— charged with the *Irish* Massacre under the Broad Seal of *Scotland* —— *ib*
— at last cried up for a Saint and a Martyr —— —— —— *ib*
— dies with a Lie in his Mouth, owning that for his Book, which was wrote by Bp. *Gawden*, and Dr. *Duppa* —— —— 412
Charles II. his Answer to Gen. *Monk*'s Letter —— —— iii 4
— pardons the General, and declares

his

Vol. Pag.

— her Loyalty acknowledg'd by King *James* II. — — 227
— vindicated from the Aſperſions of the Papiſts — — 228
— her ſteady Attachment to the Crown 229
— expoſtulated with for not addreſſing 239
— Reaſons of for not addreſſing, anſwer'd — — 240
— had a chief Hand in the Excluſion Bill and *Monmouth*'s Affair — *ib*
— as much obliged to the King as to the Diſſenters — 241
— never carried higher than Non-reſiſtance — — i 436
— Papiſt, an abominable Monſter 281
— Catholick, viſible and inviſible, 381
— political, what — *ib*
— of *England* defined — *ib*
— Government of, internal and external — — *ib*
— ſhould be governed by Biſhops *ib*
— may be conſtituted a-new by Parliament — — 282
— will not quarrel with Diſſenters ii 370
— Authority of, the Foundation of Popery — — 460,1
— Acts for the Reformation of, not the Work of Biſhops or Convocation — — 461
— Articles of, agreed to by turning out popiſh Biſhops and taking in proteſtant — — *ib*
— her Authority in Matters of Faith and Rites, not an Article agreed to by the Convocation of Q. *Elizabeth* 464
— the preſent Article for it a Forgery — — *ib*
— the Original Articles — *ib*
— is not in the Manuſcript Copy of the Original Articles — *ib*
— nor in thoſe ratified by Parliament 465
— which is granted by A. B. *Laud* *ib*
— not inſerted till 22 Years afterwards — — 469
— Diſputes about the Editions of thoſe Articles — 470, 1,2
— Biſhop of *Sarum*'s Suppoſitions relating thereto refuted — 474
— of *England* charged with Perſecution — — 585
— and Diſſenters ſet one againſt another by the Court — 528
— Reconciliation between them neceſſary — — 531
— Conſtitution of, the ſame with that of the Catholicks — 556

—were

Vol. Pag.

his Readineſs to comply with his Propoſals — — iii *ib*
— promiſes to forgive thoſe who ſubmit — — 5
— declares his Pleaſure concerning the ſequeſter'd Eſtates — *ib*
— his Speech to the Parliament 1660 — — 17
— complains of his Poverty — 18
— his Commiſſions about the Purchaſes of ſequeſter'd Eſtates — 19
— his Letter to the Lord Lieut. of *Ireland* in Favour of the Marquis of *Antrim* — — ii 375
— not a Proof that his Father favour'd the *Iriſh* Rebellion — 405
— the firſt Inſtance of a Prince's ſetling the Title of his preſumptive Heir — — iii 346
— merciful beyond Example — 347
— is adviſed to grant a Toleration to Diſſenters — — *ib*
— revokes his Indulgence at the Deſire of the Parliament — 348
— his Reaſons for declaring the Marq. of *Antrim* innocent — 411
— Difference between him and his Subjects fomented by the ſame Humours as prevail'd in 1640 — 257
— often affirm'd that the Bill of Excluſion ſhould never paſs 359
— never had a Deſign of ſetting up an arbitrary Government — 365
— preſs'd his firſt Parliament to paſs a general Act of Indemnity *ib*
— made no Bargain with his Parliament for a certain Revenue *ib*
— refus'd to take the Church-Lands, tho' vaſtly to his Advantage. — *ib*
— might have pocketted the Money given for the War againſt *Holland* *ib*
— too poor to govern arbitrarily — 366
— of a moſt peaceable and merciful Diſpoſition — — *ib*
— Bills he paſs'd for ſecuring the Liberty of the Subject — 367
— his ſmall Revenue — — *ib*
— his Declaration for ſuſpending Penal Laws, and indulging Diſſenters, the firſt Grounds of ſuſpecting his Deſign to govern arbitrarily 368
— his Declaration of Indulgence, why cancell'd — — 370

Charles II. is adviſ'd to join with the

	Vol.	Pag.
— were Diſſenters in the Days of King *Henry* VIII. — —		560
— loſt her Doctrine of Nonreſiſtance in oppoſing King *James* —		563
— broke thro' the Oath of Allegiance		564
— as by Law eſtabliſh'd, no great Commendation of —	iii	202
— of *England*, too well guarded to be in Danger — —		228
— her greateſt Danger from the Riches of her Clergy —		229
— in no Danger from the Whigs		*ib*
— ſuffer'd nothing by *Sacheverel's* Trial — —		231
— Diſcipline of, adapted to all Capacities — —		259
— can't be deſtroy'd but by oppoſing the Liberties of our Country and of Conſcience —		280
— if as good-natur'd as the Conſtitution, it would be the beſt-bred national Church in Chriſtendom —		*ib*
— ſtood firm in primitive Times without one Ceremony to preſerve it		346
Church and Colleges deprived of their Liberties, *&c.* —	ii	269
Church of *Rome*, Impoſitions of on her own Members —	iv	567
— her Biſhops dumb Dogs —		570
— of *England*, appear'd Catholick in King *Charles* I's Reign —	iii	299
Church Law muſt be preferred to that of the State — —		225
Churchman his true Character —	ii	553
Churchmen, buſying themſelves with State Affairs not to be countenanced — —	i	200
— and Diſſenters, at Times alike loyal and diſloyal —	ii	566
— renounced their nonreſiſting Principles at the Revolution —	iii	431
Cicero, his excellent Saying of good and bad Miniſters —	i	126
— his Aſſertion that the whole World is under the Conduct of a ſentient and perceptive Nature —	ii	283
Civil Law, Excellency of —	iii	333
Civil War, how generally cauſed —	i	8
— muſt be follow'd by Moderation in the Conqueror —	iii	446
Clement VII. Pope, his Impriſonment no Diſgrace — —	ii	486
Clergy, ſworn to obey the Biſhops	i	243
— their Obedience in Things temporal as well as eccleſiaſtical —		244

—their

	Vol.	Pag.
French, and ſeize the *Dutch Smyrna* Fleet before War declar'd —	iii	370
— made *France* the Terror of all Nations — —		*ib*
— prevented from carrying on the War againſt *France* by his parſimonious Parliament —		372
— which was the Cauſe of breaking the Confederacy againſt *France*		373
— invaded no Man's Life, Liberty or Property —		384
— at what Time he ſhould have enter'd into the War —		388
— ſollicited by his Parliament to recal his Troops from *France*		390
— preſſes his Parliament to aſſiſt him againſt *France* —		391
— a true Relation of his Death		404
— his dying Expreſſions —		*ib*
— receives the Sacrament at the Hands of Father *H.* —		*ib*
— had more Power given him by his firſt Parliament than afterwards they were willing he ſhould keep — —		436
— his Declaration for Indulgence of Diſſenters was to ſerve a preſent Purpoſe —		487
— dated the ſame Time he declared War againſt the *Dutch* —		*ib*
— continues the Parliament that was ſitting at his coming to the Crown — —	iv	37
— with whoſe Reſtoration flowed in a Deluge of Prophaneneſs and Debauchery —		412
— allow'd 1000 *l.* a Week to each of his Whores — —		*ib*
— ſuſpected to be poiſon'd by his Brother — —		*ib*
Charles, Prince, his Departure from *Madrid* — —	i	231
— in great Danger in paſſing from Ship to Shore —		240
— pacifies a Quarrel at Sea between ſome *Dunkirkers* and *Hollanders* — —		243
— his heroic Expreſſion upon his quitting the Court of *Spain* —	ii	60
Charles V. Emperor, his Attempt for an abſolute Monarchy —	i	297
— prevented by *Henry* VIII.		*ib*
— his Son, *Philip* II. in Purſuit of the ſame Deſign, is interrupted by		

Queen

	Vol.	Pag.
Clergy their Unity with the Bishops to be maintained with Caution —	i	*ib*
— their Possessions depend on their Behaviour —		*ib*
— exalt the Soverign above all Laws —		245
— should consider if their Duty to their Diocesan, Metropolitan, or the King is the greatest —		247
— required by King *James*, to publish his Declaration founded on a dispensing Power —		402
— Sectarian, incense the People against the King (*Charles* I.) —		428
— exempted from Military Service		436
— vexed to see Fanaticks put into Council and Session —		453
— their Ignorance in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Time, a comical Instance of	ii	470
— in the Reign of *Richard* II. forg'd an Act of Parliament for the Destruction of Hereticks —		471
— of *London*, backward in reviving the Laws against Dissenters —		527
— their Disposition towards Dissenters, a little before the Revolution		536
— their Readiness to come to a Temper		537
— *French*, by haranguing on the Danger of the Church, spirited up the People to massacre the Protestants	iii	232
— compass'd the Death of two Kings to set the Church above the State		233
— *English*, that took the Oaths to King *William*, most profligate		570
— before the Restoration, tax'd by the Convocation —		577
— instrumental in promoting the Revolution — —		586
— pray'd for King *William*'s Success in *Ireland* — —		587
— praise GOD for his successful Expedition and Arrival here —		588
— of *France*, their Remonstrance to *Lewis* XIV. 1677 —	iv	301
— are denied their usual Custom of visiting the Sick among the Reformed		303
— pray for a Law to forbid Catholicks changing their Religion —		*ib*
— urge, as an Argument, the Glory of the King —		304
— of Queen *Elizabeth*, their Opinion disregarded —	iii	295
Cloaths, Effect of in Courtship —	iv	387
Closetting Electors become a By-word	ii	[273]
Codrus, King, so good, the *Athenians* would have none after him —	i	122
Coffee-		

	Vol.	Pag.
Queen *Elizabeth* —	i	298
— raises a Faction in *France*, but is disappointed by the Counsels and Assistance of *England* —		*ib*
Charles IX. of *France*, his Tragedy at *Paris*, most grateful to the Pope — —	iii	293
Charles the Gross, dying without Heir, his Kingdoms chose themselves Kings —	iv	35
Character of a true Protestant —	iii	393
— owns the King to be Head of the Church and God's Deputy in Government —		*ib*
— conceives Passive Obedience due to a King —		*ib*
— confesses our Obligation to God's Moral Law, and Man's Judicial — —		*ib*
— his Faith —		*ib*
— dares not distinguish between the King and his Person —		394
Charters, held by yearly Stage-Plays —	i	202
Chaundler, Rev. his Letter to Mr. *Carte*, desiring a Proof that King *Charles* was not accessary to the *Irish* Massacre —	ii	393
— his Answer to Mr. *Carte*'s Letter — —		398
Cheat of aspiring Men to inveigle the Unwary into their Schemes	iii	256
Chimneys, smoaky, how cured	ii	280
CHRIST went from Paradise to Gehenna, a new Opinion, broach'd by Dr. *Bilson* — —	i	134
— confuted —		*ib*
— owns himself a King, yet refuses to be made one by the *Jews* — — —	ii	72
— a King and no King, if without Power to order his House and Subjects — —	i	508
Christendom, Meaning of in the Pope's Bull — —		78
Christian Subjection and unchristian Rebellion, Difference between		14
Chronographical Description of Time from the Beginning of the World to the Year of CHRIST 137		92-133
Church of *Rome*, impregnably fortified — — —		340
— her natural Sicknesses are Pride, Ambition, and Avarice —	ii	195
— of *England*, is free by *Magna Charta* — —		295
F		Church

	Vol.	Pag.
Coffee-houſes, Nurſeries of Sedition and Rebellion	iv	56
Coleman, his Declarations at his Trial	ii	278
Colledge, Stephen, charged with vilifying the Duke of *Monmouth*	i	136
College of Juſtice in *Scotland* arm and are diſbanded		467
Colvil, Dr. a memorable Saying of his about Nonreſiſtance	iii	282
Combinations againſt Publick Credit fruitleſs	ii	115
Colleges and Monaſteries erected abroad to preſerve the Catholick Religion in Q. *Elizabeth*'s Reign	iii	295
Commandment, Firſt and Second forbid Superſtition as well as Idolatry		187
Commandments, how many of them broken by the Revolution	ii	[243]
Commerce of Trade not inconſiſtent with a State of War		523
Commines, Philip de, his Remarks on the *Engliſh* Government		441
Committee of Safety erected	i	13
—— of plunder'd Miniſters		21
Common Prayer, eſtabliſhed by Parliament	ii	461
—— Amendments of, propoſed	iii	202
Common Council of *London* refuſes to deliver up their Charter	ii	[272]
Commons of *England* always jealous of the King's Liberality to his Favourites		101
Commons derive their Power from the People, not the King	iv	509
—— wherein they are, and are not Judges of the Laws of the Land		510
Commonwealth has greater Power than the King		*ib*
Communion Table placed Altar-wiſe, contrary to the Rubrick	ii	462
Community, what	i	340
Companies, juſt as many neceſſary in *England* as *Holland*	iv	36
Complaint made for ſelling the King's Declarations	i	13
Comprehenſion, a Diſparagement of the old Reformation		166
—— oppoſed by K. *Charles* II.	ii	527
Complutenſian Edition of the New Teſtament, at whoſe Expence done		492
—— its Authority founded on the *Vatican* MSS.		493
—— the diſputed Paſſage, 1 *John*, v. 7. inſerted from the *Vatican* MS.		494,5
—— Objections to, and other Enquiries about it		498-505
Church of *E.* Unreaſonableneſs of her Fears	iii	435
— unwillingly came into the Revolution	iv	105
— the Advantage King *William* took of their Reluctance, and Contempt they brought upon themſelves		106
— their dreadful Apprehenſions from the rooting out of Epiſcopacy in *Scotland*		*ib*
Churches in *London*, hold not a tenth Part of the People		119
Churchmen, repenting their Departure from *Rome*	iii	328
— caught in a Dilemma about Paſſive Obedience	iv	119
Churchill, Sir *Winſton*, clears King *Charles* from giving Orders to foment the *Iriſh* Rebellion	ii	405
Cicero, his Reaſons why Players ſhould be permitted in *Rome*	i	184
— his Affection for ſome celebrated Players		194
Circus, how differing from the Theatre		187
Civil War, the terrible Miſchiefs of	ii	153
— like a Gaming Table, where none gets but the Box-keeper	iii	262
Clapboard, how to make it as good as the *Dutch* for keeping Fiſh	iv	432
Clarendon, Earl of, his Petition and Addreſs to the Lords	iii	83
— clears himſelf from the Charge of Corruption in his Office		84
— and of the Miſcarriages in the State		84-5
— foretels the Miſchiefs of engaging in a War before any Alliance form'd		85
— his Conduct in making Treaties, irreproachable		86
— his Credit but ſmall ſince the Parliament at *Oxford*		*ib*
— his refuſing to ſet the Seal to Mens Pardons, and other Grants, rais'd him Enemies		*ib*
— never receiv'd any Benefits from Treaties with Foreign Princes		87
— Governor of *Ireland*, his Commiſſion ſtinted, and his Authority controuled by *Tyrconnel*	iv	20
— on his Removal 500 Families deſert *Dublin*		*ib*
Clayton, Sir *Robert*, his Speech on going out of his Mayoralty	iii	281
Clement IX. Pope, Ceremonies perform'd at his Creation		65

	Vol.	Pag.
Conduct in Government, Want of, supply'd by Expedients	iv	123
Confederates, our Enemies in Trade	iii	102
Conclave, when first appointed for the Cardinals to chuse Popes in	iv	366
—— take Advantage of the Prince of *Orange*'s Ambition		534
—— Advantages they propos'd by the Revolution		538
—— their Losses every where		540
—— no Unity in their Councils		545
—— gain'd no Advantage against *France*		*ib*
—— have but a gloomy Prospect from the vast Preparations of the *French*		560
Confederacies seldom perform great Exploits		571
Confirmation, a necessary Preparation to the Lord's Supper		377
—— Method of in primitive Times		378
—— consider'd as a Sacrament		*ib*
— wrong Methods of, as now practic'd		379
—— impossible to be perform'd in a Triennial Visitation		*ib*
—— inferior Ministers should be substituted for it		*ib*
—— Methods proposed to render it more useful		380
Conformists and Non-conformists in equal Danger from Blood-thirsty Priests	i	368
Conquest of *France*, not the Business of *England*	iii	17
—— a bad Plea both for Prince and People		486
—— of *England* disown'd by the Pr. of *Orange*		487
—— dreadful Consequences of in other Nations		489
Conscience forced makes Men Hypocrites	i	367
— Tenderness of, not a Trifle, Peevishness or Nicety	iii	196
Considerations on the Test of the Church of *England*'s Loyalty	i	226
—— for Competitors and Electors of Representatives in Parliament	iv	146
Conspirators (against K. *Charles* I.) direct the People to petition to them	i	427
Constantine calls a General Council about *Arius*	iv	335,6
—— burns the Libels of the Bishops against each other		336
—— IV. Emperor, parted with his Power of creating Popes		366

Constitution

	Vol.	Pag.
Clement IX. List of the Cardinals present at the Time	iii	68
— Ceremonies perform'd at his Coronation		*ib*
Clergy abuse the Truth of GOD, by preaching up Divine Right, and absolute Power in the King	ii	170
—— ought not to preach about Prerogative and our Privileges		435
— national, exerted themselves strenuously against Popery in K. *James*'s Reign		490
— yet some of them exchanged the legal Security of the Church for the *Royal Word*		500
Clergymen, cannot covenant to extirpate Prelacy, why		268
Coigniers and *Anderson*, two *Benedictine* Monks, suborned to stab the King	iii	263
Coin, ill State of in King *William*'s Time	iv	169
— great Difficulties about calling it in		170
— Debates in Parliament upon it		172
— resolved on by Parliament		173
— Debates about the Standard of the new Coin		*ib*
— ought not to be rais'd above the Old		174
— resolv'd to recoin it by the Old		*ib*
— People backward in bringing in the Old		175
— Circulation of the New greatly obstructed		*ib*
— occasions a great Loss of Credit, but is soon remedied		176
Cock, his Head cut off, another sprouts out	ii	433
— Beams of his Eye exalted almost to those of a Serpent		438
Coke, Sir *Edward*, his Definition of a Parliament		34
Coleman's Zeal for the Extirpation of Hereticks		293
— pretends the Design was only to advance Popery by way of Toleration		297
Colepeper, *William*, Esq; chosen Chairman at the Quarter Sessions at *Maidstone*	iv	301
— his Answer to the Freeholders desiring an Application to Parliament for Redress of Grievances		302
— is desired by the Justices to draw a Petition for that Purpose		*ib*
— the Petition is signed by the Grand-Jury and Justices		*ib*

	Vol.	Pag.
Conſtitution preſerved by the miraculous Power of God	ii	441
—— Preſervation of, preferable to all other Conſiderations	iii	15
—— broken in upon by the Abdication		512
Contracts for the Army very fraudulent	ii	106
Convention cannot annul the King's Authority	i	321
—— Reaſons for conſtituting it a fitting Parliament		348
—— why it did not call in Queſtion the Birth of the Pretender		404
—— at *Edinburgh*, Part of it reſolved to meet at *Stirling*		470
—— but prevented by an Accident		472
—— obſtructed in their Proceedings by King *James*'s Party		473
—— propoſe a Union between the two Kingdoms		*ib*
—— find great Difficulty in declaring the Throne vacant		475
—— vote it forfeited, and agree to offer it to the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange* —		*ib*
—— Proceedings of —	ii	387
—— vote the Crown forfeited, and the Throne vacant —		388
— the Biſhops there vote againſt it		*ib*
— vote for an Act to ſettle the Crown on K. *William*, and Q. *Mary*		389
Converts, Female, to the Popiſh Religion, a Diſgrace to the Proteſtants	i	54
Convocation, ſtands in no need of Advice		263
— their Addreſs to King *William*, in 1689	ii	333
— his Majeſty's Anſwer		334
— at *Oxford*, its Judgment and Decree againſt certain Books, *&c.* 1683	iii	223
— and Parliament approve Queen *Elizabeth*'s relieving her Confederates		579
— one Uſe of, is to reſiſt growing Tyranny		587
Cooke, John, his remarkable Addreſs to Parliament	i	32
— Counſellor, his Speech intended to be ſpoke, had King *Charles* pleaded to his Indictment	iv	171
— his Charge open'd		172
— demands Judgment againſt the King		193
— contradicts himſelf		206

Coro-

	Vol.	Pag.
Colepeper W. undertakes with five Gentlemen more to preſent the Petition to Parliament	iv	*ib*
— come all to Town, and apply to Sir *Thomas Hales*, to deliver their Petition		*ib*
— are threatned with the Reſentment of the Houſe		303
— their reſolute Anſwer thereupon		304
— their Petition carried in by Mr. *Meredith*		*ib*
— are called in and interrogated by the Speaker		*ib*
— advis'd to fly to the Clemency of the Houſe		*ib*
— their bold Reply		305
— their civil Anſwer on being farther preſs'd		*ib*
— inſiſt on the Rectitude of the Meaſures they had taken		*ib*
— their Petition voted ſcandalous, inſolent, and ſeditious		*ib*
— ſurrender themſelves to the Serjeant at Arms		*ib*
— reſpectfully uſed for the firſt three Days		*ib*
— the Serjeant acquaints them with his unlimited Power over them		*ib*
— offer him a hundred Guineas by way of Civility		306
— are rudely hurried away to ſeveral Priſons, and barbarouſly uſed		*ib*
— are bullied by the Serjeant in their Confinement		*ib*
— are ſent to the Gatehouſe		307
— are kindly treated by Mr. *Taylor* the Keeper		*ib*
— are diſcharged on the Prorogation of the Parliament		308
— are invited to an Entertainment at *Mercers-Hall*		*ib*
— are highly honour'd at their Return into the Country		*ib.* &
— their Impriſonment not countenanced by Law, Reaſon, or Policy		309 310
— the moſt ridiculous, inconſiſtent Action that ever Parliament was guilty of		*ib*
Comedians, antient, their Dreſs —	i	198
Comedies, the ſeveral Kinds of		195
— Definition of		*ib*
— had their Original in *Athens*		*ib*
— Uſe of		198
Commiſſion of Array in Force when the two Houſes voted againſt it	ii	445

Com-

	Vol.	Pag.
Coronation of King *William* and Queen *Mary*, Proceſſion of, made through Foreign Guards	i	331
— Oath to maintain Religion, invalidates all ſubſequent Promiſes to the contrary		100
— of Pope *Alexander* III. the Manner of	iv	366
Corporations, their Rights to chuſe Sheriffs		427
Correſpondence between *England* and *Holland*, interrupted	i	459
Corruption of Parliaments, one Cauſe of our Calamities	iii	521
Cottingham and *Windebank*, Secretaries to King *Charles* II. dy'd Roman Catholicks		299
Coventry and *Litchfield*, Biſhop of, his Life of *Pythagoras*		139
Covetous Man, Character of	i	127
Councils have erred	iii	342
Country terrified with falſe Alarms	i	17
Court, of Chancery, its original Deſign		34
— a hard Word		93
— and Country Party hatched in *France*		[114]
— of Conſcience, by whom, and when erected		370
— Reaſons for erecting Three more		*ib*
— Reaſons againſt it		371
— Caſes in Law not to be determined there		372
— will cauſe Diſſention in a Neighbourhood		373
— will bar the Subject the Benefit of other Laws		*ib*
— of Claims erected in *Ireland*, for what	ii	32
— Lady, Inſolence of one		483
— Favourites, what Miſchiefs capable of		*ib*
— a-kin to no Man, yet Heirs of the World		484
— all Things, even the King in their Power		*ib*
— Party (in King *Charles* IId.'s Time) their Uſage of Diſſenters		584
Courteſy and Liberality, gain a Man Affection	iv	392
Courts, how they get the Clergy on their Side	iii	181
Cox, Dr. his Obſervation on putrified Herbs ſwarming with Maggots	ii	239
Cranmer, A. B. contradicts himſelf in explaining the Euchariſt	i	60
— inveigles the King to ſtrike *Gardiner* out of his Will	iii	289
Creation		

	Vol.	Pag.
Commiſſions for Depopulations, a Grievance	ii	167
Commitment, with denying Pen, Ink, and Paper, *&c.* not warranted by Law	iv	72
— for Contempt of Court, a Breach upon perſonal Liberty		73
Committee of both Houſes repair to *Guildhall*		18
— commit Serjeant *Danby*, the King's Meſſenger to Cuſtody		*ib*
— appointed to confer with *Cromwell*, about making him King	iii	115
Common Law ever provided Aids for the *Primogenitus*, and eldeſt Daughter of the King	i	356
Common-Council, new modelled by the Puritans		407
— and the Houſe of Commons go Hand in Hand		412
Common Prayer, firmly eſtabliſh'd by Act of Parliament		501
Common-Pleas, Place of holding muſt be certain	ii	457
Common-weal, wherein it conſiſts	i	420
— not in Riches, Power, nor Honour only		421
— but in the Practice of Virtue, reaſonable Ordinances and Laws		*ib*
Common-wealth is the Depravation of a free and popular State	ii	216
— at Variance with an Oligarchy		217
— ſometimes a Mixture of all the Sorts of State		*ib*
— Calamities of, owing to the Want of their antient Government	iii	1
— the Power of its Rulers weakened by the Death of ſome		*ib*
Commons of *England*, their Remonſtrance to the Houſe of Commons in Parliament	ii	256
— count the Latter only their Truſtees		257
— complain againſt their Proceedings		258
— cenſure them for interfering with Church Government		*ib*
— charge them with making Orders and Ordinances contrary to Law		260
— accuſe them of Treachery to the King		*ib*
— and of no leſs Injuſtice to the Subject		261
— and for extending their Privileges beyond due Bounds		262
— and as the Cauſe of an unnatural Civil War and all its Calamities		263
— being Hereticks, have no Property,		

	Vol.	Pag.
Creation, Difficulties in the *Mosaic* Account of	iv	402
Credit, Original of	ii	3
— the Life of Trade		*ib*
— not chained to Names, but to Actions		*ib*
— founded on Property		*ib*
— Use of in Government		457
— Publick defended		267
Crœsus, passed the River *Halys* 548 Years before CHRIST	iii	166
Cromwell, Ol. a Leviathan	i	3
— made Lieut. General		25
— shews the King great Respect		26
— intended to have altered the Succession to his own Family	ii	276
— join'd with *France* in all her Wars against *Spain*	iii	49
— a modest Vindication of		393
— as great a Man as *Cæsar*		*ib*
— his treating with the King imputed a Crime		398
— his Cunning in sifting *Ludlow*'s Thoughts		401
— dissolves the Rump, Q. how justly?		407
— accused of being an Incendiary		408
— a Party in the Parliament early against him		409
— gets most religious Men in his Regiment		*ib*
— never aim'd at Government till forc'd for his own Safety		410
— his Motives for dissolving the Rump		411
— consults with the great Men in what Manner to settle the Government		*ib*
— Debates whether it should be Monarchichal or Republican		412
— variously characteriz'd		413
— always advised with his greatest Lawyers		414
— his Motives to destroy the Republican *Hydra*		415
— draws up an Instrument of Government		417
— his Liberality to his Council of State		*ib*
— his Covenant with the People		418
— his Profession to his Parliament		*ib*
— his Character, by *Baxter*		419
— his solemn Challenge to charge him with creating Necessities	iv	420
— Benefits of his Government		420
— only chang'd the Government, not the Form of the Republick		461
— the greatest Captain of his Time		*ib*
Crom-		

	Vol.	Pag.
and so no Power	iii	303
— in Parliament, how divided	i	425
— their Power in impeaching evil Ministers	iv	321
— have a Power to impeach, but not to judge		337
— their Right of Impeachment not to be defeated by the Lords		338
— may delay or let fall a Prosecution upon an Impeachment		341
— are not limited to a Day to exhibit Articles of Impeachment		343
— Reasonableness of their not being tied to a set Day		344
— Concurrence of both Houses necessary for the Safety of the Subject		346
— not confined to the strict Rules and Methods of Proceedings in inferior Courts, why		348
— not to be treated like a common Informer, or like an Attorney and Solicitor General		350
— ought not to be censur'd for committing Persons, not Members		351
— Committee of both Houses necessary to adjust any Difficulties on Impeachments		353
Community only has a Right to take Advantage of the King's Forfeiture		257
Comparison between the Duke of *Buckingham* and the Earl of *Essex*	i.	396
Competitors for a Crown never innocent		254
Complaints in King *William*'s Reign as grievous as those in King *James*'s		463
Conde, Prince of, obliged to retire before the Confederates	iii	389
Conduits for the Sullage of a House, Directions about	i	281
Confederates, Successes of, against the *French* in 1674, 1675	iii	389
— are jealous of each other		390
Conquest may make way for, but not constitute a Government	iv	255
Conscience, Empire over, is reserved to GOD himself	iii	488
Consonances, the most ravishing are the Fifth and Octave	i	278
Constance, Council of, decrees the Secular Power cannot hinder the Ecclesiastical from its legal Exercise	iii	299
Constant Patience, Sir, his Evidence against Popery		315
Constitution of the Government every Man's Security		207
Con-		

	Vol.	Pag.
Cromwell, his great Exploits	iv	461
—— Charge of High Treason against		462
—— his dissolving the long Parliament justified		463
—— keeping Arms in his Hands, good Reasons for		464
—— falsly charged with forcing the Parliament to take away the Body of our Laws		465
—— *Richard*, had a long Struggle in Parliament to be recogniz'd Protector		526
Crown, whether successive	i	315
—— Succession to, may be limited by Parliament		405
—— an Inheritance, not a Gift	i	325
—— Succession to, often alter'd		408
Cuts in the Common Prayer Book, and Pictures in the Churches, forbid by Queen *Elizabeth*	ii	462
Cyprian, an Example of Moderation with regard to disputable Points		574
—— calls himself *Præpositus*, to distinguish him from his Presbyters	iii	366
Cyrus, tho' a Heathen Prince, is called the Lord's anointed		432

D

DANCING Mare, burnt in the Inquisition	iii	211
Danes, Rovers and Robbers when they invaded *Britain*		456
Darius, his Fear and Courage in the Affair of *Daniel*	i	49
Dartmouth, Lord, one of Queen *Anne*'s new Ministers	ii	257
Dauphin, invited by the Barons to be reveng'd of K. *John*, turns Tyrant	iii	108-9
Days, for a Cessation from Work, not instituted by Man		187
—— appointed for Saints and Martyrs, an Imitation of the Church of *Rome*		201
Deacons, their Order describ'd		374
—— how employ'd in the Church		*ib*
—— a spiritual Order, asserted and oppos'd		375
—— often set for all Ministers in general		*ib*
—— prov'd a meer Lay-Office		376
—— not allowed the Consecration of the sacred Mysteries		377
Debts of the Nation stated in 1712	ii	40
—— of the Navy		41
—— Lord Treasurer not answerable for		43

Debt

	Vol.	Pag.
Constitution of *England* admits not of propagating Religion by the Sword	iii	251
—— requires Papists to violate their Oaths to Hereticks		450
—— cannot subsist without the rightful King	iv	57
Considerations on settling the Government, 1689		255
Conspiracy against King *William*, Account of		81
Convention, not invested with Power to make a new King less than a Parliament, why		*ib*
—— in 1660, Acts of taken for Law, though never confirm'd by Parliament		256
—— of King *William*, had all the Essentials of a Parliament		57
—— of the States of *Scotland*, at the Revolution, less than the Third of a Parliament		110
Contracts, made against the Canon-Law, void	iii	298
Conversion of States, Causes of	ii	234
Converts, New, a Faction in King *William*'s Reign	iv	207
—— originally *Jacobites*		208
—— thrust themselves into Places of Trust		*ib*
—— obstruct all the King's Measures		211
—— would tie up the King's Hands, and arm their own with the Power of the Sword		221
—— their Designs are to shake our fundamental Establishment		222
—— their Kindness to the Parliament a Trick of the old Trade		223
—— threaten a Dissolution of Monarchy for the Mismanagement of the Ministry		225
—— affront a good King in being, because a bad one may succeed		227
—— angry that the King had foil'd them at their own Weapons		229
—— and that he had left 7000 Cutthroats in *Ireland*		230
—— allow a standing Army rais'd by Parliament		*ib*
—— the Reason of their Jealousies		231
—— Fools, set a madding by Noise and Nonsense		235
—— their Ingratitude to our *Dutch* Friends		242

Con-

	Vol.	Pag.
Debt, nor the Ministry chargeable with	ii	44-5
—— Abstract of ——		50
—— of the Navy estimated —		66
—— Observations thereon ——		72
— provided for by the *S. Sea* Act		85
— Ministry of Queen *Anne*, how far chargeable with ——		*ib*
Decay of Trade irretrievable while K. *William* reigns ——	iii	568
Declaration of Rights, our best Security against Oppression, *&c.*	ii	348
— for Liberty of Conscience, a politick Scheme to gain the Protestants — ——		303
Defence, Self, Denial of, contrary to the Law of Nature ——	i	171
— and the Laws of the *Romans*		172
— and a Contradiction to Common-Sense, Morality and Polity		*ib*
— takes away Security from peaceable Subjects —— ——		*ib*
— inconsistent with the plain Sense and Intention of the Law —		173
Democratical Men never quiet under any Government ——		111
Denmark, Prince of, an obstinate Lutheran —— —		253
— tho' bred a Lutheran, joins with the establish'd Church ——	iii	261
— King of, craves Aid of the Protector against *Sweden* ——	ii	583
— Queries propos'd on the Occasion by the *Dutch* to our Commonwealth —— —		583,4
— Commons of, to be reveng'd of their Lords, made the King absolute — ——	iii	234
— King of, takes the Advantage of the People's Gratitude to enslave them —— ——		491
— how it became hereditary and absolute —— ——	iv	[363]
— King of, appoints a Meeting of the Free Estates ——		[364]
— Nobility of, insist on their Prerogative of paying no Taxes —		*ib*
— the Commons, ill us'd by the Nobles, separate from them —		265
— and resolve to offer their Assistance to make the King absolute		*ib*
— the King hardly brought to accept of their Offer ——		266
— the Nobles are surpriz'd to see the Commons attend them and demand their Concurrence ——		267

Den-

	Vol.	Pag.
Converts, never so apt to spy Dangers, as when the Government is like to be most flourishing —	iv	244
— dread an arbitrary Power, which they say they have no Reason to suspect — —		*ib*
— catch at all Advantages to abate the sovereign Prerogative —		*ib*
— their Methods of improving Stories against the Ministry —		245
— describ'd in Verse —		246
Cooke, Catherine, her Oath of seeing an Apparition — —	iii	98
Cooper, Sir *Anth. Ashley*, and others, their Letter to the Lord *Fleetwood*, owning their Design to secure the Tower of *London* —	i	510
— how frustrated in their Attempt		511
— remind him of his Breach of Faith to the Parliament, and other Crimes		*ib*
— praise GOD for their Deliverer Gen. *Monk* — —		*ib*
Copley, for speaking dangerous Words against the Queen, is tried by the House of Commons ——	ii	65
Cork, Bishop of, petitions for Redress without Effect ——	iv	18
Corker, a *Benedictine*, made by the Pope Bishop of *London*, had Power to seize the Estates of the Hereticks	iii	287
Corn Trade, how it may be improved	iv	435
Coronation Oath, not consistent with Judgment, Truth and Righteousness		225
— against the fundamental Freedom of the Subject and Parliament		237
— contradictory to the Law —		238
— Words of harsh ——		239
— contrary to Truth ——		*ib*
— an Act of Pomp and State, not of Use or Necessity ——		249
Corporations, bound by the Majority, not a Parallel Case to Parliaments		459
— Quowarranto'd by the Church of *England*, regulated by the Fanaticks	iii	437
Costairs, a Super-Presbyterian, attends King *William*'s Person ——	iv	116
Cottingham, Sir *George*, relates dismal Stories of the Papists ——		370
Covenanting of the People against their Sovereign, encouraged by Queen *Elizabeth* and the United Provinces	ii	269
— and by King *Charles* I. in relieving *Rochelle* — ——		*ib*
Council Table, Oath of the Members		169

Council

	Vol.	Pag.
— and addreſs the King privately	iv	268
— the Commons, with the Biſhop, wait on the King		269
— the Biſhop's Speech		*ib*
— the City Gates are lock'd, and the Nobles frighten'd		270
— the Nobles acquieſce, ſurrender their Liberty, and ſwear Fealty		*ib*
— only one of them ſpoke in behalf of their expiring Liberties		271
— the Citizens obtain the Privilege of wearing Swords		*ib*
— the Clergy the only Gainers by it		*ib*
Denmark and *Sweden*, Kings of, often depos'd, impriſon'd, or exil'd		430
Deſertion improperly apply'd to King *James*	iii	470
Dioceſes ſhould be reduc'd into leſs Compaſs		386
Diogenes, a remarkable Saying of	i	126
Diſaffected (in K. *William*'s Reign) hinder the Succeſs of his beſt Projects	iii	75
— all of them *Sacheverel*'s Champions		*ib*
— no Danger in puniſhing them		76
Diſbanding the Army and truſting to the Militia, whether a right Meaſure	iv	484
Diſcontents ariſing from the Change of Government	i	322
Diſpenſation and Abrogation, Difference between	ii	539
Diſpenſations, Ld. *Hobart*'s Opinion of	i	243
Diſpenſing Power, in what Caſes practicable		295
— Advocates for, Abettors of Tyranny	ii	538
Diſſenters indulg'd thro' the Weakneſs of the Times	i	56
— diſallow only ſome Rites and Modes of Worſhip		175
— loyal Subjects		176
— abhor the bloody Conteſts of former Days		*ib*
— why they will not join with the Church		272
— ready to ſubmit to any Power legally deriv'd from the King		382
— ſome of them made Biſhops would be a Means for a Union		383
— what their Work ſhould be		*ib*
— to chuſe a Clerk for the Convocation		*ib*
— have Reaſons to ſuſpect their new Friends the Papiſts	ii	367
— to reſcue themſelves from one Law, they gave a Blow to all		368
— exhorted to moderate their Anger toward		

	Vol.	Pag.
Council ought not to be denied to the Accuſed	iv	67
Counſellor, evil, may be taken from the King and impriſon'd	ii	117
Court Leet and Court Baron, on what Occaſion inſtituted	i	421
Court Barons, whence derived	ii	107
Courts of Juſtice, how they ceaſe to be the King's Courts		457
— have an uncontroulable Power to order their Forms of Proceedings	iv	379
— in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, can't compel Parties to come to a Trial the ſame Term		344
Court-Railers deſcribed in Verſe		235
— a notable Inſtance of one	ii	236
— make a Clamour in order to be bought off		237
Court and Country Party, how differenced	iv	314
Cramp, a conſtant Attendant on the Gout		139
Crant, *Thomas*, ſwears to a Covenant between the *Iriſh* Rebels and the *Scots*, &c.	ii	338
de Crequi, routed by the Duke of *Lunenburgh*	iii	389
Crew, *Noac*, an Orphan, of *Chriſt*'s *Church* School, his Speech to King *William*		319
Crime, the greateſt to force us to act againſt that Inſtinct placed by GOD in our Hearts		418
Cræſus, Account of his Conqueſts		41
— conſults the Oracle about his Succeſs againſt *Cyrus*		*ib*
— the doubtful Anſwer returned him		*ib*
— engages *Cyrus*, quits the Field, retires to his own Country and diſbands his Army		*ib*
— his Death prevented by the crying out of his dumb Son		43
— is taken, bound, and placed upon a Pile of Wood to be burnt		*ib*
— is ſaved by repeating the Name and Saying of *Solon*		*ib*
Cromwell, *Oliver*, his Lucky Day		217
— more Money illegally ſqueez'd out of the People in his Time than before or ſince		351
— *Thomas*, E. of *Eſſex*, attainted of High Treaſon, never called to anſwer	iv	373
Croſs, what ſignified by	i	75
Crown Lands, the ſacred Patrimony of the Prince		301

	Vol.	Pag.
toward the Church	ii	369
— Conditions of their Indulgence under King *James*		371
— act against their visible Interest		*ib*
— a Letter from one to the petitioning Bishops		375
— unjust to charge them all with some impertinent Addresses		533
— their Hardships not chargeable on the Church, but on the Court		536
— Madmen if they trust the Papists		538
— charged by the Church with Rebellion and Faction		558
— their Original		560
— discountenanced by Queen *Elizabeth*		*ib*
— hunted out of the Kingdom by King *James* the I.		561
— not charg'd with Treason or Rebellion during two long Reigns		*ib*
— how they came to be so powerful in the Reign of King *Charles* I.		*ib*
— on equal Foot with the Church with respect to murdering their King		562
— their avow'd Doctrine with regard to Government		563
— their Passive Obedience exceeds that of the Church		569
— suffered thirty Years *Egyptian* Servitude under King *Charles* II.		570
— universally acknowledges the Favour of King *James*'s Indulgence	iii	32
— unreasonable if they expect more		61
— should be content with such Liberty of Conscience as the Law allows		163
— always keep a strict Hand on the King's Prerogative		431
— bad Policy in excluding them from Places of Trust and Profit		432
Distinctions of Whig and Tory, to whom properly belonging	ii	272
Distractions very great at the Time of the Convention	i	320
Divine Right and Irresistibility of Kings evidenced	iv	490
— from the *Helvetian* Confession		491
— from the Confession of *Bohemia*		*ib*
— from the *French* Confession		492
— from the Confession of *Belgia*		*ib*
— from the Confession of *Ausberg*		*ib*
— from the Confession of *Saxony*		493
— from the Confession of *Scotland*		*ib*
— from the Homilies		495
Divines accused of too much Heat and Distempers	i	165
— which much troubles the King at *Breda*		
— Imperial of these Nations (under *Cromwell*) only divorced from the pretending King	iii	129
Cuffe, Henry, a Domestick of the Earl of *Essex*, discharged for his Misdemeanours		395
— being restored was the Destruction of his Master		396
Curfieu-Bell, to what End appointed	ii	230
Custodes Libertatis Angliæ, & Protector, both Titles of Authority, and universal Obedience paid to them	iii	133
— under both, the Laws had free Exercise as ever before		*ib*
Cyrus the Great, Life and Death of	iii	39
— his Birth and Parentage		*ib*
— his Education and youthful Employment		40
— is made General of the *Median* Forces		41
— makes *Crœsus* the Companion and Counsellor of his Son *Cambyses*		43
— is taken Prisoner by Queen *Spartha*, and exchanged for her Husband		*ib*
— appears before the Walls of *Babylon*		44
— builds vast Works about it		45
— cuts Channels to drain the River *Euphrates*		*ib*
—the River being dry, he enters *Babylon* without Opposition		47
— his Decree for the Return of the *Jews* to their own Country		49
— his Death variously related		50
— his Epitaph		*ib*
— his Tomb visited, and Remains honour'd by *Alexander*		*ib*
— believed the Immortality of the Soul		51
— his Children, of whom he appoints *Cambyses* his Successor		*ib*
— his Dream of the Appearance of the Sun, a Prognostication of the Length of his Reign		52

D

DALY, Father, his Expression on hearing the Pr. of *Orange* was coming to relieve *Ireland*	iv	23
Danes and *Swedes* have their Richs and Dachs		364
Dangerfield, his contradictory Evidence about the Duke of *York*	iii	242
Daniel the Prophet, when a Child, carried Captive by *Nebuchadnezzar*		26

Daniel,

	Vol.	Pag.
Breda	i	166
Divinity School, the first set up at *Alexandria*	iii	336
— from whence sprung the *Arian* Heresy		*ib*
Divisions and Distractions in *Scotland* at the Revolution		490
Dominion by Sea can't be maintained but by the Predominancy of Foreign Trade	iv	35
Domitian put to Death *Epaphroditus* for helping *Nero* to kill himself		431
Donatists, a turbulent and seditious Sect	iii	338
Dreams produced by the Affections of the Body		212
Druids, their Divinity and Philosophy	iv	22,3
—— taught the Doctrine of Transmigration		23
—— offer'd Men in Sacrifice and cut them up alive to make their Divinitations		*ib*
—— their Temples Groves of Oaks		24
Duke, Dr. a Chancellor, turns his Bishop out of Court	iii	383
Dundee, Visc. his Reasons for leaving the Convention	i	474
—— takes Arms		478
—— skirmishes with the Enemy		479
—— fights, beats the Enemy, and is kill'd		482,3
—— the Consternation it occasion'd at *Edinburgh*		484
Dunkirk, Demolition of, hardly agreed to	ii	129
Dutch, deficient in their Quotas in Q. *Anne*'s War		85
— declare their Inability to continue the War		*ib*
— their Disputes about the Methods of negotiating		87
— concur with the Queen in appointing a Congress		88
—— their self-interested Proposal in giving up the *Spanish* Monarchy to King *Philip*		*ib*
—— resolve to have *Tournay* for a Barrier		134
—— Counsels and Measures the Cause of all our Mischiefs	iii	520
—— News Papers relating to the Prince of *Orange*'s Expedition		534,5
—— taken into our Hospitals before our Countrymen		555
—— Wisdom in carrying on Trade to publick Advantage	iv	35
—— not to be cop'd with in their Fishery		

	Vol.	Pag.
Daniel, interprets the Hand-writing on the Wall	iii	47
—— his Vision concerning the Fate of Monarchies		52
Darnly, Lord, marries *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, and kills an *Italian* her Paramour	iv	409
—— is murder'd by his Queen and *Bothwell*		*ib*
Davenport, Lord Ch. Baron, impeach'd of High Treason	ii	276
David let go, and the People punish'd, accounted for		74
—— tho' anointed King, will not hurt *Saul* his profess'd Enemy		75
—— punishes the *Amalekite* for killing *Saul*		76
—— being old, marries *Abishag* to warm and preserve his old Body		236
—— whether his Example should be imitated now		237
—— his Marriage defended		*ib*
—— maintains his Authority in his old Age		140
—— his Behaviour to his sick Child, a parallel Case with those who were unsatisfied with *Cromwell*'s accepting the Crown	iii	154
Day, John, swears he heard the *Irish* Rebels say they had their Commission from the Queen	ii	325
Declaration of the True Presbyterian, Anti-Prelatick, Anti-Erastian, and persecuted Party in *Scotland*	i	509
—— disown *Charles Stuart* to be their King		*ib*
—— under the Standard of Christ, declare War against such a Tyrant and Usurper		*ib*
—— homologat the Testimony given at *Rutherglen*, 1679		*ib*
—— disclaim the Declaration publish'd at *Hamilton*, 1679		510
—— disown the Reception of the Duke of *York*		*ib*
—— of the Grievances of the Kingdom, deliver'd in Parliament, 1642		154
—— of the Votes and Resolutions agreed by both Houses of Parliament		310
—— concerning the general Accounts of the Kingdom both by Land and Sea, 1641	ii	136
—— of the Reasons of the House of Commons for publishing it		137

Decla-

Vol. Pag.

Fishery, &c. till our Interest of Money be as low as theirs —— iv 36

E

EAGLE Royal, so weak-ey'd that he can't see the Rising Sun — iv 137
— moulted his own Royalty to imp the Vulture's Wings —— 138
Eagles Royal, Reign of in a Northern Soil —— —— 136
— when soaring too high, have been brought down by noble Faulconry ib
— Virgin, her glorious Reign — ib
— her Successor, hen-hearted and talonless —— —— 137
— the Throne usurp'd by a barbarous Griffin —— —— ib
Eaglets, recall'd from their Banishment ib
East-India, Trade to the most National 37
— employs more warlike Ships than all the *English* Trades besides ib
— alone furnishes us with Salt-Petre ib
— four Fifths of its Commodities imported are exported —— ib
— Pepper, an advantageous Article of ib
— no foreign Trade works so much upon the Manufactures of our Neighbours —— —— ib
— its Customs and Exports — 38
— extended to new Settlements ib
— new Stock proposed —— 39
— more profitable to the Nation than the *Turkey* Trade —— 40
— for every 10*s.* it sends out in Bullion, 30*s.* is brought home ib
— Members of, whether legitimate Merchants or not, matters not to the Nation —— 41
— Charter of, has no more than all other *East-India* Charters —— ib
— neither exorbitant nor illegal 42
— their Manner of agreeing with their Factors and Servants —— ib
— Ships employ'd in, get more Money for their Owners than any other Ships —— —— ib
— very kind to their Sailors ib
— they allow their Commander, President, Agents, &c. to trade from Port to Port —— 43
— great Part of the wrought Silks they import are again shipp'd off ib
— has greatly increas'd the Woollen Trade —— —— 44
— the large Stock held by some, no Objection to the Company 45

East-

Vol. Pag.

Declarations, of the Disbursements for the *Scots* and *English* Armies — ii 138
—— Payments for Support of the King's Houshold —— 139
—— Receipts, or Money borrow'd 140
— Money received by way of Subsidy 142
—— Imprests to divers Treasurers 143
—— Disbursements by Warrant for Service of the Realm —— 144
—— repaid of Monies borrow'd 145
—— Debts and Engagements — 146
—— Money to be receiv'd —— 147
—— paid into and out of the *Exchequer* for Tonnage and Poundage 148
—— to his Majesty's private Use — 149
—— to the Charge of several Fleets 150
—— a Second for granting farther Liberty, not unlike the *French* Method of emitting Edicts — — iii 502
—— Design of, to hinder *Scots* Protestants from committing *Turkish* Tyranny — — — 506
Defects in our Constitution the Root of those Evils in King *Charles* I's Reign — — — iii 432
Defender of the Faith, the most beautiful Flower of the Crown —— 15
Delenda Carthago, or *England*'s Interest with respect to *France* and *Holland*, by the Earl of *Shaftsbury* — 213
Deity, Belief of and Conformity to, the best Qualifications for Government — — — iv 361
Demetrius, an antient Sculptor, his Works more natural than graceful i 289
Demonstration in Matters of Faith unnecessary — — — iii 415
Demosthenes, his covert Fable against King *Philip* —— —— i 3
Denmark, in four Days Time, changed from an Aristocracy to an absolute Monarchy — — — iv 383
—— Princess of, under the Tuition of the Earl of *Marlbro'* —— 126
Derby, E. of, his Trial and Confession ii 503
—— List of the Officers of the Court-Martial that try'd him —— ib
—— try'd on an Act for prohibiting Correspondence with *Charles Stuart* 504
—— Sentence of his Condemnation ib
—— remarkable, that he suffer'd in the same County where he first rais'd Arms —— —— ib
— his Confession —— 506
— his Countess refuses to surrender the *Isle of Man* —— —— ib

Derby

	Vol.	Pag.
East-India Comp. have been at vast Expences and Losses	iv	*ib*
— Loss of to *England*, would render the *Dutch* invincible at Sea		47
— all other Foreign Trade in *Europe* greatly depends on *East-India* Commodities		*ib*
— an united Joint Stock necessary to carry it on		50
— prov'd from the Practice of all other Nations		*ib*
— the *Portugal* Trade not an Exception		*ib*
— the vast Privileges they have in the *East-Indies*		51
— Disadvantages of an open Trade to		52
— are at great Expences in Embassies and Presents to the *Indian* Princes		*ib*
— must build large Houses, Warehouses, *&c.* for every Factory		53
— have Power to make War upon any Nation in *India*		*ib*
— more profitable and necessary to *England* than to any other Nation		54
— Posture of the Company's Affairs in 1681		55
— always open to those that will adventure		56
— a Relation of the Rise and Progress of the Company		*ib*
— their Charter confirm'd by King *Charles* II.		57
— had Leave to export Bullion		*ib*
— Complaints against them		*ib*
— Decrease of their Trade the Increase of the Woollen Manufactures		58
— petition'd against by the Weavers		*ib*
— *India* Manufactures the Ruin of the *Canterbury* Trade and the *London* Weavers		60
Ecce! the New Testament of our Lords and Saviours the House of Commons	i	425
Ecclesiastical Courts, a Sort of Inquisition	ii	342
— Jurisdiction in the King, the Sense of all the Churches in the World	iii	427
— antiently enjoy'd by the Kings of *Britain*, witness K. *Kenulphus*		435
— confirm'd by the Laws of St. *Edward*		*ib*
Edgehill, Battle of, diversly reported	i	14
— Victory claim'd on both Sides		15
Edward the Confessor's Laws express as to the Duty of a King	iv	88

	Vol.	Pag.
Derby, E. his Speech on the Scaffold	ii	507
— justifies himself from being a Papist		508
— his couragious Behaviour on the Scaffold		509
Derry, reported to be taken by King *James*'s Forces, but untruly	iv	16
— Garrison of, makes a stout Resistance		*ib*
Devil, represents *Oates* at St. *Omers*	iii	274
Deuteronomy contains the Laws of the Kings of *Israel* to rule by	i	423
D'ewes, Sir *Simon*, his Speech in the *Palatine* Cause	ii	57
— touching the Antiquity of *Cambridge*		62
— concerning the Privilege of Parliament in Causes criminal and civil		64
De Witt, the Martyr and Saint of the *Dutch* Republick	iii	88
Dialogue between an *Irishman* and a *Dutchman*	iv	424
Difference between the King and Parliament, or between the Lords and Commons, always fatal to *England*		383
Differences in *England*, the Occasion of the bold Attempts of the *French* King	iii	323
Digby, Lord, his Speech at the Earl of *Strafford*'s Trial, order'd to be burnt	ii	13
Dionysius built the first publick Theatre in *Athens*	i	185
Directions for every Man's Practice in his Station	iii	385
— to Members for their Conduct in Parliament		387
Disaffected, Designs of, to lead us blindfold to Destruction	iv	249
Discontents between King and People diminish his Authority abroad	ii	171
Discourse of the Grammar War	i	8
— of the Reasonableness of Man's having a Religion	iii	414
Diseases internal, if unusual, send forth some Signatures external	ii	435
— have their peculiar Beams and Signatures		438
— of all Kinds, so many diversified Fevers	iv	140
Dispensing with Laws, a Step towards absolute Power	iii	473
Dissections, necessary for the Knowledge of Diseases	ii	439
— the chief End of		440
Dissenters, the Object of King *James*'s unchangeable Indignation	iii	470
— made his Cat's-Paw		471

	Vol.	Pag.
Edward I. and his Parliament will not submit to the Pope's Impositions	iv	319
— II, addreſs'd to baniſh *Gaveſton* —	iii	110
— could not ſave that Favourite's Head —		111
— depos'd for his Oppreſſions		312
— the Articles exhibited againſt him		113
— Depoſition of, not to be urged as a Precedent	iv	433
— III. his gracious Declaration and Grants		190-1
— enacts ſeveral Laws againſt the Pope's Power	ii	316
— IV. marries the Daughter of the E. of *Shrewſbury* and diſclaims her	i	87
— his Treachery ſeverely puniſh'd		*ib*
— VI. the firſt that changed the National Religion		59
— his Act for a Uniform Lyturgy not the firſt		264
— his Inducement to nominate the Lady *Jane Gray* to the Crown	iii	573
— ſets aſide his two Siſters for that Purpoſe	ii	568
— Proteſtant and Catholick Attempts in his Reign	iii	290
Elections (for Boroughs) ſhould be plac'd in the Optimacy	i	68,9
— undue and contrived, injurious, to whom		377
— declared to be free by ſeveral Statutes	ii	[271]
Electors, for Knights of the Shire, ſhould be qualified according to the increaſing Value of Eſtates	i	69
— how to be choſen		70
— their Oath before they give their Votes		71
— of Members of Parliament how to direct their Choice	iv	149
Egleton, Mr. his Diſcourſe upon Trade		546
Elizabeth, Q. a Catholick all Q. *Mary*'s Reign	iii	293
— her Reſolution to eſtabliſh the Reform'd Religion	i	59
— her Reign noted for Diſorders in Religion		61
— a Baſtard		76
— would never name her Succeſſor		77
— her Government the Glory of this Nation ever ſince		192,3
— how ſhe exercis'd her Power in regard to the Clergy	ii	248
— an Inſtance of her Averſion to Images and Pictures in Churches		462
— her Speech on ſuppreſſing Monopolies		

	Vol.	Pag.
Diſſenters, their Addreſs of Thanks, but little to their Credit	iii	483
— a bad way of retaliating the Injuries they had received from the Church of *England*		*ib*
— have a Right to Liberty, and the Legiſlative Authority is bound to grant it		489
— have no ſolid Security for the Continuance of their Indulgence —		490
— who addreſſed King *James*, inveigh'd againſt Addreſſes in the preceding Reign		496
— might have enjoyed the Benefit of the King's Toleration without acknowledging the Juſtice of it —		497
— which would have recommended them to a true *Engliſh* Parliament		*ib*
— by addreſſing, confeſſed the Juſtice of the Terms in the Declaration		498
— inſtead of preaching or writing againſt Popery, agreed not to mention it		*ib*
— their Addreſſes deſerve a ſevere Rebuke for their Blaſphemy againſt GOD, and Inſolence to the Legiſlature		500
— not the Principles of the Party		*ib*
— to be attributed to the Ignorance or Diſhoneſty of ſome of them		*ib*
— thoſe of the greateſt Reputation refuſed to addreſs		*ib*
— Generality of, the moſt loyal Subjects		501
— and Church Phanaticks (by Name) employ'd in the higheſt Offices	iv	115
— their Teachers exempted from ſerving on Juries, *&c*		122
Diſtruſts among the People in 1627, Grounds of	i	300
Divine Right of Kings, firſt publiſh'd in A. B. *Laud*'s Book of Canons	iii	210
— invalidates *Magna Charta*		*ib*
Diviſions in *England* and *Scotland*, fomented by *Richlieu* and *Mazarine*		351
Dominick, the Inſtigator of the Maſſacre of the *Waldenſes*		453
Dominion founded in Grace, a Doctrine of the Preſbyterians		253
Donatiſts, the Predeceſſors of modern Puritans	ii	288
Doors and Windows, how adjuſted to Building	i	278
Doria, Andrew, choſe rather to make the *Genoeſe* a free State, than be their Prince	iii	420

	Vol.	Pag.
polies	iii	273
—— call'd to the Crown by the Papists		428
—— assists the Protestants in *France*		577
—— remitted half her Subsidies	iv	65
—— her Golden Speech to her last Parliament		130
—— her High Commission Court had no Power to punish Hereticks		342
—— Protestant and Catholick Attempts in her Reign	iii	295
Elliot, Sir *John*, inveighs against the Lord Treasurer *Weston*, &c.	i	5
—— his Protestation and Remonstrance		6
— his Examination before the Council		8
Elutherius, Pope, sent two Monks to *England* to settle that Religion here		59
Empedocles held Transmigration, and told the several Changes he had pass'd through	iii	141
—— not a Disciple of *Pythagoras*		160
Emperor, only a Feodory Prince of the Empire	i	416
Encouragement for Commanders and Seamen in the Sea Service —	iv	[258]
—— for *English* Privateers —		[261]
Enemies, the most dangerous to this Nation, who	ii	[267]
England, King of, never dies —	i	315
—— can't be destroy'd but by herself	ii	460
—— can't be happy under him who endeavours to make her miserable	iii	58
—— Government of, always Monarchichal		*ib.*
— People of, not bound to submit to any Power but legal		125
— tho' often storm'd, her essential Laws and Customs were never carried		275
— and *Holland* have crossing and interfering Interests		521
— weaker now than formerly	iv	119
— compounded of the three Kinds of Government		120
— King of, always a Minor, and can do no Wrong; Reason of those Maxims		*ib*
— Strength of its Government, before *Henry* VII. lay in the Aristocratical, now in the Democratical —		395
England's Safety, or a Bridle to the *French* King, by *George* St. *Lo*		244
English Liberty as antient as *England*	iii	276
— Catholicks have defended their King and Country against the Usurpations of *Rome*		433
— Forces and Enmity most dreaded by		

	Vol.	Pag.
Dorset, Earl of, his Speech to King *Charles* I. on Propositions of Peace	ii	134
Downing, Dr. preaches a seditious Sermon in the City —		402
— retires to the E. of *Warwick*'s for fear of being question'd —		*ib*
Drake, Dr. his History of the last Parliament —	iv	164
Dublin, miserable Condition of in 1689		15
— Protestants there, order'd to bring in their Arms —		24,5
Dumont, an Accomplice in the Plot to assassinate K. *William*, discovers it		81
Dunstan, Sir *Patrick*, barbarously murdered by the Papists —	iii	99
Dutch, threaten'd by King *James*'s Ministers —		496
— build their Ships much slighter than the *English* —	iv	432

E

EAST-India Company open a Subscription for two Millions, which fills in four Days —	iv	187
Eccesiastical Courts, Rigours of, force the Subjects to go abroad —	ii	171
Edgar, *Atheline*, tho' undoubted Heir, set aside for *William* the *Norman*	iii	305
— vindicated the Dominion of the Sea	iv	425
Edgworth, *John*, Esq; High Sheriff, depose what he had heard of the Motives of the *Irish* Rebellion	iii	336
Edicts and Proclamations, issued to enjoin Monopolies and other Grants	ii	170
Edward I. shed more Blood in this Kingdom than any of his Forerunners	iv	399
— being imprison'd, his Queen, Son, &c. call a Parliament in his Name, and elect his Son —		36
— calls several Parliaments	ii	243
— the Scourge and Disgrace of this Nation —		399
— III. consults his Parliament on various Occasions —		243
— advises with them about a War with *France* —		244
— refuses to make a Truce without their Advice —		245
—makes War upon *France* with Advice of Parliament —		*ib*
— sworn to provide Remedy of Parliament on great Emergencies —	iii	344
— surrenders his Title of Sovereignty to the Kingdom of *Scotland* —	iv	399
— IV. his Advices and ill Conduct	i	247
— indiscreetly makes the E. of *Warwick* his Enemy —		*ib*

Ed-

	Vol.	Pag.
by *French* Monarchs	iii	503
English, of a middle Genius between *French* and *Dutch*	iv	119
— generally victorious against foreign Force		120
— Sailors will not serve the *French* King		248
Enquiries into Leagues and Confederacies between Princes		369
Enquiry into the original Authority of 1 *John* v. 7.	ii	410
— wanting in the *Alexandrian* and *Vatican* Copies		413
— not mention'd by any of the *Greek* Fathers		415
— nor by the *Latin* Fathers		417
— not rais'd out by the *Arians* or *Gnosticks*		418
— Authorities to prove the Words originally in the Text		419
— Insufficiency of those Authorities		420
— settled by *Robert Stephens*		425
— not mention'd by *Tertullian*		*ib*
— Dr. *Mills*'s Suppositions to prove the Genuineness of		428
— those Suppositions improbable		430
— Reasons for expunging the Words out of the Text		432
Enthusiasm naturally ends in Rage and Fury	iii	222
Enthusiasts, not to be converted		215
— such in antient *Rome*		216
— the *Phythian* Goddess and *Sybils* such		*ib*
Epicharis (a Lady) suffer'd Torture better than forty Senators of *Rome*	ii	409
Epimerfides the Purger, why so called, falsely reckon'd one of *Pythagoras*'s Scholars	iii	160
Epiphanius asserts Episcopacy against *Ærius*		368
Episcopacy in *Scotland*, declar'd a Grievance	i	480
— *Jure Divino*, tho' the Bishops are the Creatures of the Crown	iii	181
— the same as Presbytery		367
— not a distinct Order		373
Episc. Wallens. Chronol.	iv	357
Epithets given to former Parliaments	i	60
Erasmus inserts that disputed Text 1 *John* v. 7. in his New Testament	ii	491
Essex, Earl of, made Capt. General for the King and Parliament	i	13
— first rejects and afterwards proposes Terms of Peace		19
— his Death and Funeral		24
— his precious and most divine Letter to the Earl of *Southampton*	iv	132

Essex,

	Vol.	Pag.
Edward IV. driven into Exile	i	248
— VI. when wholly Protestant, got a Parliament to his Mind	iii	302
— made a Law to bar a Popish Successor		382
Effingham, Lord, a brave Man, Admiral to Queen *Elizabeth*	i	370
Egbert, *Althred*, and *Ethelfred* stiled Lords of the Ocean	iv	425
Eglisham, *Geo.* Physician to K. *James* I. his Petition to K. *Charles* I.	ii	5
— his Reasons for stirring against the Earl of *Buckingham*		130,1
— his Obligations to K. *James* I.		131
— his Affection for the Marquis of *Hamilton*		*ib*
— blameless in demanding Justice for the Slaughter of K. *James* and the Marquis of *Hamilton*		132
— vows Revenge		*ib*
— his Life sought after by the Duke of *Buckingham*		133
Egypt govern'd by the *Pharaohs* 1480 Years	iii	36
— from the Conquest of it by *Nebuchadnezzar*, had no King for 40 Years		*ib*
Egyptian Practice of curing the Diseased		346
—Kings, at first, liv'd in Subjection to Laws	i	424
Egyptians, Overthrow of, predicted by *Jeremiah*		325
Εικων Βασιλικη, deny'd to be writ by King *Charles* I.	ii	387
— Prayer foisted into it by *Milton* and *Bradshaw*		388
Elizabeth, Q. her Answer to the Petition of the two Houses for the Execution of *Mary* Q. of *Scots*	i	66
—her kind Treatment of the Q. of *Scots*		*ib*
— not fearful of Death		67
— would not try the Queen of *Scots* by Indictment, why		68
— complains of the Necessity she was reduc'd to of giving Orders for her Death		*ib*
— tells of a Conspiracy against her own Life		*ib*
— her Message to the two Houses requesting their further Consultation on the Matter		69
— the Lords Answer thereto		70
— her Second Answer to the Parliament on the same Subject		72
— complains of her being forced to so harsh a Proceeding		73
— her impartial Justice to her Subjects		74

Eliza-

	Vol.	Pag.
Eſſex Men take Arms for the King	i	27
Eſtimate of the Forces furniſhed by Q. *Anne* for *Flanders*	ii	188
— of thoſe of the *States-General*		190
— of thoſe furniſhed by the Queen for *Spain*		194
— of the *States-General* for the ſame Service		195
— by the Queen for the Service of *Portugal*		196-7
— by the *States-General* for the ſame		198-9
— of the Subſidies paid to foreign Princes		202
Evangelical Doctors admit Fathers and Councils of the three or four firſt Centuries	iii	340
— their Error in ſo doing		*ib.*
Eugene, Prince, his Propoſals to Q. *Anne*	ii	86
Europe is but two ſtrong Kingdoms, *France* and *England*	iv	118
Euſebius refuſes to ſubſcribe the *Nicene* Creed without Explanation		538
Euthydemus, Archon at *Athens* 556 Years before CHRIST	iii	166
Exarchs of *Ravenna*, their Diſputes about the Election of Popes cauſe Schiſms	iv	366
Exchequer Bills, how circulated by the Bank	ii	28
Excommunication, not to be raſhly proſecuted by the Civil Magiſtrate	i	200
— horribly abuſed in Eccleſiaſtical Courts	iii	381
— how practiſed by the Apoſtles and their Succeſſors		384
Exempt Juriſdictions unknown to Antiquity		386
Ezekiel's dry Bones animated by the Mundane Spirit	ii	286

F.

FACTION, a greedy Monſter	i	3
Factious and Diſſaffected in King *William*'s Reign	iii	65
— thoſe in Danger ſolicit an Act of Indemnity, and afterwards creep into Power		*ib.*
— *Jacobites*, their Nature to be noiſy and clamorous		71
Fagel, M. H. his Letter to Mr. *James Stuart*, concerning the Repeal of the Teſt and Penal Laws	ii	540
Fairfax, Sir *Thomas*, voted General	i	24
Elizabeth, her Extraction	i	350
— in her Blood was the Abſtract of the greateſt Houſes in *Chriſtendom*		*ib.*
— in her Grandfather *Henry* VII. was reſtored the *Britiſh* Line		*ib.*
— her Mother, not of a Sovereign Deſcent, yet noble		*ib.*
— the Darling of her Brother *Edward* VI.		351
— her Perſon deſcribed		*ib.*
— her Temper and natural Diſpoſition		*ib.*
— her Intellectuals and Abilities		*ib.*
— the Settlement of Religion after her Siſter's Death, not the leaſt of her Actions		352
— her Expreſſion on the News of her Acceſſion to the Crown		*ib.*
— her Miniſters were Favourites, not Minions		*ib.*
— her Oath, and ſevere Rebuke of the Earl of *Leiceſter*		353
— her Favourites ſtood on no better Terms than their good Behaviour		*ib.*
— abſolute in her Reſolution, as in the Caſe of *Tyrone*		*ib.*
— her Magnificence and Frugality, Diſcretion and Juſtice		*ib.*
— not many Inſtances of her Liberality		*ib.*
— her Rewards, of what Nature		*ib.*
— the War in *Ireland* gave her the moſt Trouble		354
— left more Debts unpaid than any of her Progenitors for 100 Years before	i	355
— her Wiſdom in the Choice of Parliament Men		*ib.*
— the Temper and Prudence of her Parliament		*ib.*
— politickly affects the Love of her People		356
— never refuſed Information from the meaneſt Perſonages		*ib.*
— had no Family to provide for		*ib.*
— retains the whole Body of her Siſter's Council of State		357
— loved a Soldier		362
— her Courtiers and Favourites often ſtole to the Wars without her Leave		*ib.*
— her Nurſeries for brave Soldiers		363
— her Care to prevent Invaſions rather than expect them		*ib.*
— whatever ſhe undertook ſhe was in the right		380

	Vol.	Pag.
Fairfax, Father, instructed how to behave to Hereticks	i	254
Faith not to be kept with Hereticks though confirmed by Oath	iv	223
Faithful *Commin* (in Q. *Elizabeth*'s Reign) made the first Division among Protestants	iii	427
Fanaticks, as bad principled as Papists	i	51
— exemplified in the Murder of the A. B. of *St. Andrews*		*ib.*
Fast Sermon, remarkable, preached before the House of Commons		19
Fathers, their Authority how far to be relied on	iii	341
Fathers, though Murderers, not to be punished by their Children	iv	432
Favour at Court better than Wisdom	i	126
Favourites, necessary for Princes	ii	245
— banished at the Request of the People	iii	102
Feckingham, Dr. Abbot of *Westminster*, his Oration in Parliament, 1557	ii	58
Fescue, Dr. *Swift* turn'd to one	iv	2
Feversham, Earl of, banished without a Crime alledged	ii	492
Fifth Monarchy Men, their Opinions	i	53
Fighting for K. *James*'s Restauration, not fighting for Popery	ii	511
Finch, Sir *John*, Speaker of the House of Commons, his Pusillanimity	i	5
Fiocco, put on the Head of a Cardinal's Horse when he goes abroad	ii	511
Fishery, Advantage of to the *Dutch* on our Coast	iv	262
Flanders, more flourishing under the House of *Burgundy* than that of *Austria*	ii	439
Flatterers, the worst Enemies to King and Kingdom	i	204
Force and Violence in Matters of Faith contrary to Scripture	iii	334
Force raised both by King and Parliament	i	13
Foreign Powers and Supremacy in Ecclesiastical Affairs abolished and restored 1mo. Q. *Elizabeth*	iii	304
Foreigners and Usurpers guilty of more Depredations here than all our hereditary Kings		110
Foreigners, if admitted into our incorporated foreign Trades, would benefit the Kingdom	iv	35
Forester, Lord, though his Title was usurp'd, allow'd to sit in the Convention	i	469
Forms of Prayer, why necessary	iii	351
— a new one recommended for the public Service		*ib.*
Elizabeth, Queen, rebukes the House of Commons for disobeying her Commands	iii	244
— also for chusing Knights of the Shire for *Norfolk*		*ib.*
— also for infringing her Prerogative in Monopolies		*ib.*
— highly displeased with their desiring her to entail the Succession		*ib.*
— reproves them for medling in Matters of State and Causes Ecclesiastical		245
— rejects forty-eight Bills which had pass'd both Houses		*ib.*
— though succeeding her Popish Sister, yet got a Parliament to her Mind		302
— protests she never heard of the Association till shewn her		345
— made no Act to bar *Mary* Queen of *Scots* from the Succession		382
— her Ministers less her Minions than the Favourites of the People		343
— a greater Mistress of Crown Craft than her Predecessors or Successors		432
Eloquence a Vanity	ii	5
Elphegus, Bishop, lost his Head by the *Danes*		299
Emperor ought to be succoured by all *Europe*, against the Conjunction of *France* and *Spain*	iv	288
Endecot, *John*, Governor of *New-England*, subscribes the Petition of the General Court to K. *Charles* II.	iii	12
England, by the Union of its several Parts made stronger	i	242
— Realm of, an Empire		487
— Crown of, subject immediately to God, and to no other Power	iii	24
— ever a Lover of Monarchy under the Title of King		125
— has had both Name and Office above 1000 Years		*ib.*
— not her Interest to make War upon the Continent		213
— Fleet of, her Walls		*ib.*
— Interest of, is to be great at Sea, and to command Trade		214
— her Concern in the Case of the Duke of *York*		241
— runs the same Fortune with *Spain*, in regard to the Ambition of *France*		311
— too large and too brave a Country to be a Plantation		434
— very slow in relieving *Ireland*, 1689		14
— Security of, depends on the Preservation of the just Ballance of the Constitution		356

Vol. Pag.

Fortitude anatomiz'd, by Sir *Francis Walsingham* — iv 392
Fowlis, Sir *David*, raised by the Power of the Crown, turns mutinous — i 283
France, often over-reach'd by the *Austrians* — 418
— and *Spain* hate one another — 420
— always avail'd herself of our Distractions, as we of theirs — ii 459
— has a better Prospect of Success than the Confederates — 543
— prodigious Preparations of — *ib.*
Francis I. happier, though a Prisoner, than if a Slave to Favourites — 486
Frauds discover'd in the Customs of *Scotland* — 115
Frederick II. Emp. gave sufficient Proof of his Empress's Pregnancy — 298
— III. of *Denmark* concludes Peace with *Sweden* without his Allies — iv 385
Freedom of Elections promised but not observed by K. *William* — ii 494
— of Speech, discouraged in King *William*'s Parliament — 495
Freeholders Choice — i 112
— Right to appoint Sheriffs — iv 425
— confirm'd to them by Statutes — 427
— to treat Officers and Soldiers that oppose them in their Elections as Traitors — 428
French King owes his Greatness to our Factions — i 197
— Court, its different Methods of destroying Protestants — 257
— King (*Lewis* XIV.) put upon the Conversion of his Subjects by his Clergy — *ib.*
— Characters of some of its Princes and great Men — 258
— League to cut Protestants Throats should be well examined — 325
— Protestants, their kind Reception in *England*, a Lesson against Persecution — 367
— King required to make War upon his Grandson — ii 36
— favours the Protestants to deceive them — 277
— banish'd the two Princes, *Charles* and *James*, to oblige *Cromwell* — 278
— exercises horrible Cruelties on the Protestants — 279, 351
— his Subjects absolute Slaves to his Will — 349
— his peculiar Regard for Trade — 457

French

Vol. Pag.

England, observes a Medium between a Monarchy and Commonwealth — iii 363
— can never be destroyed but by herself — 365
— her Path to Wealth and Honour, by *James Puckle* — iv 422
— possessed by five several Nations, and coveted by more — *ib.*
— whether she wants Mariners — *ib.*
— its various Productions — 424
— its Inhabitants, many of them either not at all, or very badly employ'd — 432
Englefield, Master of the Wards under Q. *Elizabeth*, quits her Service — i 357
English, hate to be ruled by Strangers ii 177
— Papists, enough to furnish both Houses — iii 302
— Spirit, a Spirit of Honesty, Generosity, and sincere Religion — iv 254
— Quota's, in a War with *France*, should regard the Defence of the Sea 289
Englishmen, none trusted by King *William* — 58
— after the hardest Day's Labour will divert themselves at the strongest Exercises — 434
Envy, or *Bellona*, a Tale of, allegorical — i 4
Ephesian Temple, Number and Height of its Pillars — 275
Epicureans, denied a Providence — iv 89
Episcopacy established in the World 1500 Years — i 484
— the Generality of the *Scots* Clergy and the chief Men for it — iv 107
— more zealously affected to the *Scots* than the *English* — 108
— once in greater Perfection in *Scotland* than in *England* — 121
— in great Danger of being overturn'd in *England* — 124
Episcopalians, in *Scotland*, generally affected to K. *James* — 109
Episcopate, but one in the whole World — 122
Essex, Earl of, his first Rise at Court i 374
— often in and out of the Queen's Favour — *ib.*
— too great an Ingrosser of Fame and Favour — 375
— fights a Duel with Lord *Mountjoy* — *ib.*
— bears a Grudge to General *Norris* — *ib.*
— occasions his own Ruin by going to *Ireland* — 376

Essex,

	Vol.	Pag.
French King, contrary to Promiſe, ſends the D. of *Berwick* againſt the *Catalans*	ii	141
— Favourites		483
— not ſuch Slaves as generally accounted	iii	35
— King, his Glory would be to reſtore King *James*		37
— Invaſion, Pretences of it examined		54
— Proteſtants themſelves engaged in it		*ib.*
— Kingdom, three times as big as *England*		18
— Crown, Revenue of, more than the Revenue of all *England*		*ib.*
— in all Things more than five to one, to what it was in the Time of *Edward* III. and *Henry* V.		*ib.*
— highly concern'd to ſecure our Liberties on K. *James*'s Reſtauration		452-3
— Conqueſt of *England* by *France* neither deſirable nor practicable		443
— not the Inclination nor Intereſt of K. *James*		448
— not the Intereſt of the Princes and States of *Europe*		449
— not the Intereſt of, to conquer *England*		450
— nor probably in its Power		452-3
— King, his Declaration to the Pr. of *Wales*, on the ſuppoſed Death of his Father	iv	81
— his Declaration to the Father immediately after		*ib.*
— three Times ſtronger than formerly		119
— begins his Reign from his Coronation		174
— petty Kings anciently arraign'd upon Life and Death		431
— have three Characters in Hiſtory		119
— Cruelties to *Engliſh* Sailors		245
— King, his Manner of dragooning his Subjects		249
— Expedition in manning out a Fleet		252
— regiſter their Sailors		253
— King, makes Peace with *Spain*, contrary to his League with Queen *Elizabeth*		384
— Prophecy, or Admonition to the Chriſtians in *England*		441
— their Poſſeſſion of *Cape Breton* prejudicial to the Trade of *England*		555
— their Wines, *&c.* ought to be higher aſſeſſed than thoſe of other Nations		556
— Reaſons to the contrary		557
Frogs,		

	Vol.	Pag.
Eſſex, Earl of, his Beginning attributed to the Lord *Leiceſter*	i	385
— all his Hopes of Advancement like to be ſtrangled in the Cradle		387
— was to wreſtle with the Queen's declining Age		*ib.*
— compared with the Duke of *Buckingham*		390
— always moſt thoughtful at Meals		*ib.*
— careleſs in his Dreſs		391
— an able Speaker and good Writer		392
— never built or adorn'd any Houſe		*ib.*
— Value of the Gifts he receiv'd from the Queen		393
— advanced ſcarce any Man		*ib.*
— his Cruelty to the Soldiers		395
— kindly adviſed by the Counteſs of *Warwick*		396
— his Speech at the Head of his Army 1642	ii	255
— his Speech to the King on delivering a Petition, 1680	iii	270
Eſtabliſhment of the Forces in *Ireland*, 1689	iv	14
Ethiopian King, orders his Life according to his Laws	i	424
Evelyn, Sir *John*, his Report from the Committee concerning Lord *Digby*'s Speech	ii	12
Evilmerodach invades *Media* and is overthrown	iii	40
— is beaten in a ſecond Battle and ſlain		*ib.*
Euphranion, famous both for Painting and Sculpture	i	289
Examination of the Witneſſes concerning the Rebellion and Maſſacre in *Ireland*	ii	336
Exhortation to the taking the Solemn League and Covenant		267
Ezra and *Nehemiah* drew all the People into a Covenant, without Commiſſion from the *Perſian* Monarch		269

F.

FACTIOUS deſerve no Credit, who ſay the King is in the Plot	iii	357
Facts and Precedents, with reſpect to Parliamentary Proceedings, Difference between		352
Faith is the Gift of God, and no Man can believe what he pleaſes		254
Faith,		

	Vol.	Pag.
Frogs, Fable of, apply'd to *England*	iv.	434
— rained in great Abundance	ii	240
Funds, how originally eſtabliſhed		12
— neceſſary to the People as to the Government		16
— Annuity, perpetual Lottery		20, 1, 2
— perpetual, Eſſay for the ſpeedy Redemption of		13
— Gain of, to the Publick computed		*ib.*
— Deficiency of in nine Years		43

G.

GALBA, aſſiſted by the Senate againſt *Nero*	i	29
Gardiner, Bp. promotes the ſix Articles to croſs *Cranmer*	iii	289
Garnet, concern'd in the Powder Plot, a Saint and Martyr in the Pope's Calendar	iv	222
Genealogy of the Parliament from 1640 to 1648	i	425
General Exciſe not to be endured	iii	521
— contriv'd and propos'd by the *Dutch* Bankers in *Holland*		522
— would impoveriſh *England* and enſlave us to the *Dutch*		*ib.*
— Councils, have no Power to frame Matters of Faith	iv	[21]
— only to explain and aſcertain diſputable Points		[21]
— not infallible		*ib.*
— can't depoſe a King, nor abſolve his Subjects		*ib.*
Generals that became Tyrants	i	[120]
Geoffry of *Monmouth*, his Account of *London*	ii	22
Gerard, Sir *Gilbert*, his Depoſition about the Black Box	i	73
— his Character		79
— his Behaviour before the Council		80
Germany, its Union cemented by the Toleration of Religion	iii	21
— Emperors of, reſtrain'd or remov'd by their Princes	iv	430
Ghoſtly Politicks out of Faſhion with the *Romaniſts*	iii	444
Glenco, all the Males of the Clan put to Death without Trial		493
Gloria Cambriæ, or the Speech of a bold *Briton* againſt a *Dutch* Prince of *Wales*, 1702		98
Glouceſter, Duke of, his great Genius and Underſtanding	iv	472

	Vol.	Pag.
Faith, never to be given, or never to be kept with Hereticks, tho' confirmed with an Oath	iii	299
Famine, a ſevere one in *Henry* III's. Time	ii	179
Fanatick Preachers eaſily bribed to cooperate with their Enemies	iii	323
Fanaticks, their new Covenant in 1680	i	502
— their ſacred and ſolemn Profeſſion		503
— declare againſt Prelacy and Eraſtianiſm		*ib.*
— and againſt Popery and all the Articles thereof		*ib.*
— complain of the Tyranny and Cruelty of the Government		504
— judge it not warrantable to receive the King, unleſs he ſwear to the Covenant		505
— reject the King and thoſe who aſſociate with him		*ib.*
— declare themſelves free to ſet up another Government and Governors		506
— will frame their Government by the Moſaical Juriſdiction		*ib.*
— complain of irregular Preaching and Preachers		507
Fanſhaw, Sir *Henry*, curious in Gardening		294
Fears and Jealouſies in K. *William*'s Reign, Cauſes of	iv	245
Fees paid to the Speaker and Clerks of the Houſe of Commons, no Injuſtice	iii	186
Fenwick, Sir *John*, his extraordinary Caſe	iv	179
Ferdinand, Duke of *Gratz*, made King of *Bohemia* and *Hungary*	ii	58
— is abdicated by the States of *Bohemia*		*ib.*
— King of *Portugal*, dying without lawful Heir, the Eſtates elect his Baſtard	iv	35
Fetherſtonebaugh, Sir *Timothy*, try'd for High Treaſon in correſponding with *Charles Stuart*		505
— his Sentence of Condemnation		*ib.*
Fides implicita, what	i	78
Fiennes, Lord Commiſſioner, his Reaſon why *Cromwell* ſhould take the Title of King	iii	126
— anſwers the Protector's Objections		146
Fifth-Monarchy Men, their Deſigns, Opinions, and Practices		222

	Vol.	Pag.
God never made an Earl or a Lord	i	16
— has no Parts, Meaning of	iv	338
— House of, not to be used for Panegyricks on dead Men	iii	187
— his End in setting one above another, is to execute his Purpose		531
— Gods, Heathen, owe their Existence to Man's Ignorance of Causes		220
Godfrey, Sir *Edmundbury*, his Death not to be charged on the Papists	i	51
— murder'd by the Papists, tho' their Friend	ii	[249]
— prov'd by the Circumstance of his Death		[252]
Godolphin, *Sidney*, his Farewel to the Parliament	i	12
Gold, the Goddess of the Reformation in 1648	iv	415
Good Advice in Time	i	339
Gordon, Duke of, promises to deliver up *Edinburgh* Castle		467
— changes his Mind		468
Gospellers, or *Suffolk* Men, capitulate with Queen *Mary* for their Religion	ii	569
Government can't subsist where a Prince and People are of a different Religion	i	97
— a certain Way to know that which is most agreeable to the People		164
— if dissolv'd, the Power devolves to the People		337
— dissolv'd by King *James*'s withdrawing		338
— Constitution and Administration of, to be distinguished		339
— the several Kinds of		340
— a Corporation		*ib.*
— Cessor of		345
— must be agreeable to Reason and Justice		*ib.*
— mix'd, compar'd to a Piece of Clock-work	ii	259
— of *England*, civil, always free		[271]
— *English*, subverted when K. *James* gave Commissions to Popish Officers	iii	82
— should be framed according to the Nature of the Governed		271
— Weakness of, to what owing	iv	123
Governor, one necessary after King *James*'s Abdication	i	345
— *French*, Cruelty of one to his Prisoners	iv	247
Grand Rebellion, with what Aggravations attended	i	30
— Alliance, second Article of	ii	34

Grants

	Vol.	Pag.
Fines, immoderate rais'd upon Knighthood	ii	164
— in Chancery, a Discourse of, by *Fabian Philips*, Esq;	iii	175
— paid upon Original Writs, forbid by Act of the Long Parliament		178
— a legal and useful Part of the Crown Revenue		*ib.*
— Part of, allow'd for the Support of the Chancellor, Master of the Rolls, and Cursitors		179
— Antiquity, Legality, right Use, and ancient Usage of		*ib.*
— why given to the Prince		*ib.*
— in Use among the *Grecians*		*ib.*
— approved by the *Goths*		181
— in Use among the old *Franks*, now *French*		[180]
— settled at a high Rate in *Scotland*		*ib.*
— paid upon Writs out of Chancery of King *John*, *Henry* III. *Edward* I. II. and III.		184
— as warranted as that paid upon Writs of *Formedon*		185
— Difference in the Value of, formerly and now		186
— no Sale of Justice		*ib.*
— resemble the Allowances made to the *Jewish* Priests and *Levites*		188
— not claimable by the Complainant cast in Law		190
— paid in *Russia*, *Florence*, and *Tuscany*, upon commencing Actions		191
— and in *Holland* above what is paid in *England*		*ib.*
— different in different Courts		192
— to take them away would be detrimental to the Publick		193
Fish, the Quantity taken yearly on our Coast by the *Dutch*	iv	427
— the Markets to which they are sent		*ib.*
— Returns made for		428
Fishery, the best Nursery for Seamen		423
— the most proper Employment for the Poor		*ib.*
— the several Trades employed in it by the *Dutch*		427
— what Numbers of now useless Hands it would employ		433
— will give Work to Thousands that are now in Rags		435
Fitzpatrick, an *Irish* Papist, his Treachery and Cruelty	iii	98

Five

	Vol.	Pag.
Grants of the Revenue of the Crown an Injury to the Nation —	iii	98
— of the Crown after re-aſſumed by Parliament — —		101
— of K. *William* exorbitant —		107
Granville, Cardinal, a Tyrannical Governor — —	iv	398
Gray, Lady *Jane*, an Inſtance that the Reſolves of the Crown are inſignificant — —	i	75
Great-Britain, Strength of, vaſtly ſuperior to that of *Holland* —	ii	167
— her other ſuperior Advantages —		168
— her juſt Complaint —		466
Great Seal, a new one ordered —	i	20
— enables the Parliament to conſtitute Judges, Courts of Law and Juſtice — —		*ib.*
Greek Church has altered its Forms —		264
Gregory, St. his Deſcription of a faithful Counſellor —		129
Grey, Lord of *Werke*, choſe Major-General of the Eaſtern Aſſociation		18
Grief, not bound by Ceremony and Decorum — —		48
Grievances complain'd of in the Government — — —		105
— to be examin'd coolly —		125
Grotius, *H.* his Diſtinction between an hereditary King and a foreign Invader — —	iii	111
— on the Rights of the Ocean —	iv	426
Grubſtreet, one greatly wanted in *Dublin* — —	iv	11
Gualtier, Abbot, Manager for the Pretender in the Treaty of Peace	ii	143
Guildas the Hiſtorian, his Account of Popery in *England* —	i	59
Gunpowder Treaſon Day, kept only to GOD — — —	iii	178
— a Stratagem to ſet K. *James* againſt the Catholicks —		296

H.

	Vol.	Pag.
HABEAS *Corpus* Act ſuſpended, for which both Prince and Parliament are cenſurable —	iii	491
— Suſpenſion of, in K. *William*'s Reign, neceſſary —	ii	346
Hales, Father, properly ſtationed in *Holland* — — —	i	254
Hall, Bp. aſſerts Preſbyters incapable of ordaining — — —	iii	370
— confuted from the Council of *Nice*		371
		Halifax,

	Vol.	Pag.
Five Members guarded to *Weſtminſter* by the Sheriffs of *London* —	i	410
Flanders, a Battery to *England* and *Spain* — — —	iii	311
Fleance flies to *Wales*, gets the Prince's Daughter with Child, and is murdered — — —	iv	403
— *Walter*, his Baſtard, goes to *Scotland*, is made Steward of the Kingdom's Revenues, and the firſt of the Family of *Stuart* —		*ib.*
Fleet-wood, Col. in his Retreat from *Rhee*, jumps with his Horſe into a Salt-pit — —		469
Folly, in thinking to bind a King, who pretends to Abſoluteneſs —	i	505
Force in Religion, contrary to the Doctrine and Practice of CHRIST	iii	419
Force in Picture, what — —		287
Foreſts enlarged beyond their due Bounds — — —	ii	166
Forgery and Perjury ought to be made Felony — — —	iii	410
Forms in Proceedings, but the neceſſary Attendants on Power —	iv	381
Fornication, a grievous Sin —	ii	205
Forteſcue, of the Kingly Power —		476
Forty-one, Times preceding, full of murmuring and repining —		347
Fowke, a Common-council Man, makes a ſaucy Speech to the King —	i	408
— his Majeſty's Anſwer —		*ib.*
Fragmenta Regalia, or Obſervations on the Times and Favourites of Q. *Elizabeth* — —		350
France, Intereſt of, not to meddle with *England* — —	iii	213
— War with, not the Intereſt of *England* — — —		*ib.*
— five Kings of, ſucceſſively perſecuted Proteſtants —		297
— under one of them two Millions periſhed on both Sides —		*ib.*
— not the Theatre for the beſt Building — —		281
— Follies of, in the extravagant Rejoicings ordered by the King for the ſuppoſed Death of K. *William*	iv	39
Frederick Prince, Elector of *Palatine*, made King of *Bohemia* —	ii	58
— not the Cauſe of the War in *Germany* — —		*ib.*
— his Family one of the moſt ancient in *Germany* — —		56
		Frederick,

	Vol.	Pag.
Hallifax, Marquis of, his Letter to the Diſſenters about the King's Declaration of Indulgence	ii	364
Hamilton, Duke of, defeated and taken Priſoner	i	28
— his Behaviour on King *James*'s withdrawing himſelf		465
— ſides with all Parties		466
— diſmiſſes the Convention of *Edinburgh*		472
— officiates as Clerk in proclaiming the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange* King and Queen		476
— thinks the not reſtoring the forfeited Eſtates unjuſt		485
Hammond, Col. has the Cuſtody of K. *Charles* in the *Iſle of Wight*		26
Harley, Col. forſakes the Army when it oppos'd itſelf to the Parliament		24
— *Robert*, raiſes a Troop of Horſe, and joins the Prince of *Orange*	ii	253
— refuſes the Speaker's Chair		254
— ſtickles for the Bill for Triennial Parliaments		*ib.*
— in great Confidence with King *William*		*ib.*
— oppoſes the Bill of Attainder againſt Sir *John Fenwick*		*ib.*
— the main Inſtrument in reſtoring Publick Credit		269
Harris, Dr. puniſh'd for preaching about Elections	i	379
Haſelrig, Sir *Arthur*, made a General		17
Hawkers and Ballad-ſingers do much Miſchief	iii	78
Haxtoun, vows Revenge againſt the A. B. of *St. Andrews*	i	385
Hayman, Sir *Peter*, reproaches the Speaker with Baſeneſs, &c.		7
— his Examination before the Council		8
Henderſon, *Alexander*, Miniſter at *Edinburgh*, his Declaration on his Death-Bed concerning K. *Charles* I.	iv	215
Henry I. his reſolute Anſwer to the Pope	ii	278
— II. III. and VI. true Cauſe of their Troubles	i	107
— II. baniſh'd his half Brother at the Requeſt of Parliament	iii	110
— III. his Parliament oppoſes the Pope's Authority	ii	578
— IV. diſmiſſes ſome Servants at the Requeſt of his Parliament	i	191
— IV and V. hated the *Britons*, but unfortunate till reconciled	iii	104
— VI. his forgiving Temper	iii	26
Frederick Prince, Elector of *Palatine*, loſt *Bohemia* and the *Palatinate*, through the Negligence and Credulity of K. *James* I.	ii	59,60
— Reſtitution of (the *Palatinate*) of the utmoſt Importance		60, 61
French, very powerful at Sea	iii	209
— uſe all poſſible Means to divide and diſtract us		352
— Miniſters, by painting forth their King more like a God than a Man, brought themſelves into inextricable Snares		451
— Proteſtants, might be uſefully employed in an *Engliſh* Fiſhery	iv	433
— ſuſpected by the *Iriſh*		17
— King, his grand Deſign is univerſal Monarchy	iii	260
— which he can never obtain if the King of *England* and his Subjects are united		*ib.*
— his Sword his Subjects Charter		*ib.*
— takes Advantage of a few Papiſts here to extirpate all Proteſtants out of *France*		375
— would not have our King united to his People under any one Religion		380
— his haughty Anſwer to the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador		308
— his Cruelties to the Proteſtants		449
— poſſeſſed three Parts of *Holland* without Reſiſtance	iv	248
— glad to vomit all up again		*ib.*
— his Dominions greatly extended ſince his Memorial to the States General on recalling the Count *d'Avaux*		463
— his Motives for accepting the King of *Spain*'s Will, in Favour of the Duke of *Anjou*		475
— his principal End in the Partition Treaty was to preſerve Peace		266
— his Reaſons for departing from that Treaty		*ib.*
— muſt declare whether he would accept that Will or abſolutely reject it		279
— his rejecting the Will, muſt have tranſported all the Rights to the Arch-Duke		*ib.*
— allows the States General ſtipulated no Advantage to themſelves in that Treaty		*ib.*
— his accepting the Will, ſuits the Intereſt of *Holland*, and agreeable to thoſe of all *Europe*		280
— his Letter to the States General		281

Vol. Pag.

Henry VII. how he govern'd by Law — — i 35
— ſprung from a Baſtard — — 76
— two Pretenders to his Crown — ii 286
— weaken'd the Nobility by Laws for alienating their Lands — iv 121
— VIII. by indirect Means got the Abbey Lands into his Hands by Conſent of Parliament — 514
— his Condeſcenſion to his People in the Beginning of his Reign — iii 273
— Proteſtant and Catholick Attempts in his Reign — — 28
Henry III. of *France*, killed by a Friar — — iv[202]
— Boldneſs of the Action celebrated *ib.*
— Incredibility of it — — [203]
— aſcribed to the Providence of God [204]
— compar'd to the Exploit of *Eleazar* in the *Maccabees*, and the Exploit of *Judith* — — [205]
— Manner of executing it — [206]
— puniſh'd for his notorious Sins — [208]
— propheſied by the Pope — *ib.*
— IV. tho' executed in Effigy, yet forgave his Enemies — iii 276
Henry, Duke of *Anjou*, declared King *Stephen*'s adopted Son — 320
— raiſes War againſt K. *Stephen*, as being neareſt Heir to the Crown iv 434
— Prince, his Letter to King *James* I. — — i 410
Herbert, Bp. of *Hereford*, his Thoughts concerning Articles of Faith — iii 332
— of Ceremonies and Church Service 345
— his Diſlike to Surplices, why — 346
— recommends Charity to the Fathers of the Church — 349
— concerning Church Service — 350
— concerning Preaching — 353
— prefers Homilies to Preaching — 359
— concerning Biſhops and Prieſts — 360
— of Deacons — — 374
— of Confirmation — 377
— of Church Government — 381
— his charitable Admonition to Nonconformiſts — — 387
Hereditary Succeſſion ſet aſide for good Cauſes — — i 97
— Title, the horrid Devaſtations it has made in *England* — iii 284
Hereford, Bp. of, his Diſcourſe about reading the King's Declaration, 1688 — — ii 361
Hereſy, High Treaſon — iv 219
— a Diſcourſe of, by *Tho. Hobbes* — 333

Hereſy,

Vol. Pag.

French K. his Memorial to the States, on his poſſeſſing himſelf of the Towns in *Flanders* — — iv 282
— preſſes them for a ſpeedy Anſwer 285
— his receding from the Partition Treaty, inſtead of preventing, would cauſe Effuſion of Blood — 286
— knew the Difficulties that would attend the Execution of that Treaty *ib.*
— his Pretence to keep the Balance of *Europe* even, frivolous — 287
— his Affection to his Catholick Majeſty but a weak Security for *Europe* 288
— abuſes his neareſt Kinſman the Duke of *Savoy* — 289
Frenchman, Remarks of one, on the Court's being made his Council — 67

G.

GARDENS, how to be laid out i 293
Garnet and other Jeſuits, inculcate the Doctrine of deſtroying all Hereticks, King, Nobles, and Commons — — iii 295
— reverenced as a Pope, and honour'd as a Martyr — — *ib.*
— judges it neceſſary to deſtroy Proteſtants, though many Catholicks ſhould periſh with them — 296
Gedaliah, made Governor of *Judea* by the *Chaldeans*, is treacherouſly ſlain 33
Genoa declines in the Silk Manufacture, as *Liſbon* riſes — — iv 436
General (*Cromwell*) turns out his Maſters, and uſurps the Kingly Power, tho' not the Title — 7
Germans paint their Towns — i 289
— have their Dyets — — iv 364
Ghoſts of maſſacred *Iriſh* Proteſtants walk on the River — iii 98
Gladneſs and Grief (in Painting) a Touch of the Pencil makes either the other — — i 287
Glaſgow, A. B. of, deprived, and by the Intereſt of the *Engliſh* Biſhops reſtored — — 125
Glenco Men, all Papiſts, and given to Rapine and Plunder — iv 90
— encouraged to ſubmit to the Government by ſeveral Indemnities — 102
— which all refuſed, except old *MacKean* — — *ib.*
— his or their taking the Oaths, after the Day prefix'd was elapſed, did not protect them — *ib.*

	Vol.	Pag.
Hereſy, whence deriv'd	iv	333
— not a Name of Diſgrace at firſt		334
— how it firſt enter'd the Church		*ib.*
— the firſt about the Trinity		335
Hereticks forfeit Dignity and Office		219
— to be burnt alive		221
— when firſt puniſhable in *England*		341
— all ſuch Laws be repealed by *Edward* VI.		*ib.*
Hicks, Dr. his 39 Articles deduced from High Church Principles	iii	346
Hierocles, chief Inſtigator of the Perſecution againſt Chriſtians	iv	148
— Account of his Life and Writings		*ib.*
Hierom, St. aſſerts the Identity of Epiſcopacy and Preſbytery	iii	370
— Church or Low, which the richeſt	ii	16
— Party, inflamed by ignorant Scribblers		263
— Men, their inconſiſtent Behaviour	iii	230
— influenced by the ſame Spirit as *Jacobites*		*ib.*
— and as averſe to that Part of the Conſtitution of the Church which relates to Supremacy, as the Papiſts		231
High Commiſſion, founded on the King's Supremacy in Eccleſiaſtical Matters		29
Hill, Col. reſigns the Regiment deſigned for him by Q. *Anne*		273
— great Animoſities at Court about it		*ib.*
Hipparchus killed, *Anno* 513, before CHRIST		170
Hiſtory examined, but no Parallel found for the Grand Rebellion	i	29
— of the Rook and Turkeys	iv	135
— of the laſt Parliament, 1710	ii	244
Hobbes, *Thomas*, his dying Legacy	i	38
— his Notions of Government		96
— his Comment on the *Nicene* Creed	iv	336
— his Explanation of the Word Ὁμοούσιος		*ib.*
Holland, Earl of, made General of the *Engliſh* Army	i	6
— takes Arms for the King		27
— is routed and taken Priſoner		28
Holland, how benefitted by the Revolution	iv	125
— was robbed of her Trade by *England* in the two laſt Reigns		*ib.*
Hollanders, naturally Enemies to a Stadtholder	i	361
Holles, *Denzil*, forces the Speaker into the Chair		5

Holles,

	Vol.	Pag.
Glyn, Mr. his Speech concerning the Breaches of Privilege, againſt the ſix Members accuſed of High Treaſon	ii	29
— alſo on the Accuſation of the Houſe againſt the King's Attorney		45
Glynne, Lord Chief Juſtice, his Reaſons for preferring the Title of King to that of Protector	iii	138
GOD, his creating the World out of nothing, at leaſt probable	ii	415
— and Nature the ſame Thing		416
— whether he takes more of Mankind than of Beaſts		417
— has given us an eternal Soul		*ib.*
— and will puniſh us hereafter according to our Actions proceeding from our Wills		*ib.*
— the more or leſs we love him, the better or worſe it will be for us		418
— highly concerns every Man to examine which is the beſt Way to worſhip and ſerve Him		*ib.*
Godfrey, Sir *Edmundbury*, Murder of denied by thoſe who ſuffer'd for it	iii	253
— the Manner of it related		273
Godwine Earl of *Kent*, deprived of his Earldom	ii	117
Gold Gate, Benefit of, to thoſe who paſs through it	i	81
Gordon, Dr. his Manner of treating the Gout	iv	143
Government, an Inheritance, not an Office	i	506
— but one Sort in *England*	ii	23
— Subjection to, abſolutely neceſſary		68
— Compoſite, the moſt firm and durable Form of		69
— of two Sorts, private and public		214
— of *England* under our ancient Kings, Form of		241
— under *William the Conqueror* different from any ſince		*ib.*
Government Arbitrary, either in King or Commons, not to be endured	ii	353
— none ſince the Reformation ever made a Law to exclude a Popiſh Succeſſor		384
— Jealouſies of, the principal Cauſes of the Grand Rebellion	iii	114
— none *male in ſe*		138
— Forms of, left by GOD to the Diſpoſitions of Men		149
— Alterations in, ſometimes neceſſary		236
— no Sort of Men ſo inconſiſtent with as Papiſts		345

Government,

	Vol.	Pag.
Holles, his Examination before the Council	i	8
Honeſt Lawyer, Character of	iv	305
— weighs the Cauſe more than the Gold		306
— not faced like *Janus*		*ib.*
— his Learning ſolid		*ib.*
— ſtudies the Art of good Pleading		307
— had rather be an Arbitrator than an Incendiary		*ib.*
— his Profeſſion is not mercenary		*ib.*
— his Character in Life and Death in a few Words		308
Holy Ghoſt, Gift of, unlimited	iii	367
Honeſty anatomized, by Sir *Francis Walſingham*	iv	389
— a competent Eſtate of Virtue		396
— gives a Man a good Report		397
Honour, true and falſe	i	127
— Miſchiefs of falſe		*ib.*
Horſe-hairs animated	ii	241
Haſanna, or a Song of Thankſgiving ſung by the Children, 1649	iv	412
Houſe of Peers grows empty	i	22
— of Commons does the ſame, but is recruited by the new Great Seal		23
— of Commons go upon the King's Murder, and putting down the Houſe of Peers		28, 9
— complains of the Deficiencies of the *Dutch* Quota's	ii	156
— againſt the *Imperialiſts* on the ſame Account		157
How, John, affronts K. *William*, by calling him Felon	i	75
Hue and Cry after Dr. *Swift*		389
Hume, Earl of, his remarkable Behaviour in the Convention		469
Hypocondriac People, ſtrange Deluſions of	iii	209
Hypoſtatical Union in CHRIST, Diſputes about	iv	330

I.

JACOBITE Principles vindicated	iii	265
Jacobites, their inconſiſtent Principles	iv	95
— of the Church of *England*, their Intereſt to oppoſe a *French* Conqueſt	iii	443
— will call in the *French* to reſtore K. *James* if other Means fail		463
— ſome ſtaunch for the Church of *England* and *Engliſh* Liberties		511

Jacobites,

	Vol.	Pag.
Government, *Engliſh*, Royal, not Seigneral	iv	74
— Kingly, ought not to be delegated to any but anointed Heads		211
— none ſo perfect but ſomething will be amiſs in the Adminiſtration		233
— Form of, either from GOD or the Community		255
— none laſting without the Conſent of the People		*ib.*
— in *England*, how compoſed		256
— by Parties and Factions, not for a regulated Monarchy		316
— Conſtitution of the *Engliſh*, on what Maxims founded		319
— three Eſtates of, muſt be limited and bounded by one another		322
— their reſpective Powers, mutual Checks on one another		323
— muſt not claſh or interfere		*ib.*
— neither can render the Power of the other impracticable, without deſtroying the Conſtitution		*ib.*
— like the three perfect Concords in Muſick		*ib.*
— Encroachments upon either, hurtful to King and People		324
— all public Acts muſt be done by public Officers, not by the King		325
— none admits of abſolute Perfection		347
Governors and Government muſt have one Face and Way	ii	81
Gout, a Problem concerning	iv	137
— Cauſes of, miſtaken or not underſtood		*ib.*
— a fortunate Diſtemper		*ib.*
— in the *Low-Countries* a Man is congratulated upon it, as a hopeful Prolongation of Life		138
— hereditary or original		*ib.*
— Temperance or Exceſs not the Cauſe of		138
— rather a Cure than a Diſeaſe		*ib.*
— a Definition of		*ib.*
— Symptoms of an approaching Fit		*ib.*
— how it is formed		*ib.*
— that and the Stone one and the ſame		139
— and Spider, a Fable of		140
— various Opinions of its Cauſe		142
— may be ſtrangled in the Embrio		144
Grace (in Building) what	i	287
Grammar, a fair and fruitful Soil		8
— environ'd with high Mountains and ſharp Rocks		*ib.*
— plunder'd by Pilferers		18

Grand

Vol. Pag.

Jacobites, their Reasons for not striveing to keep King *James* on the Throne — — — iii 514
— their Prayer for King *William* — 517
Jamblichus, makes *Pythagoras* a Rival to our Saviour — — 156
James I. encourages Suits in Chancery, why — — i 35
— characteriz'd by a *Scots* Nobleman 86
— Protestant and Catholick Attempts in his Reign — — iii 296
— II. happy, if he had follow'd the Examples of his Predecessors — i 190
— the first Act of his Reign — 205
— his famous Proclamation consider'd 228
— his Bickerings with his Parliament 231
— issues a Declaration for general Liberty of Conscience — 236
— his Answer to the Quakers Address 238
— his Regard for Popish Priests and Jesuits — — 249
— his Zeal for the Conversion of *England* — — *ib.*
— his Reasons for hastening the Establishment of Popery — 250
— resolves to establish Popery in *Ireland* — — 251
— desires the Religious Orders may wear their Habits — 253
— Hazards he run in calling a Parliament — — — 255
— his Care to model the Parliament *ib.*
— address'd by several Corporations *ib.*
— his Ambassador not countenanced at *Rome* — — 256
— his Design to build a Citadel at *Whitehall* — — 260
— not answerable for the Conduct of his Counsellors — 298
— charg'd with Crimes not proved— 318-19
— ought to be treated with about his Return — — 321
— Deposition of, disagreeable to many Protestants — — 322
— Reasons against it — 327, 330
— Act of Indemnity and free Pardon proposed for him — 351
— concerts Measures to assassinate K. *William* — — 401
— turn'd his Army loose upon the Nation, and the Rabble upon *London* — — — 403
— his little Regard to Law and Justice — — 407
— ascends the Throne with the general Love of his People — 451

Vol. Pag.

Grand Jury, their Presentment (at the Assizes at *Northampton*) of a seditious Address — — ii 400
— Names of, that found a Bill against *Whitfield* and others, for tearing a Petition to the King — iii 102
— *Turk*, his barbarous and blasphemous Letter to the K. of *Poland* i 222
— the King's magnanimous Answer 223
Grant, *John*, one of the Gunpowder Traitors, esteems that Attempt a Satisfaction for all his Sins — iii 294
Grandvill, M. *de*, employ'd to assassinate K. *William* — — iv 81
— is try'd by a Grand Court Martial 82
— his Sentence of Condemnation — 83
— his Letter to a Lady the Morning of his Execution — 87
Grants, not to be made, where the Takers may become Judges & Parties 331
— as of Goods taken on board Pyrates before Conviction — *ib.*
Grauntsmesuell, Sir *Hugh*, the first high Seneschal or Steward of *England* 110
Great Charter of the Liberties of *England*, a Clause of — ii 251
Great Seal is the Key of the Kingdom 457
— a new one made on the Death of *Henry* III. and another in the first of *Henry* VI. — — 462
— these Cases not parallel to the counterfeiting it, when the King was at *Oxford* — — 463
— should not be put to blank Patents iv 330
Grecians, their Stratagem to take a strong City — — ii 353
— in refusing to assist their Emperors, became a Prey to the *Turk* iii 250
Green, Dr. his Funeral Sermon for the Earl of *Derby* — — ii 509
— his Discourse with the Earl on the Scaffold — — 511
Gregory XIII. Pope, attributes to himself the Honour due to God — i 77
Grevile, Sir *Foulke*, long a Favourite of Q. *Elizabeth* — 373
Grievances in the first Part of the Reign of K. *Charles* I. — 301-2
— Schedule of, presented by the Grand Jury of *Buckinghamshire* — ii 104
Grimston, Mr. his Speech concerning Breach of Privilege of Parliament 31
— his Argument concerning Bishops, with Mr. *Selden*'s Answer — 467
Groves and *Pickering* undertake to shoot the King — — iii 263

	Vol.	Pag.
James II. False Steps in his Reign	i	452
—Withdraws his Army from *Scotland*		458
—His Party puzzled how to behave in the Convention		467
—His Friends in *Scotland* desert him		491
—His Acts there rescinded		494
—His bad Measures might have been redressed by Parliament	ii	[243]
—His Desertion a Necessity, not a Crime		[260]
—Charge against, not proved in Tenderness to him, ridiculous		[161]
—His Deprivation makes us the Reproach of all Nations		[262]
—Attended with Blood-shed		[265]
—His Cause ought to be examined before he is laid aside		[266]
—His illegal Proceedings against his Protestant Subjects		[268]
—Declared that none of the Statutes for the Security of the Protestant Religion shall be put in Execution		[270]
—His *Quo Warrantos* against Cities and Boroughs		[272]
—Turns out Judges who would not serve his Purpose		*ib*
—His avowed Intent to free the *Romish* Emissaries from the Penal Laws		[274]
—Rendered a free Parliament impracticable		276
—A Pensioner to *France*		278
—Would enslave us after the *French* Manner		280
—Authorizes Treason against the Realm		317
—The sad Condition of the Nation the latter End of his Reign		342
—With a worse Prospect from the growing Greatness of *France*		*ib*
—His Return the Destruction of this Nation		344
—His Letter to the Archbishop of *Canterbury* and *York*		355
—His Directions concerning Preachers		356
—His Letter to the Parliament of *Scotland*		376
—Their Answer thereto		380
—His Letter to the Lords of the Privy-Council		389
—His Sufferings owing to the Counsels of his Popish Priests	iii	20
—His Declaration of Indulgence and Dispensing Power defended		21
—His Retreat to *France* compelled		23
—Why		

	Vol.	Pag.
Guineas at 30*s.* Reason of	iv	172
—Lowering of, considered in Parliament		175
—Reduced to 22*s.*		176
Gualterus Rivius, a famous *German* Writer upon Architecture	i	262
Gurney, Sir *Richard*, removed from the Government of the City		413
Guelfes and *Gibelines*, the Heads of two Factions in *Germany*		325

H

Habeas Corpus Act, deficient to a great Degree	iv	21
—Instances of its Defect		71,2
—Never extended to destroy the Privileges of the House of Commons		351
Hades, how understood by the antient *Greeks*	i	138
—Hath two Parts, Heaven and Hell		140
—*Hales*, Sir *Thomas*, his dishonourable Proceedings with Mr. *Colepeper* about the *Kentish* Petition	iv	302
Hallifax, Earl of, his Address to Parliament concerning the Succession	iii	346
—Accounts for the frequent Dissolutions of Parliament		348
—Vindicates King *Charles* II. from being a Papist		349
—Recites the great and beneficial Things the King had done for the Nation		*ib*
—Agrees with *Plato Redivivus*, that Popery is not the Cause of our Disturbance		352
—Impeached for passing several Grants of Lands in *Ireland*		388
—Hallowed Sepulchers, not mentitioned in the Gospel	i	83
Hamburghers, why beat by the *Dutch* in the Herring Fisheries	iv	429
Hamilton, Marq. of, poisoned	ii	132
—Lieu. Col. summoned to answer for the Murder of the *Glenco* Men, flies to the King in *Flanders*	iv	104
Hampden, Mr. his Speech, on the Accusation of High-Treason against himself and other Members	ii	26
—His Notion of Resistance		27
—*John*, a worthy Friend of *Cromwell's*	iii	135
Harcourt, Mr. his Speech in a Conference with the Lords	iv	386
Harmony in Sound reduced to Har-		

	Vol.	Pag.
—Why his Friends did not ſtrive to keep him on the Throne	iii	24
—His Compaſſion and invincible Patience		26
—His ſeveral Offers to treat		*ib*
—Redreſſed many Grievances complained of		28
—His Severities in the Weſt apologized for		29
—Too heroic to diſſemble his Religion		30
—His Reaſons for granting an Indulgence		31
—His Liberality to the *French* Refugees		*ib*
—His Prerogative to diſpenſe with the Penal Laws decided in the *King's-Bench* for him		*ib*
—Why he removed Proteſtants from Places of Truſt		32
—Puſhed on by his Prime Miniſter, on purpoſe to diſgrace him with the Church of *England*		33
—His impriſoning the Biſhops, accounted for		34
—Charged with ſuffering the Royal Navy to lie and rot, diſproved		37
—His Deſign to ruin Trade, diſproved		38
—His Return obſtructed by the ſame Arguments uſed againſt recalling K. *Charles* II.		39
—His Severity to the *Iriſh*, refuted		40
—More punctual to his Oaths and Promiſes than the Prince of *Orange*		42
—That he attempted to alter the whole Frame of Government, denied		43
—That he deſigned to change our Religion, improbable		45
—His entertaining 30,000 *French* Proteſtants, not done in Concert with the *French* King		47
—Naturally ſo merciful that he can never be a Perſecutor		48
—With him would be reſtored every Bleſſing we can deſire		51
—All *Europe* Partakers of ſo great a Happineſs		*ib*
—The only Cauſe of his own Sufferings		54
—He left us in Anarchy		55
—His Injuries muſt not be repaired with the Ruin of the Innocent		*ib*
—Neither his Experience nor his Intereſt taught him Moderation		58
mony in Sight	i	278
Harold, diſdained by his Nobility for his Uſurpation	ii	106
—Juſtling *Edgar Atheline* out of the Throne, cauſed a Civil War and the *Norman* Conqueſt	iii	248
Haſterigg, Sir *Arthur*, his Defence againſt the Articles of High-Treaſon exhibited againſt him and other Members	ii	22
Hatton, Sir *Charles*, a Favourite of Queen *Elizabeth*, his Riſe and Fall	i	370
—Lord, impeached by the City of *Edinburgh*	iii	195
—Threatens to remove the Court of Judicature to *Stirling*		*ib*
—Diſturbs them in the Choice of their Magiſtrates		196
—Pretends they had forfeited their Liberties by an old Miſdemeanour		197
Haverſham, Lord, Account of the Proceedings againſt by the Houſe of Commons	iv	384
—His Anſwer to the Commons Charge		385
—His Speech, in the Conference with the Commons		*ib*
—Reſolution of the Lords thereupon		389
Heart has no Diſeaſe, according to *Hippocrates*, denied by others	ii	428
—How ſituated in the Breaſt		429
—Its Conſiſtence		*ib*
—Is ſtrongly fortified		429
—Infected with Impoſthumes, Worms, *&c.*		430
Heaven, Degrees of its Joys only to be gueſſed at	iii	418
Hebrew Words, how many make the Bible	i	136
Henry, Prince of *Orange*, diſtruſted by the States		383
—Summoned to appear before the States to anſwer for himſelf		384
—The Army entirely for him		*ib*
—*Frederick* Prince of *Wales*, an Account of his Baptiſm		429
—Time and Place of his Birth		*ib*
—Order of the Ambaſſadors attending his Baptiſm		433
—The Ceremonies preparatory to		434
—Magnificently ſolemnized		435
—Knighted by the King		436
—Several Barons and Gentlemen dubbed on the Occaſion		*ib*
—The Oath they took		*ib*
—A Liſt of their Names		437

	Vol.	Pag.
James I. his whole Government in Oppoſition to the Laws	iii	84
—Q. Whether he voluntarily left his Government		85
—Proved in the Affirmative		86
—His Deſign of returning, of no Weight		87
—If conquered and driven away, whether ſuch Conqueſt was juſt		88
—Allegiance to him impoſſible		90
—If recalled upon Condition, what then		95
—A Regency in his Room, impracticable		96
—On his Return, would have redreſſed our Grievances		267
—Puniſh his Miniſters, not him		269
—Would, on his Return, give an univerſal Amneſty		270
—Required no Oath from any Man that ſerve him in *Ireland*		277
—His Opinion of the Princeſs of *Orange*'s Principles		448
—Deſerted by his Children and Servants		471
—His diſbanding the Army juſtified		472
—Not a Breach of any Law		475
—His Meſſage to two Aldermen		473
—His Meſſage to the Prince on his Return to *Whitehall*		*ib*
—Receives Orders to quit his Palace		*ib*
—His Male-Adminiſtration examined		476
—Offended at the Weſtern Severities		477
—Averſe to the regulating Corporations		478
—His diſpenſing Power not juſtified by his Friends		479
—His impriſoning the Biſhops, unavoidable		*ib*
—His Project for Liberty of Conſcience a Contrivance of his Miniſters to ruin him		501
—His Reſolution to call in a *French* Power, improbable		503
—His Intention to conquer us, imaginary		507
—His Care for the *Iriſh* Proteſtants		509
—His Struggles with the *Iriſh* Parliament		510
—His Return would occaſion a Civil War, anſwered		515
—His Payments to the *French* King would overballance the Taxes to King *William*		516
—Anſwered, by inſtancing the Actions		

	Vol.	Pag.
Henry Fred. the magnificent Banquet ſucceeding		438
—Decorated with a triumphal Chariot drawn in by a Blackmoor		*ib*
—Succeeded by a ſumptuous Ship under ſail		439
—Account of his Life and Death, by Sir *Charles Cornwallis*		442
—His Character worthy the ſublimeſt Pen		443
—Committed firſt to the Earl of *Marr*		444
—His martial Spirit diſcovered in his Infancy		*ib*
—Is taught the Grounds of Learning		*ib*
—His youthful Exerciſes		445
—Inſtalled Knight of the Garter		*ib*
—The Order and Solemnity on that Occaſion	i	203
—His princely Sports		445
—His ſolid Judgment and Ingenuity		446
—In the Name of *Meliades*, Lord of the Iſles, challenges the Knights of *Great-Britain*		*ib*
—Preparations made for the Combat		447
—His brave Behaviour in it		*ib*
—Created Prince of *Wales*		248
Annihilates the old, and grants new Leaſes for the Principality of *Wales* and *Cornwall*		*ib*
—Delights to confer with Captains about Wars, Battles, &c.		449
—A viſible Alteration in his Conſtitution		*ib*
—Prejudices his Health by ſwimming in Evenings		450
—Entertains the King, Queen, and all their Court at *Woodſtock*		451
—His Health decays daily		*ib*
—Yet retains a Strength of Mind		252
—Hears a Sermon on the miſerable Pilgrimage of Man, and takes to his Bed		254
—Is viſited by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*		461
—The Archbiſhop's Diſcourſe with him		462
—A Medicine is ſent him by Sir *Walter Raleigh*		464
—His Death		466
—His Body is opened		*ib*
—Lies in State		468
—The Funeral Solemnity		469
—His Funeral Sermon, preached by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*		*ib*

	Vol.	Pag.
tions of King *William*	iii	*ib*
—Expences of his subsisting aboard, trifling		517
—Prays the Bishops to take him under their Protection		474
—Strikes in to the *French* Interest to support himself on his Throne		303
—His last Sickness	iv	80
—Forgives all his Enemies		*ib*
—His Charge to his Son and Daughter		81
—Visited by the *French* King		*ib*
—His Death		*ib*
—The Prince of *Wales*, immediately after, is proclaimed King of *Great-Britain*		82
—Two remarkable Passages preceding his Death		*ib*
—His last dying Words to his Son and Daughter and the *French* King		*ib*
—His Letter to his privy Counsellors, concerning the Birth of the Prince of *Wales*		88
—Remarks thereon		89
—Gives them notice that his Queen is with Child again		90
—Invites them over, and promises, on the *French* King's Word, their safe Return		91
—His Letter improperly dated the 8th of his Reign		92
—His Letter to the Pope, with Remarks		108
—His granting Liberty of Conscience and encouraging Trade prejudicial to the *Dutch*		126
—Better than *Trajan*, the best of all the *Roman* Emperors		145
—Promises to pay the *French* King all his Expences, or give him *Ireland*		248
—Protestant and Catholic Attempts in his Reign		302
—His Queen, her Pregnancy ridiculed	ii	284
—Big with a Boy, as predicted by the Popish Priests		285
—Improbability of her being with Child		288
—Her Midwives had not provided their usual Instruments		308
—Clandestine Practices in her supposed Travail		*ib*
—No previous Signs of her Travail		*ib*
—No Appearance of the natural Effects of Child-bearing		310

	Vol.	Pag.
Henry Fred. the Text and Substance of the Sermon		470
—The Day solemnized by the Universities of *Oxford* and *Cambridge*		*ib*
—His Representation set up in a Chapel at *Westminster*		471
—A Description of his Person and Character		*ib*
—His remarkable Speech to the Dean of *Canterbury*		472
—His Conscience of an Oath		*ib*
—Hated Popery to his Death		*ib*
—A great Lover of Learning		*ib*
—Obedient to his Parents and strictly religious in his Family		473
—Had always an ominous Conceit of *Friday*		*ib*
—Strove to excel in all Things excellent		*ib*
—Dissection of his Body, seen by the Physicians and Surgeons	iv	404
Henry I. granted the *English* all their Rights and Privileges by Charter		364
—II. Infamous for Perjury, Jealousy and Letchery		
—III. Lessens the Power of his great Lords	ii	107
—Taken Prisoner in a Battle near *Lewes* in *Sussex*		112
—His Life and Reign by Sir *Robert Cotton*		175
—Ascends the Throne a Child, mild and grave		*ib*
—Happy in the Guides of his Youth		*ib*
—His Counsellors being dead, resigns himself to the Conduct of young and unexperienced Ministers		176
—Chuses his Half-Brethren for Ministers		179
—His Kingdom left a Prey to a lawless Multitude		180
—Calls a Parliament, who blame him, yet grant him a small Pittance on his Promise of Amendment		180, 1
—Sells the Crown and his Jewels, pawns *Gascony* and his Imperial Crown		181
—Pawns the Jewels of *St. Edward*'s Shrine, and not able to pay his Debts, breaks up House		182
—Calls a Parliament, who oblige him to render up his Regal Power		*ib*
—Implores Succour of Pope *Urban*, who arms him with Excommuni-		

Jes- cations

	Vol.	Pag.
Jefferies, Judge, threatens the Diſſenters	i	205
Jenkins, Judge, his Remonſtrance to the Lords and Commons, 1647	iv	451
—— vindicates his Books from Sedition		452
—— the Propoſitions in his Books, the Laws of the Land		452,3
—— his Plea, delivered to the E. of *Manchester*, and the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons		497
—— refuſes Submiſſion to their Power		497,8
—— his Judgment in the Caſe of a Gentleman condemned for a Riſing at *Canterbury*		499
—— Speaker *Lenthal*'s Speech on the Occaſion		*ib*
—— his bold Anſwer, which provokes the Houſe to appoint a Day for Execution of him and Sir *Francis Butler*		502
—— his Execution ſuſpended on a droll Speech of Mr. *Martin*		503
—— his Speech intended to be ſpoke at his Execution		*ib*
—— refuſes an Offer of 1000 l. a Year to own the Power of the Parliament		505
—— continued in *Newgate* till the Reſtoration, and ſoon after died		506
Jeſuits, a Piece of their Policy	i	206
JESUS CHRIST, his Divinity proved by the Old and New Teſtament	ii	571 to 577
Jews, rank our bleſſed Saviour with *Pythagoras*	iii	145
Ignatius miſunderſtood in relation to Deacons		375
Iluarodam, or *Evil-Merodach*, kill'd 559 Years before CHRIST		165
Imperial Court always delay ſigning Treaties, why	ii	38
Imperialiſts deficient in their Quotas in Q. *Anne*'s War		86
—— obſtruct the Treaty of *Utrecht*		89
—— declare they will ſupport the War ſingly		*ib*
Impreſſing Men, Inconvenience of	iv	252
Indemnify'd, K. *William*'s worſt Enemies	iii	68
Indemnity, Act of, why not paſs'd by K. *William*'s Parliament	ii	355
Independants. their Notion of a Comprehenſion	i	267
—— diſallow the Uſe of to Common Prayer to the King	ii	6
Index to the Report of Secret Committee about Q. *Anne*'s Peace		119
Indexes, Uſe of to Poets	iv	6
Indifferent Things not to be preferred as neceſſary	iii	189

Infallibility

	Vol.	Pag.
cation againſt his rebellious Subjects	ii	184
—— fights a Battle with the Rebels at *Lewes*, and is taken Priſoner with his Son		177
—— the Prince eſcapes, heads the Army, attacks and beats the Rebels at *Eveſham*		185
—— reviews his paſt ill Conduct, and begins his new Reign with Acts of Clemency		*ib*
—— his wiſe and prudent Meaſures		186
—— happy the Remainder of his Reign		187
—— erected the Commons into a Lower Houſe, to counter-poiſe the Houſe of Lords	iii	247
—— conſults his Parliament on various Occaſions	ii	247
—— IV. made the firſt Statute for burning Hereticks, according to the Holy Canons		291
—— his Reign blotted with the Ruin and Blood of the Nobility and Gentry		400
—— V. opens to the Parliament his Title to *France*	i	248
—— his Story mentions nothing but Wars, raiſing Monies, and ſpending the Nation's Blood	iv	400
—— VI. and *Edward* IV. two Men born for Ruin, Blood and Miſery to this Kingdom		*ib*
—— VII. held it no Diſhonour to yield to his Subject's Demands	ii	135
—— is petitioned by his Parliament to marry *Elizabeth*, Daughter of *Edward* IV.		242
—— marries one Daughter to *Scotland*, and another to *France*, why	iii	214
—— paſſed an Act to pay Obedience to a King *de Facto*		382
—— had no Right to the Crown, more than the Conſent of the People	iv	401
—— as Guilty of Cruelty and Blood as the Worſt of his Predeceſſors		*ib*
—— adviſed with his Parliament about avoiding his Marriage with *Jane* of *Cleve*		*ib*
—— ought to have rejected ſeveral Bills that he paſſed	ii	451
—— VIII. in what Company placed by *Paſquin*	iii	90
—— told his rebellious Subjects they ought to have petitioned		*ib*
—— when for and againſt Popery, got a Parliament to his Mind		302
—— a mercileſs Prince	ii	401

	Vol.	Pag.
Infallibility, no where	i	366
—— of the Pope, not a Matter of Faith with the Papists	iv	[214]
Informers, the worst Enemies in a Prince's Court	i	202
—— Men of no Reputation		173
—— how encouraged	ii	234
Ingrey, Under Sheriff of *Cambridge-shire*, punished for refusing a Poll at an Election		379
Innocent X. Pope, damns all those that detain Church Lands.	iv	230
Inrolling and Registering Conveyances of Lands, how necessary, by Lord Chief Justice *Hale*		233
Interest of a King and People considered	i	52
Interest, Laws necessary to limit it	iv	79
Interregnum, none in *England*	i	345
Inward Light, the *Ignis Fatuus* of the Mind	iii	209
John, K. preferred before the eldest Brother's Son	i	79
—— his Surrender of the Crown to the Pope, invalid	ii	316
Joseph, Emperor, dies		36
—— a Stranger, enslaves the *Egyptians*, but favours his own People	iv	277
Ipres, William de, Favourite to K. *Stephen*, obtains an Earldom, *&c.* which were seiz'd on by K. *Henry* II.	iii	101,2
Ireland, Government of, why put in the Hands of the Papist	i	297
—— belongs to *England* by Descent and Conquest	ii	336
—— supported by Subsidies from *England*		337
—— without *England* could not flourish		*ib*
—— never in more Danger of being lost than at the Revolution		*ib*
—— the Protestants there most miserable		*ib*
—— ten thousand *English* never were nor can be beaten there		338
—— twenty thousand necessary to conquer it		*ib*
—— to delay Submission in Hopes, a Maxim of that Country		*ib*
—— Government of, put into the Hands of a bigotted Papist	iii	68
—— Estates there sufficient to defray the Charge	ii	338
—— Protestants of, saved from Ruin by the Pr. of *Orange*		339
—— the Polity of its Government overturned and the Law subverted		*ib*
—— no Men to be raised there		340
		Irish

	Vol.	Pag.
Henry III. of *France*, leaves his Curse upon *Paris*	i	410
—— contrary to Advice, revives the War against the Reformed	iii	453
Herbert, Attorney General, his high Offence in accusing Six Members of the House of Commons of High Treason	ii	45
Hercules, inspired to worthy Deeds by seeing represented the memorable Acts of *Jupiter*	i	176
Heresy, a Sin not to be forgiven, why		167
Hereticks, who so accounted by the Pope		76
—— Goods of, confiscated by Canon Law	iii	287
—— Difference about the Possession of Goods confiscated		*ib*
—— all Profits, from the first Day of their Guilt to be refunded		288
—— all Alienations by Gift, Sale, *&c.* before Sentence, void		*ib*
—— their Children and their Heirs are deprived of their Portions		*ib*
—— Descendants of, tho' in Possession of Estates for 100 Years, shall lose them		289
—— when stript of all, shall have no Relief from others		*ib*
—— to be put to Death without Remission		290
—— one Error makes a Heretick		291
—— must be burnt alive without Regard to Age, Sex or Quality		*ib*
—— in the Inquisition suffer many Deaths before they are burnt		*ib*
—— Favourers of, liable to the same Penalties		301
—— disarm'd in *Ireland*	iv	21
Heroic Poem, how to judge of		145
—— the Essentials of		146
—— is an Imitation of an illustrious and complete Action		*ib*
—— Matter or Action of, what		147
—— Fable, the Soul and Foundation of		148
—— End of, to give Instruction by Examples		151
—— Sentiments of, in what consisting		156
—— Expression of, how conditioned		160
Herring (in *Holland*) excised nine Times before it is eat	iii	269
Herrings, the proper Seasons and Places for taking them	iv	427
—— how cured for Market		431
Hierarchy, one in Heaven	ii	385
Highlanders and Borderers, how to be governed		194

	Vol.	Pag.
Iriſh Rebels not to be employ'd in the *Engliſh* Army or Navy		[251]
—— Ways and Means adviſed to ſuppreſs them		[252]
—— Army, when diſbanded will turn Tories		340
—— Proteſtants in general againſt K. *James*	iii	509
Judges, queſtioned for their extrajudicial Opinion about Shipmoney	i	195
—— to be choſen for their Merit only		202
—— their Bench often altered in K. *James*'s Reign		402
—— turned out for acquitting thoſe whom the King would condemn	ii	271
Juncken finds Inſects in the Putrefaction of Vegetables		239
Junto, in Q. *Anne*'s Reign, their corrupt Practices		260,1
—— their ſiniſter Methods to uphold themſelves		265
Jure Divino, not founded on Scripture	i	280
—— unſettles all the Thrones in the World	iii	431
Juries, preſs'd to find their Neighbours criminal tho' innocent	ii	269
—— their Interrogatories about the Aſſociation	i	150
—— if partial, Remedies againſt		272
Juſtice gives a Man Eſtimation and Authority	iv	372
Juſtices empowered to ſolemnize Marriages		509
—— Jacobite, commiſſioned in K. *William*'s Reign	iii	72
Juſtin Martyr concerning the Deacon's Office	ii	274

K.

Keeper, Lord, his proper and original Buſineſs	i	34
Keepers of the Liberties of *England*, a meer Notion		248
—— voted to be the two Houſes of Parliament, tho' not ſummoned by Writ		349
Keith, *George*, his Account of Quakers	iii	114
Kennet, Dr. his Character of K. *James* II.	iv	142
Kentiſhmen take Arms for the King, and are defeated	i	27
—— Petitioners, by whom and for what impriſoned	iii	75
King, Sir *Peter*, Recorder, his Speech to K. *George* I. at his Royal Entry 1714	ii	488

King

	Vol.	Pag.
High Steward. *See* Seneſchal		
—— Office of, not neceſſary in the Houſe of Lords, on the Trials of Peers	iv	322
—— except in Trials out of Parliament, where he ſits as Judge		336
High Court of Juſtice, ordered by the Parliament to try divers Gentlemen for High Treaſon	ii	506
High Treaſon had been the Conſequence, if the Throne had not been declared vacant	iii	443
Holineſs, (the Pope ſo called) is a Name of God	i	82
Holland, Intereſt and Life of, is Trade	iii	214
—— an eternal Enemy to *England*, why		*ib*
—— does all the Miſchief in their Power		*ib*
—— their barbarous and perfidious Cruelties upon the *Engliſh*		*ib*
—— ſome horrible Inſtances of their cruel Treatment of the *Engliſh*, in the *Indies*, *Guinea* and *Brazil*		215
—— their bloody Maſſacree of the *Engliſh* at *Amboyna*		216
—— procured the Slaughter of 400,000 Chriſtians in *Japan*		*ib*
—— favoured and encouraged a Conſpiracy againſt the Government in 1666		*ib*
—— the City of *London* fired the ſame Day		217
—— uſe our Men like Dogs, tho' they fight for them		*ib*
—— renounce their Chriſtianity to promote their Trade		218
—— yet we are in love with them		*ib*
—— Loſs of, the Deſtruction of *England*	iv	249
—— her Golden Mines, what		424
—— Earls of, petitioned *Edward* III. for Leave to fiſh in our Seas		*ib*
—— Skippers purchaſed Licences from *Scarborough* Caſtle before they caſt Nets		*ib*
—— the Number of their Subjects		426
—— how many of them maintained by fiſhing at Sea		427
—— the mighty Storehouſe or Empory of all foreign Products		428
—— its natural Diſadvantages and Misfortunes		*ib*
—— yet its Inhabitants numerous and wealthy by fiſhing on our Coaſts		429
Hollis, Mr. his Speech againſt the Attorney General	ii	867

Holy

	Vol.	Pag.
King, Dr. his Hiſtory of the *Iriſh* Affairs, notoriouſly falſe	iii	509
King, ſupreme Ordinary in eccleſiaſtical Affairs	i	247
—— of *England*, ſworn to govern according to Law	iii	82
—— his diſpenſing with Law, is to make Laws by his own Authority		*ib*
—— inſtanced in the Recuſants		*ib*
—— ceaſes to be ſo when he governs not according to Law		84
—— has no need of *Dutch* Counſellors		521
—— entitled to all the Land between High and Low-Water Mark	iv	33
—— Death of, the Death of the Parliament		122
—— not above the Law, but the Law above the King		172
—— has not ſo much Power as a Juſtice of Peace		*ib*
—— obliged to act for the People's Good if he had taken no Oath		173
—— means, that he is ſupreme in the Land, in Oppoſition to the Pope, *&c.*		174
—— his Prerogative, as allowed by Common Law		182
—— his Covenant with the People includes a mutual Truſt		184
—— to ſay he can do no Wrong, is Blaſphemy		285
—— why it is ſo ſaid		513,4
—— may be ſued in Civil Actions		185
—— may commit Treaſon againſt the People		186
—— his natural Perſon and Power indiviſible		500
—— is the Head, but not the *Finis*, or *Cauſa finalis* of the Parliament		513
Kingdom, how it may be always ſecure	i	129
King-killing, diſowned by Papiſts		120
—— juſtified by Presbyterians		[113]
Kings, their Word of no more Credit than other Men's		87
—— ſhould not be conteſted with in the Choice of their Servants		125
—— reverenced when they need not the Supply of their Subjects		194
—— more ſubject to be wrought on than other Men, why		*ib*
—— ſhould confer their Favours on the Worthy		*ib*
—— ought to be of no Faction		203
—— can make no new Laws concerning Rites and Ceremonies		241
—— his Power as great as the Pope's formerly		*ib*
Kings		

	Vol.	Pag.
Holy Bull and Cruſado of *Rome*, publiſhed by P. *Gregory* XIII. and renewed by P. *Sextus* V.	i	75
—— prefaced with the Example of *David*, but ill judged		77
—— firſt granted againſt the *Turks*		79
Holy Scriptures, give Evidence againſt Popery	iii	313
Homer, by whom brought into Uſe and Glory	i	138
—— not blind as ſuppoſed		281
—— without Pattern, but not without Fault	iv	146
—— his *Iliad* and *Odyſſey*, both defective in Action		147
—— Fable of the *Iliad* not probable, and the Machines two numerous		149
—— Characters of his Heroes not duly obſerved		151
—— Sentiments of his Heroes unworthy their Characters		157
—— his ridiculous Deſcription of *Ulyſſes* and *Alcinous*'s Court		158
—— his wonderful Talent in ſome Reſpects		*ib*
Honeſty the beſt Policy	ii	130
Honour, the firſt Step to, is Diſquietude		5
Hotham, Sir *John*, juſtified by the Houſe of Commons		317
Houſe of Commons, their Manner of Proceeding againſt Members accuſed of Capital Crimes		65
—— their Vote of Thanks to Mr. *Bridges* for his Sermon		88
—— equal in Power to the Houſe of Lords		108
—— equally concerned with the Lords in the Depoſition of *Richard* II.		109
—— their Act and Aſſent in all Things in Parliament allowed		*ib*
—— arbitrary Proceedings of, in K. *Charles* II's Time	iii	354
—— their Sphere of Action	ii	452
—— ſubmiſſively acknowledge the Superiority of the Houſe of Lords 18 *Eliz.*	iv	365
—— ſend a Meſſage to the Lords complaining of an Innovation		366
—— their Lordſhips Anſwer		*ib*
—— of Lords, hardly brought to vote with the Commons againſt the A. B. of *Canterbury*	ii	293
—— their Orb		452
How, *John*, his ſcurrilous Remark on the King	iv	300
—— his Health drank to, at *St. Germains*		201
Howard, Lord, appointed by the Pope to take Poſſeſſion of *England* as forfeited	iii	263
Howard		

	Vol.	Pag.
Kings forſake not one another in Adverſity	i	418
—— turn Merchants		419
—— of *Scotland* always Friends to *France*		421
—— *de Jure*, to carry Men to fight againſt them who have ſworn Allegiance to them, a dangerous Example		442
—— thoſe beſt that live beſt with their Parliaments	iii	11
—— formerly had none but *Engliſh* in their Councils		110
—— without hereditary Right and Title can convey none		112
—— their beſt Standing Army is the Love of their Subjects		268
—— liable to be depoſed, by an Act of K. *Edward the Confeſſor*		310
—— not at Liberty to give up the Regal Power		475
—— can never die		482
—— have acknowledged the People's Rights to ſave their free Government	ii	319
—— firſt four in the World Tyrants	iv	173
—— not governing well may be depoſed, by Stat. 12 *Richard* II.		87
—— not to be elected by the People		433
—— Power of, in Anſwer to Judge *Jenkins*		509
—— obliged to paſs ſuch Acts as the Commons requeſt		507
—— can't put a Negative upon a Bill if urged by the People's Repreſentatives to paſs it, except where their own Rights are concerned		511
—— not obliged to paſs Bills touching Religion, offered by either or both Houſes		512
Kingſton, Ld. embraces Popery	i	259
L.		
Lacedemonians fin'd, fettered and executed their Kings	iv	430
Ladies prefer the *Indian* before the *Engliſh* Manufactures		59
—— antient Way of Winning		386
Lambert, Ld. adviſed to conſult the People what Government they choſe to live under	i	163
Latitudinarians, their Principles	iii	548
—— Succeſs of, lamentable in the Effects		*ib*
Laud, Bp. his extraordinary Medal of K. *Charles* I.		174
—— and his Faction promote a Loan to the *Dutch*, to aid them againſt their Sovereign		581
Lauderdale, D. of, his Apology	i	447
Howard, Card. too meek to manage K. *James*'s Affairs at *Rome*	iii	458
Hubert of *Burgh*, for his bad Counſel, is apprehended and deprived of his Earldom	ii	117
Hungary, deſolated and endangered by the *Turks* by the fierce Counſels of the Jeſuits	iii	460
—— Subjects of, once near half Proteſtants, now none	iv	247
Hus, *John*, and *Jerom* of *Prague*, burnt, tho' a Prince gave his Oath for their Safety	iii	298
Human Body, nothing more uniform than the Structure of	i	269
—— repreſented by a Clock	iv	137
J.		
Jacobites, ſoon elevated and as ſoon dejected	iv	104
—— Projects of, in K. *William*'s Time		208
James, *Eleanor*, relates the Occaſion of her differing with *Titus Oates*		421
—— her Petition to the Lords thereupon		*ib*
James I. ſummons his Nobles, *&c.* on the Birth of P. *Henry*	i	429
—— orders a new Chapel to be built for his Son's Baptiſm		*ib*
—— ſends Ambaſſadors to divers Courts on the Occaſion		*ib*
—— entertains them at his own Coſt		430
—— orders magnificent Shews and Exerciſes to be exhibited		431
—— Devices and Motto's for the Arms of the Combatants		432
—— Laws of		*ib*
—— is invited to *England* to receive the Crown		445
—— cautions his Son againſt Puritans	ii	196
—— alſo againſt a haughty Nobility		197
—— bids him make his Money of fine Gold and Silver		199
—— tells him the beſt Way to ſtop the Mouths of Railers		*ib*
—— how to behave to other Princes		200
—— to be ſlow both in making War and Peace		201
—— to make his own Life an Example to his People		*ib*
—— how to govern his Court and Followers		202
—— to compoſe the Servants of his Court of his young Nobles		*ib*
—— to prefer thoſe who had ſerved him beſt		203
—— directs him in the Choice of his Servants		*ib*
—— and how to govern them		204
—— inſtructs him about Marriage		205

Vol. Pag.

Lauderdale, D. of, not the Cause nor Promoter of the late King's Murder i *ib*
—— not accessary to the Declaration from *Scotland*, on which the Murder was grounded *ib*
—— his Sufferings for the Royal Cause 448
Law, the King's Master 204
—— does not make Religion true or false 294
—— Civil, asserts that the Emperor's Affirmation, in Cases of Treaso, is not Proof ii 297
—— why none to make it Treason for the King to destroy the People iv 185
—— of *England*, is *Lex non scripta* 187
—— if above the King, much more above the Subject 200
Laws, *English*, invented and established by the *Normans* i 35
—— in Chancery, how perplexing *ib*
—— a Trade of Brabling and Pettifogging 36
—— duely executed, the Defence of a Kingdom 55
—— Penal, ought not to be made Snares to Men's Hearts 173
—— what those were which K. *James* dispensed with 294
—— Penal, Necessity of ii [274]
—— Repeal of, an absolute Establishment of Popery 283
—— *Roman*, in Case of a Posthumous to be born 292
—— the Test both of the Royal Authority, and the People's Obedience 570
—— against Papists and Dissenters void in themselves, why iii 83
—— against Popery defeated iv 225
—— why inserted in the King's Oath before Customs 506
—— more antient than Customs *ib*
Lawful, why omitted in the Oath of Allegiance ii 579
Lawrence, a Dean and a Priest iii 377
Lawton, Charlwood, his Letter to Dr. *Tillotson* ii 241
Lawyers, in antient *Rome*, pleaded Causes *gratis* i 33
—— in *England*, formerly, plied for Clients, as Watermen for Fares *ib*
—— the same practiced among the *Thessalians* and *Athenians* *ib*
—— not to sit in Parliament 36
—— their Declaration concerning the King's Prerogatives 247
—— for the Abdication, were principally concerned in the Grants made by K. *William* iii 111

Vol. Pag.

James I. with Respect to his Choice of a Wife ii 206
—— how to treat his Wife when married 207
—— how to behave to his Children 208
—— recommends to him the Practice of Temperance *ib*
—— to use Justice, but not roughly *ib*
—— to study King-Craft, or how to rule his People *ib*
—— to be well versed in History 209
—— to be well read in the Scriptures 210
—— to study *Cæsar*'s Commentaries 211
—— to embrace true Magnanimity *ib*
—— to behave respectfully to his Mother *ib*
—— to frown on Oppressors whom he cannot punish 212
—— to be liberal in rewarding the Good *ib*
—— not to enrich himself with Exactions on his Subjects *ib*
—— encourages Petitions from his People iii 110
—— forbids his Parliament to meddle in State Affairs 246
—— says, that Priviledges of Parliament are rather a Toleration than an Inheritance *ib*
—— passed an Act that no Man, who was not a Batchelor in Divinity, shou'd preach about Predestination and Free-will 435
—— as great a Tyrant as any of his Predecessors iv 402
—— an incredible Increase of Taverns and Bawdy-Houses in his Reign *ib*
—— from a natty barren Country, came to be as great a Prince as any in *Christendom* 403
—— his original Extract *ib*
—— notorious for his Laziness and Uncleanness 4
—— the greatest Blasphemer in the World; swore faster than he spoke, and cursed the People by the Clock *ib*
—— naturally fearful *ib*
—— his strange Charge to the Judges who had the Examination of Sir *Thomas Overbury*'s Murder 405
—— had no Wars, yet spent more Money prodigally than any of his Predecessors *ib*
—— cruelly oppressed the Nation to raise Money to feed his Hungry *Scots* 406
—— some of the most scandalous Transaction of his Reign *ib*
—— his extraordinary Letter to the Lower House of Parliament 407
—— not clear who was his Father 409

	Vol.	Pag.
Layman's Religion, Extracts from	iii	254
Laymen usurp the principal Part of the Episcopal Jurisdiction		383
League between *Denmark* and the Commonwealth of *England*	ii	583
Le— his Letter to *Alger. Sidney*	iv	536
Leake, Sir *John*, placed at the Head of the Navy	ii	258
Learning, not necessary for a parochial Cure	iii	358
Legion's Memorial to the House of Commons		1
—— second Memorial of, to the same		114
—— Address to his Majesty in Behalf of all the Freeholders of *England*		121
—— to the Lords in Parliament assembled		124
—— charges the H. of C. with arbitrary and illegal Proceedings		125
Leicester, E. of, forced to re-grant back the Lordship of *Denbigh*, that was given him		105
Lenthal, Speaker, in a Fright, advises to sue for Peace	i	14
Leo, Pope, his strict Orders to the *Complutensian* Editors of the New Testament	ii	393
—— VIII. driven from his Seat by the *Roman* People	iv	366
L' Estrange, Sir *Roger*, his *Observators* the Magazine of Inflammatories	i	115
Letter from *Scotland*, occasioned by the Speech of a noble Peer		91
—— from a Person of Quality in *Scotland*, concerning the D. of *York*		130
—— to a noble Peer about his Speech and Petition to his Majesty		104
—— from a Jesuit at *Liege*, concerning the Progress of Popery in *England*		249
—— from an old Cavalier to the D. of *York*		274
—— to the D. of *Monmouth*		109
—— to a Member of the Convention		320
—— an Answer thereto		326
—— from a Country Gentleman concerning a Coronation Medal		331
—— to a Friend, advising how to free the Nation from Slavery forever		337
—— from the K. of *Great Britain* to the E. of *Portland*		356
—— from K. *James* II. to the Pope		353
—— from the E. of *Melfort*, at *Rome*, to the Queen		554
—— of Advice to a young Poet, by *J. Swift*	iv	1

Letter

	Vol.	Pag.
James I. his Mother marries Ld. *Darnly*, and had in Reserve an *Italian* Fidler, and a *Scots* Lord	iv	409
—— the strange Fortune of every Branch of his Family		*ib*
—— his Ingratitude to Sir *Henry Wotton*		410
—— the Sight of a drawn Sword, or the Noise of a Gun, would put him in a foul Condition		*ib*
—— obliges the *Dutch* to acknowledge his Sovereignty of the Sea		426
James II. his Letter to the Great Council of Peers	iii	424
—— scandalous Stories raised of him proved false after his Departure		426
—— his going to *France* was no more than to visit a Part of his own Dominions		*ib*
—— impossible for him to call a free Parliament after the Landing of the Prince of *Orange*		428
—— his Desire, in his Exile, to make a Bargain without his People		433
—— Declarations published in his Name unknown to him		*ib*
—— had he been content to claim the Exercise of his Religion only, People would have been easy		452
—— or only waved the rigorous Prosecution of the Papists		*ib*
—— suspends and disables the Laws enjoining the Oath of Allegiance and Supremacy, and prescribing the Tests		452
—— advanced the most violent Papists to Military Commands, and in the Magistracy and Civil Judicature		*ib.*
—— an avowed Papist and a fiery Bigot		453
—— resolved to convert *England* to Popery or die a Martyr		*ib*
—— second to none in a blind, rageful popish Zeal		*ib*
—— disgusts the two Universities, one in Favour of Father *Francis*, the other for Mr. *Farmer*		454
—— characterized by Mr. *Ferguson*		455
—— a Promoter of all the severe Laws against Dissenters		456
—— entered and enrolled in the Order of Jesuits		458
—— his Quarrel with the Pope a Proof of his Adherence to the Jesuits		460
—— his Ill-nature and prodigious Ingratitude to the Church of *England*		461
—— disables and dispenses with the Law enjoining the *Scots* Test		464
—— hoped to revenge his Father's Death upon the Nation		466

James

	Vol.	Pag.
Letter to *M. Van B—de M— at Amsterdam*, 1676	iv	118
Letters from some disaffected Lords in *Scotland* intercepted		476
Leviathan, *Hobbes*'s, accused of Heresy		343
Lewenhoec's Experiment of pepper'd Water	ii	239
Lewis XIV. a zealous Defender of the *Gallican* Church	iv	301
Lexington, L. his fruitless Negotiation about the *Catalans*	ii	139
Libellers to be discountenanced, tho' in Support of the Crown	i	204
Libelling, Felony —	iv	460
Liberty of Speech necessary in Parliament support	i	125
Liberty and Infallibility incompatible	ii	365
—— Benefits derived from		489
—— in indifferent Things ought to be allowed	iii	191
—— of Conscience, the Birthright of every Christian		255
—— Abuses of, to be prevented by the Government		*ib*
—— the warmest Sticklers for, most to be suspected—		256
—— voted for by three of K. *Charles* II's Parliaments		278
Licentiousness in Speaking, Writing and Preaching connived at	i	9
Lieutenancy of *London*, filled up with Jacobites	iii	67
—— Deputy of *Surry*, refuse to raise the Militia in K. *William*'s Reign, tho' ordered		71
Life comes from the Soul	ii	231
Light, Creation of, an Incoherence in the Account	iv	402
Lipsius, his Notion of a King subject to Favourites	ii	486
List of all the controversial Writers, Catholic and Protestant, since the Reformation, with historical Observations	iii	288 303
—— of Persons returned to Parliament, 1656		421
—— of *English* and *Dutch* Fleets, 1692	iv	563
Liturgy of the Church of *England*, not more censurable now than when first made	i	265
—— Alteration of, why not reasonable		269
—— capable of Improvement		270
—— Alterations in, why, and why not seasonable		*ib*
Loans, Essay upon, by *Robert Harley*, Esq;	ii	10

Loans

	Vol.	Pag.
James II. conscious of the Parricide committed on his Brother	iii	467
—— his Wish that all *Scotland* were turned into a Hunting Field		470
—— never talked of a Lenity to the Dissenters, till he could not compass his Ends by the Church of *England*		471
—— exercised the Prerogative paramount to all Laws in suspending the Tests		476
—— imposes a new Oath on the *Scots*		478
—— requires of them an Oath of Non-resistance		479
—— which was the highest Revenge he could take against their solemn League and Covenant —		480
—— his Toleration not designed for the Benefit of the reformed Religion		*ib*
—— cancels and repeals all Laws for taking the Oaths		481
—— might as well give us *White-Hall* and *Hampton-Court* Edicts, like those of *Versailles*		*ib*
—— being old, makes the more Haste to establish Popery —		482
—— encourages two Varlets to burn the *Amsterdam* Fleet		485
—— durst not disinherit the Prince and Princess of *Orange*, for fear of the States General		*ib*
—— could he conquer *Holland*, the Fate of *England* must follow		*ib*
—— cannot be true to the Dissenters without being false to his own Religion		490
—— his Word no more sacred and binding than that of some other Monarchs —		491
—— his Promises to the Church of *England*, all conditional —		*ib*
—— his levying Customs and Excise without Law —		492
—— signal Instances of his invading the Property of the Subject		493
—— *invincible Necessity*, in his Proclamation for a Toleration in *Scotland*, an ambiguous Expression —		494
—— his Design and the *French* King's, the same		503
—— creates about 20 Lords in *Ireland*	iv	33
—— quits the Kingdom, and the Estates chuse the Prince and Princess of *Orange* King and Queen		356
—— consults his Interest too little, and his Religion too much		47
—— kindly treated by Parliament and People at his Accession		*ib*

James

	Vol.	Pag.
Loans, the Consequences of Credit	ii	10
—— what is meant by		*ib*
—— to the Government, essentially necessary		13
—— exorbitant Interest of, lower'd		17
—— landed and monied Men equally interested in		*ib*
—— Current of, not to be stopped		18
—— when and in what Manner redeemable		24,6
Lollards, the first Hereticks punished here	iv	341
London, sends a small Army to *Westminster*, for the Security of the Parliament	i	10
—— Citizens of, stand on their Defence against the King		*ib*
—— Loss of, when their Charter was forfeited		177
—— Priviledges of		180,1,2
—— and *Westminster* should be allowed some distinguishing Favour in their Representatives	ii	458
—— Bishop of, his Letter concerning Allegiance soon after the Revolution	iii	595
—— Extract of his 7th Letter of the Conference with his Clergy, in 1686		596
—— Queries relating thereto, and to the Clergy of *London* and *Westminster*		597
—— City of, Remarks on its antient and present State	iv	15
—— no Records of its original Founders		16
—— amazingly improved after the Fire		18
—— a tessalated Pavement found near *Bishopsgate*		*ib*
—— also Urns of various Sizes		19
—— likewise a Coin of *Antoninus Pius*		*ib*
—— the old *Roman Wall* broke down		*ib*
—— the Size and Shape of its Bricks		20
—— in what Manner removed		21
—— uncertain Accounts of the old Wall		26
—— a Method to discover the ancient Bounds of the City		27
—— Things dug up near St. *Pauls*, intimating a Temple to *Diana*		29

London

	Vol.	Pag.
James II. hearken'd too much to mistaken Priests and misguiding Ministers	iv	48
—— his Recall absolutely necessary		55
—— Army of, defective in Men and Arms		61
—— encourages the Design to murder K. *William*		85
—— Abdication of, reversible		127
—— a kind Master to his Officers and Soldiers		134
—— a true Lover of his Country		139
—— lawful Successor to K. *Charles* II.		251
—— by whose Advice done, never made any Question		*ib*
—— his imposing a Pr. of *Wales*, a contriv'd Calumny		252
—— whether he, or the Pr. of *Orange*, was an Imposture		*ib*
—— what induced him to withdraw from the Fnry of the People		*ib*
—— forfeited his Kingdom by subjecting it to the Pope		256
—— deserted, in what Manner		*ib*
—— had the Courage of his Grandfather, the Religion of his Mother, the Malice and Inveteracy of his Father, and wholly govern'd by Priests and Jesuits		412
Jaurequi, John, shoots the Prince of *Orange*, and is killed himself	i	30
—— his Body exposed, quarter'd, and set on several Gates		33
—— Copies of the Writings found upon him		34
Jeconias carried Captive to *Babylon*	iii	29
Jehoiakim unwillingly pays Obedience to *Nebuchadnezzar*		27
—— rebels and is slain		29
Jehu is raised to purge Idolatry from the House of *Ahab*		307
Jeremiah foretels the Captivity of the *Jews* and other neighbouring Nations		27
—— stoned to death by his Countrymen, and buried by the *Egyptians*		33
Jersey, E. of, not impeached, tho' he sign'd the Treaty of Partition	iv	388
Jesuits, their Designs to ruin the Evangelical Princes	ii	57
—— declare the King an Heretic, depose and condemn him to be murdered	iii	263
—— appoint the Officers of State, Army and Navy, mostly *French* and *Irish*		*ib*
—— their Proposals to the D. of *York*		264
—— the Method they proposed to raise a Rebellion in *Scotland*		*ib*

Vol. Pag.

London, one of the Towers of the old *Roman* Wall yet ſtanding in *Houndſditch* — iv 31
— ſuppoſed to be firſt built on the other Side the *Thames* — ib
— but improbable, from the Situation of the Place — 32
— by what Means it loſt its Charter 396
Long Parliament, good Things done by i 498
Lord's Day, uncertain when or by whom appointed — iv 318
— not preſcribed in the Goſpels — 321
— CHRIST's firſt Appearance after his Reſurrection, no Proof of it — 322
— not commanded by *St. John*, *Rev.* i. 10. — 323
— when it began to be obſerved — ib
— why the firſt, and not the laſt Day of the Week, was appointed — ib
— why ſo called — 325
— obſerved by primitive Chriſtians on CHRIST's Birth-day — ib
Lord Treaſurers, one unlorded — iii 79
— Lieutenants of Counties employed to flatter or frighten People out of their Freedom — ii [273]
Lords Addreſs to the Queen, in behalf of the *Catalans*, with her Anſwer 141
— have no Laws to diſtinguiſh them from the Commons — iv 508
— not entruſted by the People — ib
— wherein they precede the Commons — ib
Lordſhips of *Denbigh*, *Bromfield* and *Yale*, Demeſnes of the Crown, granted by K. *William*, to the E. of *Portland* — iii 98,9
— petitioned againſt — 99
— many Years the Revenues of our Kings, and Support of many Princes of *Wales* — ib
— often attack'd by Favourites in the Reigns of Q. *Elizabeth* and K. *James* I. — ib
— Grant of, fatal to Prince or Potentate — 100
— pay the Pr. of *Wales*, on his Coronation, 800 l. — ib
— Never paid to any but the Prince of *Wales* — ib
— Long Parliament excepted them from Fee-Farm Rents — ib

Lordſhips

Vol. Pag.

Jeſuits, employ Emiſſaries to raiſe Diſſentions between the Pr. of *Orange* and the States — iii 264
— employ Perſons to fire the City of *London*, and then betray them ib
— employ *Groves* and three *Iriſh* Ruffians to fire *Southwark*. 265
— deſign to burn *Weſtminſter*, &c. ib
— none of them would confeſs the Plot at their Execution 278
— to ſupport the Grandeur and Domination of the Church of *Rome*, perſecute all that diſſent from it — 449
— of all the Religious Orders, hate Proteſtants the moſt — 458
— have had four crowned Heads of their Order — 459
— none are capable of the Mitre 460
Jews, Return of from Captivity 49
Impeachments, none of any Noblemen from *Edward* IV. to the 18th of *James* I. — I 388
— to be tried only by the Lords iv 336
— are at the Suit of all the Commons of *England* — 337
— Method of Trial upon 340
— Power of, an original, inherent Right in the People — 350
— ſo far from Convictions, that they are not Proofs — 373
— of the Lord Chancellor to K. *William*, not ſufficiently ſupported 374
— Defects of, by the Commons, ſupplied by the Lords — 376
Imperial Crown, a ſignificative Word in the Statutes — iii 24
Impoſition, not found in our Law Books — ii 278
— on the Rights and Liberties of *Engliſhmen*, always fatal to the Impoſers — iv 310
Impriſonment, Miſeries of 75
Indemnity the Effect of Vacancy iii 443
— not to be enjoy'd by thoſe who ſacrificed the Nation to Popery and Slavery — 446
Indictment, Copy of, againſt *Whitfield*, *Smallbones* and *Land*, for tearing a Petition to the King iii 101
Indictments, Law about wants Explanation — 472
Ingratitude the moſt univerſal Vice, according to *Seneca*. iv 81
Inniskilling, Garriſon of, their Exploits 32
Innovations in the Adminiſtration have unhinged the Conſtitution — 239

Inſcription

Vol. Pag.

Lordships, not grantable by the King, according to Law — iii 101
— debated before the Lords of the Treasury — 103
— antiently called Lordships Marches, and given by *William the Conqueror*, to his *Norman* Lords — 104
— relieved by Stat. 27 *Hen* VIII. *ib*
Losses at Sea unavoidable at the Beginning of a War — ii 343
Lovain Divines agree with *Erasmus*, about 1 *John* v. 7. — 49
Love, a Discourse of, by *Alg. Sidney* — 401
— the wisest Philosophers subject to — 402
— Platonics, the perfect Patrons of *ib*
— of Man to Man detestable — *ib*
— takes full Possession of the Mind, and commands all its Passions — 404
— is a Misery — 406
— whether to be reproved or commended — 407
— delights only in Beauty and Virtue — 408
— consists in Extremes of Good and Ill — 409
Low Churchmen and Dissenters unanimous for a King at the Revolution; but two Bishops for one — iii 592
— their Notion of Resistance — *ib*
Lowndes, Mr. his Account of the public Funds — ii 24
Lucius, the first Christian King in *Britain*, brought in Popery — i 59
Lucretius, a Tip-toe on Religion — iv 3
Ludlow, Sir *Henry*, acquitted of Sedition by a Syllogism of Mr. *Pym* — i 31
— Lieutenant General, his Invectives against *Cromwell*, the Effects of Malice and Revenge — iii 395
— his Exploits when Governor of *Wardour* Castle — 396
— his Familiarity with *Cromwell* — 397
— contradicts himself — 398
— his Republican Principles — *ib*
— beats *Cromwell* with a Cushion — 399
— he, not *Cromwell*, broke off the Treaty with the King in the *Isle of Wight* — 400
— a Squabble between him and *Cromwell* — *ib*
— Pretends to be a Confident of *Ireton's* — 401
— Affects a great Intimacy with *Cromwell* — *ib*

Vol. Pag.

Inscription on the Pr. of *Orange's* Banner — iii 419
Instructions for taking the solemn League and Covenant — ii 265
Interregnum, none in this Kingdom — 445
Interest the governing Principle at the Revolution — iv 44
Intrigues in *England* and *Holland*, to embarrass K. *Charles's* Administration — iii 88, 9
Johannes Paulus de Oliva, General of the Jesuits at *Rome*, directs the Management of the popish Plot in *England* — 263
John, A. B. of *Canterbury*, charged with Heresy about the Descent of our Lord to *Gehenna* — i 143
— and with other Errors and Mistakes — 144
John, K. too hasty in reducing the Power of the Barons — ii 242
— had more Impieties than can be reckoned — iv 399
— challenged the Honour of the Flag as a Right — 425
John Doe and *Richard Roe*, why used in Law Proceedings — ii 185
Johnston, Secretary for *Scotland*, made one of the Managers for the two Kingdoms — iv 115
Jones, Dr. relates several Presages of the *Irish* Rebellion — ii 330
— Col. answers the Protector's Doubt about taking the Title of King — iii 141
Journal of the Proceedings of the *Irish* Parliament, 1689 — iv 9
— another — 32
Ireland in Danger of being lost — iii 442
— happy and flourishing in the Reign of K. *Charles* II. — iv 19
Irish War, under Q. *Elizabeth*, State and Charge of — i 354
— Massacre, set in a clear Light 490
— Plot, seventeen Years in Hatching — *ib*
— Rebels, counterfeit Commissions from the King — 389
— Massacre, K. *Charles* sufficiently cleared of it — 400
— as shewn by a public Act of the whole Body of the Rebels — 401
— and by the public and authentic Acts of the King himself — 402
— absolutely against his Interest — 403
— made use of to justify the Parliament's Proceedings against the King — ii 418
— Witnesses enough to swear any thing against Protestants — iii 329

Vol. Pag.

Ludlow, turned out of Employment iii 401
—— his Impeachment of *Cromwell*'s Actions, ill-grounded —— 402,3
—— his Charge against *Cromwell* after the Battle of *Worcester* —— *ib*
—— his Charge of Ambition against *Cromwell* retorted on himself —— 404
—— his Elogiums of *Ireton* —— *ib*
—— contradicts himself —— 405
—— smoaks to Death a Party of *Irish* in a hollow Rock —— *ib*
—— hated Royalists and Presbyterians alike —— 409
—— inveighs against *Cromwell* for dissolving the Rump —— 407
Luther, Martin, his Explanation of CHRIST's Word, in the Eucharist i 90
Lutheranism, its Original, Progress and Increase —— iv 560

M

Mackay, Capt. boasts of his forswearing himself —— i 455
Magdalen College, placing the Fathers there, a great Point gained — 234
—— K. *James* justified in that Affair ii 31
Magistrates, Carelessness of, the Growth of Irreligion, Plots, &c. —— i 55
—— their Duty in suppressing Heresies iii 337
—— how they came to be vested with Power —— 526
—— Power of, when abused, is lost 530
—— *Magna Charta*, concerning Birthright and Inheritance —— i 223
—— broken in upon in K. *William*'s Reign —— iii 490
—— Provisions of, both for King and People —— iv 294
Mahometans, just and punctual in their Dealings —— ii 4
Maintenon, Mad. admitted a Daughter of the Jesuits Society — i 256
Malefactors become insolent when Justice sleeps —— iii 68
Malecontents provide against the Artifices of the Court — i 141
Man, his Excellence above other Animals —— iii 207
Managers in Q. *Anne*'s Reign, in a Plot to bring in the Pretender —— 74
—— turn out the Justices who would not come into *French* Measures — 72

Managers

Vol. Pag.

Irruptions of People, always from the North to the South —— i 335
Jubilee, Ceremonies of —— iv 189
—— in what Manner first published — *ib*
—— like that instituted by *Moses* — 190
—— begins with opening the *Holy Gate* —— *ib*
—— Verses sung on that Occasion — *ib*
—— and Prayers —— 191
—— Origin of, obscure —— 192
—— mentioned by St. *Anthony* as a very antient Ceremony —— *ib*
—— performed by Cardinals in Case of a Vacancy in the Chair —— 193
—— celebrated every 25 Years — *ib*
—— occasions a vast Profusion of Charity —— 194
—— Ceremony of shutting the *Holy Gate* —— *ib*
—— the Pope spreads the Mortar and lays three Stones —— 195
—— concludes with a plenary Indulgence —— 197
Judges of inferior Courts, how distinguished from the High Courts of Parliament —— i 498
—— Iniquity of, infectious —— ii 275
—— their Resolution about Ship-money, a Crime of a prodigious Nature —— 276
—— their presumptuous Decree against Mr. *Rolles* —— *ib*
—— Cases may happen not within their Jurisdiction —— 278
—— entrusted with the Power of compounding Fines —— *ib*
—— Causes of the Distempers of the Times —— 279
—— have Honours and Revenues appointed them, and are sworn to do Justice to King and Subject —— 219
—— not to determine what may be done by King or Subject, where the Laws set no Rule —— 281
—— formerly referred Cases of great Concern to Parliament —— 282
—— Opinions of, concerning Petitions to the King in public Matters iii 193
—— greatly mistaken —— 107
—— among the *Athenians*, Office of 180
—— and other ministerial Officers, Amount of their Salaries paid by the King —— 891
—— antiently heard Causes at the Houses of the Complainants, and in Monasteries —— 192
—— a Heart, not Head, necessary for, a bad Doctrine —— iv 66

Judges

Vol. Pag.

Managers, their pernicious Designs and Practices — iii 73
— the Good and Ill they did, balanced — 74
— the Subversion of the Government, their grand Design — *ib*
— to make Examples of them the best Way to recover the Nation's Glory — 77
Manchester, E. of, made Maj. Gen. of the Eastern Association — 18
— invested with a Power to reform the University of *Cambridge* — 21
Mansel, Sir *Tho.* a Commissioner of the Treasury in Q. *Anne*'s Reign — ii 257, 274
Manufacturers, their Representation to Parliament against the *Indian* Manufactures — iv 61
Marcus Portio, his political Maxims — i 139
— *Antonius de Dominis*, A. B. of *Spolata*, his Reasons for relinquishing Popery — iv 562
— his *Ecclesiastic Republic*, some Account of — 598
— encouraged to leave his Country from the Example of *Abraham* — 571
— Process, Sentence and Execution on his dead Body, Picture and Books 575
— Heresies charged against him — 576
— his Body, Books and Picture burnt — 578
— his Inscription — *ib*
Marlborough, Dutchess of, in Disgrace ii 273
Marriage, among Princes, merely political — i 431
— half performed not valid 445
— proper Age for — 501
— properly solemnized before a Magistrate — iv 465
— not restrain'd by Scripture, to Ministers — *ib*
— legal, tho' performed in an unusual Manner — 488
Martin, Henry, his extravagant Offer to encourage the *Scots* to come to *England* — i 20
— expelled the House for seditious Expressions, afterwards restored — 31

Martyr,

Vol. Pag.

Judges in *Israel*, the Manner of their divine Designation — iv 258
— not to meddle in Priviledges of Parliament — 267
Judgment given on a Case in K. *James* I's. Reign, the Foundation of all the Impositions since — ii 162
Judgments in Parliament belong only to the King and Lords, how to be understood — iv 469
— exemplified in the Case of the E. of *Salisbury* — *ib*
Julian encouraged all Opinions and Sects among the Christians — iii 261
Junta, of the Military Army in *Catalonia*, their Letter of Thanks to Q. *Anne* — iv 415
— their high Commendations of the E. of *Peterborough* — *ib*
Jupiter, memorable Acts of, the first Subject of Tragedy — i 176
Juries backward in finding Persons guilty of Treason against *Cromwell*, why — iii 225
Justice the most esteemable Virtue — 417
— and Liberty the great Ends of Government — 148
— of our Cause in 1699 — iv 250
Justices commanded to assist Patentees in Monopolies — ii 168

K

Keckerman, his Character of the *English* for Navigation — iv 434
Keepers of the Liberties of *England*, a Change of Necessity, not of Choice — iii 151
Kent, People of, express their Dissatisfaction at the slow Proceedings of Parliament — iv 302
— E. of, a worthy Minister perfidiously ruined — ii 177
Kentish Petition, History of — 300
— not factious, nor contrived by a few insignificant People — 311
— Matter of, not a Banter — *ib*
Kinbolton, Ld. his Speech on the Articles of High Treason against him ii 19
King, not to be condemned but by a Jury of Kings — i 255
— Preheminence of, wherein consisting — 422
— cannot alter or change the Laws at his Pleasure — 393
— present in Parliament in his Power, tho' not in Person — 495
— denied, for several Reasons — 496

	Vol.	Pag.
Martyr, Peter, his Senſe of CHRIST's Words in the Euchariſt	i	90
Martyr, miſapplied to K. *Charles* I.	iii	173
——no Days appointed by the Apoſtolical Church to commemorate the firſt and greateſt of them		174
Mary, Princeſs, tho' declared illegitimate, ſucceeds to the Crown	iii	289
—— Q. her Reign remarkable for the good Order of the People	i	91
—— a Baſtard		76
—— not of a different Religion from the People		68
—— ſoon broke her Promiſes		357
—— Q. of *Scots*, declared by Q. *Elizabeth*'s Parliament to be no Queen		278
—— Proteſtant and Catholic Attempts in her Reign		*ib*
—— her being adjudged to loſe her Right of Succeſſion, whether it cut off that of her Son	iv	89
—— declared in the Negative by the Judges		*ib*
—— is convey'd to *France*	iii	291
—— K. *William*'s Queen, parallelled only by Q. *Elizabeth*		99
Maſham, Mrs. chief Favourite to Q. *Anne*	ii	273
Maſs and Man, not of the ſame Signification	iv	317
Maſſacre a *Paris*	ii	[253]
—— in *Ireland*, in 1640		[254]
—— of *Henry* III. and IVth. of *France*		*ib*
—— in *Piedmont*		279
Maxims in Politicks, concerning Heirs to the Crown	i	86
Maximinus, Emp. warred on by the Senate, the neareſt Parallel to the Caſe of K. *Charles* I.		29
Medals, Memorials of great Atchievements, their Antiquity		332
—— Conjunction of two Faces in, ominous		*ib*
—— Emblem of that of K. *William* and Q. *Mary*'s Coronation, ill-choſen		333
—— Author of, guilty of as great a Crime as if he had counterfeited the King's Coin		334

Melancholy

	Vol.	Pag.
King not virtually preſent there as in other Courts	i	*ib*
—— preſent in inferior Courts by his Judges, in Parliament by his Perſon		497
—— of *England*, rules not only by regal but by politique Government		425
—— the Fountain of Juſtice, in what Reſpect	ii	2
—— the firſt of the Ten Tribes was made by the People, and the worſt that ever reigned		72
—— Injuſtice and Violence of, puniſhed by the Injuſtice and Violence of a wicked People		73
—— Juſtice and Religion the Condition of his Reigning		81
—— none more tied to do Juſtice		130
—— wiſe, conſiders the End and Event of War		135
—— his Prerogative and Honour, that he can do no Wrong		155
—— Duty of in his Royal Offices, by K. *James* I.		188
—— illuſtrated by Compariſons		*ib*
—— in what Senſe Kings are called Gods		*ib*
—— whether without Aſſent of Parliament he can ſet Impoſitions on Merchandizes		277
—— Prerogative of, the principal Part of the Common Law		441
—— his ſacred Privileges		443
—— to depoſe or impriſon him till he aſſent to certain Demands, Treaſon		444
—— may by Letters Patent conſtitute a County Palatine, and grant Regal Rights		445
—— his natural and politique Perſon inſeparable		446
—— can erect a Court of Common Pleas where he pleaſeth		*ib*
—— can do no Wrong, why		*ib*
—— his Aſſent, ſigned with his Hand under the Great Seal, as effectual as if he aſſented in Perſon		447
—— Death of, diſcharges all Mainpriſe, and diſcontinues all Writs, Pleas, Patents for Judges, &c.		*ib*
—— Subjects of, ought to reſtrain all ſhameful Slanders of him		449
—— not virtually in the two Houſes		*ib*
—— none in this Kingdom, made by the People		*ib*
—— is *Principium, Caput et Finis Parliamenti*		450
—— when there is no Parliament, is aſſiſted by the Judges and great Officers of the Law		*ib*

King

Vol. Pag.

Melancholy miſtakes Zeal for divine Inſpiration — iii 221
Melfort, E. of, his Letter to the Queen i 354
— obnoxious to all Parties 477
Members of Parliament, Deſign of chuſing them 68
— ſhould be Men of Subſtance 69
— alſo advanced in Years *ib*
— to be reſident in the Country, as by 1. *H.* V. 70
— how to be put in Nomination for an Election 71
— their Oath on Admiſſion into the Houſe *ib*
Memorial from the Proteſtants to the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange* ii [268]
Men in Trade bound by their Intereſt 14
— when their Minds are diſturbed, ſee Viſions ſleeping and waking iii 210
Menevenſis Eccleſiæ de Jure Metropolitano iv 358
Merchants lend the Government Money, for Liberty of Trading to the *Eaſt Indies* 59
Mercorum Epiſc. Chronol. 349
Meſnager, M. Manager for the *French* in *Holland*, in 1707,8 ii 36
— came to *England* as Plenipotentiary in 1711 37
Michael Servetus de Circulatione Sanguinis, tranſlated iii 606,7
Middleton, E. of, his Affection to Proteſtants unſuſpected 463
Middleſex has but a Tenth of its Proportion of Repreſentatives in Parliament 453
— its due Proportion is 79 Members which for Reaſons may be reduced to 20 454
— parallel Caſes in *England* and *Switzerland* 454,5
— one tenth Part of the Kingdom 495
Milk, by Art, produced in the Breaſts without Pregnancy ii 303
Militia, why not ſettled by K. *William*'s Parliament 354
Milo, famous for his Victories in the Olympic Games iii 170
Minheer Van C's Anſwer to *Min Heer Van L*'s Letter iv 125
Miniſters, old ones rejected i 21

Miniſters

Vol. Pag.

King, Powers granted him by Parliament ii 450
— is virtually in his ordinary Courts of Juſtice 453
— is God's Lieutenant 456
— his verbal or perſonal Commands obligatory 457
— his Commands under the Great Seal, not perſonal, but ſuch under which all Patents are granted *ib*
— cannot ſuppreſs his Courts of Juſtice *ib*
— he only may remove his Courts from *Weſtminſter* 457
— none of the Three Eſtates, but above them all 459
— cannot diſ-aſſent to public and neceſſary Bills for the common Good 460
— has been elective, but now his Office is an Heritage and his Birthright *ib*
— tho' *Major ſingulis*, yet is *minor univerſis* 500
— Inſtances of ſeveral being called to Account by their People 501
— of 109 in *Scotland*, many of them depoſed, impriſoned, baniſhed, and executed by the People *ib*
— Inſtances of the ſame Kind in *England* *ib*
— alſo in *France*, *Spain*, the Empire, &c. *ib*
— of *England*, ſubject to no Perſon or Authority whatever iii 23
— called in our Law *the Lieutenant of God*, *immediate from God*, and *hath no Superior* 24
— *Caput Populi et Reipublicæ* *ib*
— his Miniſters only to be puniſhed 25
— whoever affirms him to be Heretick or Papiſt, is puniſhable by Act 13 *Car.* II. 103
— cannot change Eccleſiaſtical Law 137
— Title of, long received and fitted to the Laws 102
— Office of, not the Title, carries on the Buſineſs 121
— Title of, preferable to that of Protector, why *ib*
— of *England*, attempted to be altered to that of K. of *Great Britain*, but refuſed by Parliament *ib*

King

Vol. Pag.

Ministers of the Gospel, their modern Qualifications — iii 355
— ought not to take upon them Lay Offices — 384
Ministry of Q. *Anne*, in 1714, justified — ii 80
— Transactions of, for the four last Years of her Reign — 119
— Principles on which they treated with *France* — 120
— soon after the Revolution, the Men who made that Revolution necessary — iii 64
— last of Q. *Anne* ought not to escape with Impunity — *ib*
Misletoe, in great Veneration by the antient *Druids* — iv 23
Mismanagements in K. *James*'s Reign, owing to the E. of *Sunderland*, and Lord *Churchill* — 478
Mob rises at *Edinburgh* — i 461
— demand a public Warrant for their Doings, which is granted — 462
— skirmish with Capt. *Wallace* and demolish the Abbey — *ib*
Moderation of the Ministry, after the Revolution, occasioned all the Factions since — iii 63
— most prevalent to win Dissenters to the Church — 478
Mole in a Woman's Face, what — iv 387
Monarchical Government, on what founded — i 96
Monarchy, rather elective than hereditary — 121
— *English*, always free and independent — ii 315
— declared so by several Acts of Parliament — *ib*
Monasteries. *&c.* exempted from episcopal Jurisdiction — iii 386
Money, Queries concerning the old and new Coin — iv 74
— whether more of the old, will not be carried to the *East Indies* — *ib*
— retrenching the Coin, a Damage to Trade — 75
— Proclamations concerning the Weight and Denominations of Coin of no Concern to Foreigners after known — 76
— in the same Cases may be raised 77

Vol. Pag.

King is *Vox Populi*, the Voice of three Kingdoms — 122
— his Prerogative bounded by Law iii 123
— Title of, runs thro' the whole Body of the Law — 124
— a Name of Office, not so *ratione Nominis* — 132
— may be changed by Parliament *ib*
— a Thing cast out by Act of Parliament — 137
— the Name and the Person so dignified to be distinguished — 139
— never but one in *England* since the Foundation of Kingship — *ib*
— Title of, approved by the People, why — 142
— the most scrupulous will acquiesce when once settled — *ib*
— declared necessary by 9 *Edw.* IV. and 1 *Hen.* VII. — 144
— had its Beginning with our Laws *ib*
— neither Name nor Thing have been blasted by God — 140
— is King by Law, and therefore to be defended by every Man — 209
— none ever lost his Throne, but his Life soon followed — 243
— must not join with one Faction to the Suppression of another — 247
— next of Blood to, cannot be barred by any Act, Crime, or Attainder of Treason — 248
— accountable to his Subjects for none of his Actions — 249
— may dispense with the Penalty of any Act, *pro hac vice* — 368
— dying without Heir, his Crown escheats to the People — iv 35
— and People mutually depend on each other — 319
— his Prerogative of Pardoning, cannot extend to Impeachments — 322
— Command of, does not justify a Minister in an unlawful Act — 327
— Letter and Warrant of, Difference between — 329
— not his Interest to wrong the People — 332
— and Kingdom ought not to be seperated in their politic Capacities — 363
— of *blessed Memory*, an Expression of flattering Priests — 398
— few go to Hell, why — 401

☞ *This and the four following Pages are in the* SECOND COLLECTION, *after which, the* INDEX *proceeds regularly as before.*

Vol. Pag.

Kingdom, Danger of, and Remedy for in 1627, by Sir *Robert Cotton* — i 297
— Inſtitution of, what — 424
— of *England*, derived from *Brute's* Retinue of *Trojans* — *ib*
Kingdoms, how they firſt began — i 424
King-killing, more practis'd by Anabaptiſts, Hugonots and Preſbyterians, than by Papiſts — iii 253
— and depoſing Doctrines diſowned by Papiſts, tho' profeſs'd by Preſbyterians — — 350
Kingdoms, their Original of three Sorts ii 67
— the firſt Sort of Parents, the Second founded on the Sword, the third mixed — *ib*
— of *England*, Form of its Government to be collected from the fundamental Laws and Statutes *ib*
Kings, of God's Church, inſtituted with Anointing, why — 69
— no Power or Authority in a Kingdom to call them to Account *ib*
— to puniſh them belongs to God 73
— thoſe who broke the Law, yet affirm'd the Subjects Liberty 161
— not Tyrants, are glad to be bound by the Laws — 190
— good, and uſurping Tyrants, Difference between — 191
— ſome Crimes which they ought never to pardon — — 193
— not now a-days Prieſt-ridden — iii 251
— when negligent in rooting out Hereticks, are excommunicated and depos'd — 300
— now can govern no longer ſecurely than they are well with the People 432
— bound to rule by the Laws the People enact — 475
—accountable to their Subjects, a falſe Poſition — — iv 224
— not countenanc'd by the Precedent of K. *James* II. — 225
— not to be queſtion'd for Violation of the People's Rights, except in ſome Caſes — — 251
—Reſiſtance to, upon Pretence grounded upon Treachery, abominable 252
— had their Title from firſt reducing reducing Men into ſome tolerable Order — — iv 363
— in Time degenerated into Tyrants, which produc'd Commonwealths *ib*
Kingſhip beſt, proved from the Trial of all other Forms — iii 152
King's Sollicitor, a Novelty, till the latter End of K. *Charles* II. — iv 73
—Tricks of to bleed the Culprits Pocket *ib*
King's Bench and Chancery may be commanded to attend the King's Perſon — — 457
King's Party, declared Traytors to the King and Kingdom — — 458
— but not to be drawn into Example *ib*
Knights of the *Bath*, the Manner of their Creation — i 208
— their Oath — — *ib*
— Ceremony of the Maſter Cook's challenging their Spurs — 210
Knowles, Sir *Francis*, a Favourite to Q. *Elizabeth* — — 367
— his Sons have a Quarrel with thoſe of Lord *Norris* — *ib*

L

LAdies of Quality, how indicted for High Treaſon — i 428
Lancaſter, Duke of, created Duke of *Aquitaine* — — ii 247
Land-Bank, a fruitleſs Project — iv 180
Langdale, Sir *Marmaduke*, General for the King, taken Priſoner — ii 473
— liv'd to ſee K. *Charles* II. reſtor'd, and himſelf made a Peer 475
Lateran Council, its ſevere Decree againſt Princes who do not extirpate Hereticks — — iii 300
Laud, *William*, proſecuted for tearing a Petition to be preſented to the King 100
Lauderdale, Duke and Dutcheſs of, impeach'd by the City of *Edinburgh* 195
— receives large Sums of Money from that City — — *ib*
— wants to ſqueeze Money out of the Inhabitants for Liberty to chuſe their Magiſtates — 197
— under a Pretence of having forfeited their Rights — — *ib*
— cauſes ſeveral of the Town Council to be turned out — 198
— Dutcheſs of, for a Bribe, gets Employments for ſome of thoſe turned out — — 199
— and threatens the Magiſtrates for not

Vol. Pag.

not giving her a Present — iii ib
— procures an Act in *Scotland* for asserting the King's Supremacy 200
— his Practices to bring in Popery ib
— his Design to establish a standing Army — — ib
— dissolves the Parliament and sets up an arbitrary Power — 201
— makes the E. of *Aboins*, a known Papist, a Privy Counsellor ib
— and rank Papists Officers in the Army — — ib
— is instrumental in procuring a Toleration of Popery — 202
— is a Pensioner to *France*, and help'd on the *French* Levies in *Scotland* ib
— his contemptuous Speeches of the House of Commons — ib
— keeps Company with the Cardinal of *Norfolk*, and corresponds with the Jesuits — — 203
— suppresses the Publication of *Coleman*'s Letters — — ib
Law of the Nation, is the Custom approved by the People — 123
— made 11 *Henry* VII. secures the Peace and Safety of the People by obeying the King in Being 129
— and Lawyers abus'd and threaten'd under the Usurpation — 176
— Pleadings and Proceedings in, put into *English* — — ib
— gives the People a Right to have Parliaments in Time — 344
— Suspension of, in the Nature of an Abrogation — 369
— stands in need of a Purge — iv 69
— derives its Life and Authority from the King's Will — 224
— enjoins us to obey the King 239
— provides for the Safety of the People without invading the Prerogative 325
— how it directs the passing ordinary Grants and Patents — 327
— provides that no Imposition or Deceit be practis'd at any of the Offices 328
Laws, too many prejudicial to the Common-wealth — i 153
— of *England*, Treatise of by *William Mantell*, Esq; — 420
— are the Inheritance of the People 421
— appointed to the King for governing the People — 422
— grounded upon six Principles ib
— a Definition of — — 423
— how different from those of other Nations — i 425
— fundamental, but one Sort in *England* — ii 24
— chiefly Statute, ought to be publickly proclaim'd — 116
— against Papists (in K. *Charles* II's Time) suspended — 158
— violated by K. *Charles* I. remedied by Acts he consented to — 451
— the only Guide to direct Subjects in the Civil War — 456
— in Q. *Mary*'s Days, to punish Men for Religion, since abrogated — iii 254
— will never bind, but more encourage a Popish Prince — 307
Leckey, Mr. executed for a Plot to surprize *Dublin Castle* — 220
— a comical Accident at his Execution ib
Leefdale, concern'd in a Plot to assassinate K. *William*, but discovers it 81
Legal Means always sufficient to compass legal Ends — iii 504
Legion, a Paper deliver'd to the Speaker 307
— the Effects it produc'd in the House ib
Legislative Authority ought to be lodg'd in three distinct Bodies or Persons 320
— each of which should have particular Powers and Authorities — ib
Leicester, E. of, not alone in the Grace of Q. *Elizabeth* — i 352
— his Pedigree — 358
— his Person described — 359
— his Brother *Ambrose* created Earl of *Warwick* — — 366
— first in the Queen's Choice and Favour ib
— died of the Poison he had prepared for others — ib
— his Letters and Writings in a Strain of Devotion — — ib
— had more of *Mercury* than of *Mars* ib
— several of this Title famous for their Prowess and Magnanimity — ii ib
— *Simon*, E. of, slain fighting against the *Albigenses* — 112
— *Simon*, his Son, a Man of great Courage and Renown — ib
— Earldom of, given to *Edmond*, the first of *Lancaster* — 113
— reviv'd by Q. *Elizabeth*, and given to *Robert* of *Dudley* — ib
— Town of, its Walls erased, because the Earl took Part with young K. *Henry* against his Father — 111
Leon-Baptista Alberti, the first learned Architect beyond the *Alps* — i 262
Letter, to the E. of *Leicester*, reporting some

	Vol.	Pag.
some Transactions between Q. *Eliz.* and her Parliament	i	61
— sent to a great Lady	ii	9
— to the Earl of *Perth*, order'd by Parliament to be printed	iv	259
— from *Brussels*, concerning King *Charles*'s Return, put the People in a great Consternation	iii	257
Levingstown, Sir *Tho.* General in *Scotland*, clear'd of the *Glenco* Affair	iv	103
Lewis XI. of *France*, a wise King, always at War with his Subjects	ii	134
— XII. obtains a Divorce from his Wife because barren and crook-back'd	i	256
— XIV. instigated to Cruelties against the Protestants by one of his Mistresses	iii	456
— promises them Protection, and at the same Time contrives their Ruin		491
Lex Terræ, or the Laws of the Land, by Judge *Jenkins*	ii	441
— Grounds of		*ib*
— *non cogit impossibilia*		452
— *facit Regem*, a Maxim among the Lawyers		306
Liberius, an excellent Poet, a rare Actor, and Author of a Book upon Gesture and Action	i	190
Liberties and Freedoms of the Subjects, wherein they consist		428
— Grand Charter of, a Clause in		*ib*
— are in our Laws	ii	282
Liberty of Speech (in Parliament) begg'd of and granted by *Henry* VIII. and Q. *Elizabeth*	iii	245
— the same Favour humbly desired and granted afterwards		*ib*
— not allowed to wilful Reflections or treasonable Speeches		246
— and Property fully secured		438
— how well secur'd by the Revolution	iv	50
— to Dissenters, the more unbounded, the more will our Divisions be kept up	iii	495
— the Darling of the Law, and Restraint the Badge of Bondmen	iv	70
— personal, too often and too easily lost		*ib*
— a Thirst after, expell'd the Kings of *Rome*	iii	432
Libnah revolted from *Jehoram*, because he forsook the God of his Fathers		306
Liege Homage, due from all Subjects to the King	ii	442
Lieutenant of *Ireland*, his malicious Proceedings against the *Scots*	i	313
— threatens to burn the Articles of the *Irish* Church	i	*ib*
— obliges the *Scots* in *Ireland* to petition against the Covenant		313
— sends those to Goal who refuse to take an Oath to renounce the Covenant		314
— forces great Numbers to fly to *Scotland*		*ib*
— procures a War to be undertaken against *Scotland*		*ib*
— his terrible Threats against the *Scots* at his leaving *Scotland*		315
— obtains the Command of an Army against *Scotland*		*ib*
— inflames the King's Counsels against the *Scots*		*ib*
Light of Nature, a Witness against Popery	iii	315
Lights in Houses, how contriv'd by the *Greeks* and *Romans*	i	282
— how by the Moderns		*ib*
Lime, what Sort the most durable		267
Limitations of the Crown offer'd to the Consideration of the Convention	iv	257
— Conveniencies of		258
— an Acknowledgment to the Prince for his Services to the Nation		*ib*
Lionel Cranfield, E. of *Middlesex*, impeach'd by the Commons, judg'd and condemn'd by the Lords		370
— notwithstanding his powerful Alliances and Assurances of the King's Favour		371
— look'd on as a Criminal, and therefore prosecuted vigorously		*ib*
Lisle, Lord, his Reasons for *Cromwell*'s taking the Title of King	iii	127
— compares the Protector's Case to that of King *David*		*ib*
List of the Members of Parliament that sign'd the solemn League and Covenant	ii	273
List of all the Conspirators in the Plot contriv'd by Fanaticks	iii	396
— of the Discoverers		398
— of those who were indicted, with their Witnesses		*ib*
— of the Grand Jury, who found the Bill against the Earl of *Danby*		399
— of the Grand Jury for *Edward Fitzharris*		*ib*
— of the Petty Jury for the same		*ib*
— of the Grand Jury for *Stephen Colledge*		*ib*
— of the Grand Jury for *John Rouse*		400
— of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, summon'd by the P. of *Orange*		421,2

	Vol.	Pag.
List of the *French* Fleet, 1692 —	iv	78
— of the Members who oppos'd making the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange* King and Queen —		129
— of King *James*'s *Iriſh* and Popiſh Forces in *France* —		132
— Queries for better underſtanding thereof — —		133
— of the Parliament 1701 —		293
— of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal who voted for and againſt the Occaſional Bill —		390
— of thoſe Patriots who voted for it		391
— of the 7000 Men appointed by K. *William*, to be the ſtanding Forces of his Kingdom —		247
Little Siſter with no Breaſts, applied to the *French* Proteſtants, *Scotland* and *Ireland* — —	iii	441
Littleton, Judge, one of his Law Maxims		185
Livius Andronicus, the firſt Writer of *Roman* Tragedy —	i	184
Lockhart, Sir *George*, murder'd in the Streets of *Edinburgh* —	iv	109
Læſa Majeſtas, what —	ii	2
London, the Source of all the Calamities in the Country —	i	398
— the only one Rebel in all *England*		399
— makes beggarly Officers, as fitteſt for the Purpoſe —		400
— introduces Lecturers over Parochial Miniſters Heads —		*ib*
— buys up Impropriations —		*ib*
— plants two Seminaries —		401
— ſecures diſaffected Preachers from Moleſtation —		*ib*
— provides that their Preachers Maintenance ſhould depend on the Pleaſure of their Maſters —		*ib*
— foments cauſeleſs Diſcontents againſt the Government —		402
— the ſtanding Guardian and Power of Faction —		403
— diſſatisfied with ſeveral Lieutenants placed in the Tower —		405
— alarm'd by a falſe Report of the coming of the King and Cavaliers		406
— pack a Common Council of their own Faction —		*ib*
— made the Sanctuary of thoſe whom the King had declared Traytors		409
— put in a Poſture of Rebellion, called Defence — —		411
— intrenches upon the Power of the Lord Mayor — —		*ib*
London, deprives the Lord Mayor of the Power of calling a Common Council	i	*ib*
— ſupply'd the Treaſury with prodigious Sums —		419
— gave Leave to Sons, Apprentices and Servants to take Arms without Conſent of their Superiors		*ib*
— murders *Tomkins* and *Chaloner* for their Loyalty to the King		418
— preſcribed Laws to the Parliament		*ib*
— foments Rebellion by her Wealth and Multitudes —		419
— a proud, unthankful, ſchiſmatical, rebellious and bloody City		*ib*
London's *Lord have Mercy upon us*, or a Relation of its Seven Plagues —	iii	53
Long, Mr. vouches Letters of K. *Ch.* I. to the Juſtices in *Ireland*, warning them of a Plot — —	ii	384
Long Parliament, firſt the Idol, afterwards the Diſlike of the People —	iii	176
Lord Mayor, violently aſſaulted by the Mob in his Return from *Whitehall*	ii	18
— of *Ireland*, changed to that of King of *Ireland* — —	iii	156
— Chief Juſtice, his Arguments to prevail on *Cromwell* to accept the Title of King —		123
— anſwers the Protector's Objections		124
Lords, not bound up by an Oath, nor reſtrain'd by a Jury —	iv	321
— have the ſole Judicature upon Impeachments —		336
— cannot proceed to Trial and Judgment without the Concurrence of the Commons —		345
— and Commons ſhould preſerve their Rights independent —		339
— Time and Place of Trial ſhould be agreed on by both —		340
— their Power over the Courts in *Weſtminſter-Hall* —		321
— Spiritual and Temporal, their reſpective Capacities as Judges		369
de Louvois, Marq. Secretary to the *French* King, agrees with *Du Mont* to murder K. *William* —		83
Low Countries, Revolt of, ſhews no Armies can be too hard for univerſal Reſolution —	iii	432
Ludlow, after the Revolution, publiſh'd Lies and Calumnies againſt the Royal Family —		400
Lunar Rainbow, one appear'd in Prince *Henry*'s Sickneſs —	i	457

Lyons, Richard, impeach'd by the Commons, but in ſuch general Terms, that his Exceptions are allow'd -- iv 376
— Defects in his Impeachment ſupplied by the Lords ——— *ib*

M

Macbeth murders *Banchoo* to enjoy his Daughter ——— iv 403
Macedonians had the *Hebrew* Books turned into *Greek* --- —— i 138
Macguire, Ld. denies at his Execution that the *Iriſh* Rebels had a Commiſſion from K. *Charles* I. —— ii 393
— cauſes Mr. *Middleton* to hear Maſs, and then hang'd him his Wife and Children —— —— iii 93
Mac Gennis, Sir *Con,* after killing many Proteſtants is affrighted with an Apparition ——— 99
Mackworth, Sir *Humphry,* his fallacious Way of reaſoning -- --- iv 378
— his Suppoſitions and Surmiſes, with regard to the Lords, extravagant and improbable ——— 380
— miſtakes in aſſigning the Grounds of the Differences between the two Houſes ——— —— 381
Magi, their Way of finding out the Nature of Medicines —— ii 436
Magiſtrates have no Power but what they derive from the Divine Charter iii 488
— their Power in denying or granting Liberty of Opinions ——— *ib*
Magna Charta, Articles of it in relation to Liberty and Property -- ii 295
— and *Charta de Foreſta* allowed by King *John* ——— 442
— confirmed by *Henry* III. — *ib*
— Cap. 24 —— —— iii 327
— a new one wanting, for what 433
Magnates, or Peers, had always a Primacy of Order and Juriſdiction -- iv 364
— always careful to preſerve a right Underſtanding between King and People ——— —— *ib*
— Judges of the Impeachments of the Commons ——— *ib*
— have a Power to determine their own Privileges, in any Diſputes with the Commons ——— 365
— vigilant in puniſhing their own Members —— —— iv 368
— Attempts to encroach upon their Authority by the Commons 369
— their ſuperior Power in Impeachments and Trials ——— *ib*
— only Judges of the Reaſons for the Delay of Judgment —— 370
— have a Power to limit all Juriſdictions inferior to their own —— 372
— have a Power of impeaching as well as the Commons ——— 376
— have always uſed the utmoſt Moderation and Circumſpection in Proceedings on Impeachments —— 377
— never intended to ſurprize the Commons by appointing undue Time and Place for Trials ——— 380
— could not agree to a Committee of both Houſes to ſettle Preliminaries of Impeachments, why —— 382
— the Caſe of the E. of *Danby* and the five Popiſh Lords, not a proper Precedent ——— —— *ib*
— their Reaſons for not agreeing to the ſaid Committee ——— 385
— juſtify themſelves, and charge the Commons for delaying the Impeachments againſt the Lords —— *ib*
— their Reſolutions in relation to the Lords impeached ——— *ib*
Mahomet's Prophecy of the Duration of the *Turkiſh* Empire —— iii 225
Malecontents, by their falſe Reports, cauſe Fears and Jealouſies of his Majeſty's Deſign to introduce Popery 364
— contrive Differences between the two Houſes of Parliamrnt — 376
— queſtion the Lords Juriſdiction in Matters of Appeals ——— *ib*
— their baſe Practices againſt the D. of *York* ——— —— 377
— ſome in high Stations, yet pretend Loyalty —— —— iv 204
— two Sorts of ——— *ib*
— the chief Ingredients in the Compoſition of the Miniſtry —— 238
Maleverer, Mr. ſubmits to his Fine for Knighthood, which the Barons refuſe to impoſe ——— ii 278
Malone, Friar, burns a Heap of Bibles and Prayer Books ——— 368
Mambrunus, wrote an Heroic Poem on *Conſtantine* —— —— iv 148
Man, ſomething a-kin to the Nature of God —— —— iii 417

Money; Difference between raising it and embaſſing the Metal —— iv 77
— a Nation may have too much Money —— —— 78
— what Quantity of Farthings would ſuffice the Nation for Change 79
— of the Laws for limiting its Intereſt *ib*
— Intereſt of, how regulated in *Ireland* —— —— *ib*
Monmouth, Duke of, recommended as Heir to the Crown —— i 72
— his Title to the Crown, why diſcredited —— —— 74
— why the Papiſts beſtirr'd themſelves ſo much in that Affair — 75
— if his Claim be juſt, not to be prejudiced by a Council Board *ib*
— his Mother acknowledg'd by King *Charles* himſelf to be his Wife *ib*
— if a Baſtard, had as good a Title to the Crown as Q. *Mary* or Q. *Elizabeth* —— —— 76
— nothing but the King's bare Word needful to ſettle his Dominions on him as his Legitimate Son 77
— his Mother, ſaid by his Enemies to be of low Quality —— 78
— yet made a better Figure in Heraldry than either of the Duke of *York*'s Dutcheſſes —— —— 79
— ſtrong Suggeſtions of his Legitimacy —— —— *ib*
— acknowledg'd as Prince of *Wales* at *Paris* —— —— 78
— his Legitimacy ought to be diſcuſs'd in Parliament —— 90
— wrongly adviſed —— — [119]
— intended only as a Tool by deſigning Politicians —— *ib*
— no Wonder he ſhould be flatter'd with the Allurements of a Crown *ib*
— was never intended by his Flatterers to be made a King —— *ib*
— ignominiouſly characteriz'd 213,4
— Account of what paſs'd at his Execution —— —— 216,7
— attended by two Biſhops and two Doctors —— —— 8, 9 *ib*
— his Order to the Executioner 219
— Copy of the Paper he left — 220
— terribly mangled by the Executioner —— —— *ib*

Manager of a Conference with the Lords, how to be treated if he uſe them diſreſpectfully —— iv 355
— muſt not exceed his Commiſſion 354
Manby, Peter, Dean of *Derry*, apoſtatizes, becomes a Layman, and obtains a Patent for the Revenue of the Deanery —— —— 21
Mankind, Plantation of after the Flood i 244
Mansfield, Sir *Robert*, his Expedition to *Algiers*, an impolitick Step — 301
Marcus Aurelius, baniſh'd Plays out of *Italy* —— —— 181
Marſhal, Title of, chang'd to that of King —— —— iii 156
Martin, Recorder, his Obſervation on the numerous young Members in the Parliament of K. *James* I. — i 355
Mary, Q. of *Scots*, her Favourers think ſhe has a Right to the Crown 64
— obdurate in her Malice againſt Q. *Elizabeth* —— —— *ib*
— profeſs'd it lawful to move Invaſion againſt her Majeſty —— *ib*
— thought it honourable and meritorious to take away the Queen's Life —— —— *ib*
— prefers the Queen's Death to her own Life and Safety —— *ib*
— infected with Popery from her Youth —— —— *ib*
— reſts wholly on Popiſh Hopes to deliver and advance her —— *ib*
— the only Hope of all diſcontented Subjects —— —— 65
— Mercy to her, a Cruelty to the Nation —— —— *ib*
— according to Law, ſhould have been try'd by a Jury —— 68
— Means propos'd to prevent her future Attempts, too light —— 71
— purſued to Death by her own Subjects —— —— *ib*
— Bonds and Hoſtages no ſufficient Security for her Behaviour *ib*
— often forfeited her Word, Writing and Oath —— —— *ib*
— her Baniſhment, a Thing deſir'd by her Adherents —— —— 72
— convicted by her own Letters and the Confeſſion of *Babington*, of her evil Deſign againſt the Queen *ib*

	Vol.	Pag.
Monmouth, D. of, Copy of his Letter to the King	i	221
Monopolies deſtructive to Trade	iv	35
Motives which induc'd King *William* to engage in a War with *France*	ii	155
Mulgrave, Lord, his Speech to the King	i	[118]
Muſgrave, Sir *Charles*, his Diſaffection to King *William*	iii	74
N		
Nabocolaſſar, or *Nebuchadnezzar*, died 560 Years before CHRIST	iii	165
Nabopolaſſar died 604 Years before CHRIST		162
Naked Truth, or true State of the primitive Church		329
Names of thoſe that refuſed the Aſſociation on Diſcovery of the Aſſaſſination Plot, 1695		74
Narrative of the Proceedings in the late Parliament, 1659	iv	524
Naſeby, Battle of, fatal to the King's Affairs	i	25
National Credit, what	ii	5
— how it has been ruin'd		6
— how afterwards recover'd		*ib*
— built on the Honour of the Sovereign and Parliament		7
— how loſt in the latter End of Queen *Anne*'s Reign		8
— Engagements muſt be made good		266
Naturalization inconſiſtent with Allegiance	i	435
Navarre, King of, renounces his Religion for the Crown of *France*		98
Navy Royal, cannot long flouriſh without Commerce	ii	456
— is an *Engliſh* ſtanding Army	iii	17
Nebuchadnezzar, tho' a bloody Tyrant, is called God's Servant	iv	431
Nemeſius of the Traduction of Souls	ii	241
Newcaſtle, E. of, prevails in the North	i	20
News from *Bruſſels*, 1660	iv	472
Nice, Council of, their Canon about irregular Ordination	iii	371
Nicknames and Marks of Diſtinction an intolerable Licence	i	197
Nimrod, or *Ninus*, a Tyrant	iv	173
Nobility, the Antient and Deſerving, to be chiefly employ'd	i	198
Noblemen, Gentlemen and Merchants, the beſt Conſtitution for regulating Trade	iv	35
Nobles and Gentry declare their Senſe of Nonreſiſtance, when they join'd		the
Mary, Queen of *Scots*, convicted of conſpiring the Death of Q. *Elizabeth*	i	63
— the Deſtruction of many Noblemen and Commons		65
— the Root of all Rebellions and Treacheries		*ib*
— Succeſſion of, violently oppoſed by the Parliament	iii	345
— Q. of *England*, laid a Duty upon Cloth	ii	162
— tho' a Papiſt, got a Parliament to her Mind	iii	302
— her Cruelties wholly owing to her Religion		465
— broke her Promiſe to the Men of *Suffolk* for the free Exerciſe of their Religion		466
Maſſacre, Relation of the *Iriſh*		91
— wherein Multitudes were murder'd in cold Blood, ſtarv'd, and burnt alive		92
—Variety of other Cruelties exercis'd in		93
— both of King and People deſign'd in *England*		297
— in *Ireland*, certainly intended from unqueſtionable Proofs, in K. *James*'s Reign	iv	22
Maſſorites, without whoſe Help no Bible can be truly printed	i	136
Maſter of the Rolls, on the Title to be given to the Chief Governor	iii	120
— his Reaſons for preferring that of King to all others		138
— why the People were quiet under the Government		140
Matthias, Emp. adopts Duke *Ferdinand* of *Gratz* for his Son		58
Mazarine, Lord, his Reaſons for petitioning againſt the Marquis of *Antrim*	ii	414
— Cardinal, his memorable Saying	iii	14
Meath, Biſhop of, his Speech to King *William*, when the Clergy waited on him in his Camp near *Dublin*, 1690		510
— clears them from being Trimmers or Favourers of Popery		511
— his Majeſty's Anſwer		*ib*
Melanthius, an antient Painter, excelled in Proportion	i	289
Melpomene, the Tragick Muſe, appears very diſconſolate		174
— her tragic Speech		175
Members of the *Scots* Parliament, their Addreſs to the King, 1689	iii	508
— rehearſe the ſeveral Votes that had paſs'd in Parliament, that had not the Royal Aſſent		509

	Vol.	Pag.
the Prince of *Orange*	iii	585
Nonconformists, their Distresses in K. *Charles* II's Reign	i	170
Nonjurors, cruelly used by K. *William*	iii	447
— instanced in A. B. *Sancroft*		*ib*
Nonresistance, Passive Obedience and Divine Right, the delared Doctrines of the Church of *England*	ii	558
— Absurdity of		565
— tend to sow Jealousies between King and People	iii	431
Non-swearers charge all, not of their Schism, with Apostasy from the Church of *England*	iv	96
— which is going a Step beyond Papists		97
North, Lord, Author of a Narrative, *&c.* of the Long Parliament	i	1
— justifies his Behaviour in Parliament		2
Northampton, Charter of, surrender'd and renew'd		177
— arm'd Soldiers attend the Election there	ii	[259]
— Earl of, besieges *Newwark*		14
Northumberland, Earl of, his Challenge to Sir *Fr. Veere*	i	110
Northumbrorum Episcopat. Chronol.	iv	438

O

Oates and *Bedloe*, their Testimony invalidated	i	44
— not so criminal as the Parliament who encourag'd and protected them		47
Oaths, none sufficient Tests against private Dispensations to break them		281
— of Allegiance of a Clergyman, first taken to K. *James*, and then to K. *William* and Q. *Mary*, if Perjury		430
— how far binding to a private Person		432
— to King *William* and Q. *Mary*, in what Sense to be taken		438
— admits of many Distinctions		444
— positive have some Implications		*ib*
— for Serjeants and Counsellors at Law		577
— for Attorneys		*ib*
— taken by the Kings of *Scotland* at their Coronation	ii	377
— of Allegiance		577
— of Supremacy		578
— of Supremacy to Q. *Elizabeth*	iii	305
— not more binding than the old Oath of Fealty		306
— of Allegiance to K. *James* I.		307

	Vol.	Pag.
Members of the House of Commons, ought not to have gainful Employments, by whom affirm'd	iv	240
— Refusal of, takes away the Birthright of Gentlemen		241
— a Contradiction to common Sense		*ib*
— Design of, to embarrass the King's Affairs		*ib*
Memorial of the *Spanish* Ambassador, 1681	iii	308
— complaining of the *French* Infractions of Treaties		309
— and of their Encroachments on the *Spanish* Monarchy		*ib*
Merchants, *Scots*, a knavish Sort of People	ii	198
Mercurius Civicus to *Mercurius Rusticus* 1643	i	397
Mercy and Goodness in Princes, often mistaken for Necessity and Easiness of Nature	iii	261
Merlin's Prophecy	ii	123
Metropolitan, and half the Bishops, depriv'd by Lay Authority		125
Meynard, Mr. his Speech on the Breach of the Privileges of Parliament		134
Michael Angelo da Buonaroti, his figur'd Fountain describ'd		294
Military Charges upon the Counties, a Grievance		168
Militia, how taken from the Lord Mayor and Aldermen and seated in the Commons	i	407
— who put it in the Hands of the Committee for the Posture of Defence		413
— which the Court of Aldermen petition against		*ib*
— belongs to the King by the Laws		449
— not to be depended upon	iv	230
Minerals, wonderful Properties of	ii	438
Minister, is to be suspected who lays his Faults on his Prince	iv	315
— that breaks in upon the Constitution and persists in it, not to be forgiven		*ib*
— faithful, will resign his Office rather than obey unlawful Commands		326
— bad, chargeable with all Mismanagements		*ib*
Ministers of State always poison the Minds of Kings with despotic Power		368
Ministry, charged with Crimes, but without Proof		233
— railing at, call'd Liberty and Property		235

	Vol.	Pag.
Oaths, Remarks thereon	iii	308
— when no longer binding		80
— whether applicable to the Government of K. *James* II.		*ib*
— of Allegiance and Supremacy, no Badges of Slavery		304
— of Allegiance and Supremacy, not againſt the ſolemn League and Covenant	iv	488
— of Allegiance, enacted 13 *James* I. taken by the Members of Parliament to K. *Charles* II.		581
— to K. *James* I. made ambiguous to puzzle the Conſciences of the Catholicks	iii	297
Obedience to the King Regnant notwithſtanding our Oath to the former	ii	577
— the Powers that are, required by Scripture and by Stat. 11. *H.* VII.		579
Obſervations on keeping the 30th of *January* and 29th of *May*	iii	172
Ogle, Capt. carries an Anſwer from Sir *Fr. Veere* to the Earl of *Northumberland*'s Challenge	i	102
Oiſter-Shell, containing a little Bird	ii	240
Old-Bailey, military Officers indicted there for a Conſpiracy	i	117
Old *Sarum*, (where Nobody lives) repreſented by its Proprietors	ii	442
Onſlow, Denzil, Eſq; Caſe of, touching an Election	i	374
Oppreſſion, a foreign Plant	ii	439
Oppreſſions, legal, draw down God's Vengeance	i	37
— ſad Effects of in foreign Countries	ii	439
— *France* emptied by it		440
Opportunity of ſecuring our Conſtitution loſt at the Reſtoration	iii	12
— likewiſe at the Revolution		13
— a Third offer'd from the Speech of King *William*		*ib*
Orange, Prince of, promotes underhand the Bill of Excluſion	i	94
— deſires the King to ſatisfy the Nation		121
— a terrible Obſtacle to the Papiſts		255
— had better turn'd his Arms againſt *France* than againſt his Father and Uncle		293
— had no Right to interfere in our civil and religious Concerns		301
— ſhew'd his Deſign was upon the Crown		*ib*
— ought to be ſtiled a Conqueror		302
— wrought a great Deliverance for the Nation		311

Orange,

	Vol.	Pag.
Miracles revived in the Diſcovery of the Popiſh Plot, by the Doctor of *Salamanca*	iii	361
Miſunderſtanding between the two Houſes of Parliament, how adjuſted	iv	361
Models of Building not to be large	i	281
Monarchy is the Government of a State by one Head	ii	215
— of how many Parts conſiſting		*ib*
— leaves Men no Liberty, and a Common-wealth no Property	iv	363
Money, collected *Viâ Regis*, attended with Difficulties	i	299
— by Parliament, the ſpeedieſt and ſafeſt Way		300
— Scarcity of in K. *William*'s Time, conſidered in Parliament	iv	183
— effectually remedied		184
Monk, Gen. had his Commiſſion and Authority from the Council of State	i	512
— his Letter to King *Charles* II.	iii	1
— his premeditated Deſign of employing his Power in the Service of the King		2
— his Propoſals to his Majeſty		*ib*
— inſinuates, that Mercy to Offenders will conciliate the People to the King		3
— pleads for Satisfaction for the poor Soldiers Arrears		*ib*
Monmouth, Duke of, only a Tool to ſerve a Party		356
— his Caſe, with all the ſtrange Crimes alledg'd againſt him		402
Monopolies, an Inundation of in King *Charles* I's Time	ii	165
— on Wines, a vaſt Loſs to the Kingdom		172
Montecuculi, Gen. obliges the Prince of *Conde* to retire	iii	389
Montgomery, John, ſwears to many Inſtances of Cruelty exerciſed by the Papiſts	ii	327
Moravia, in the laſt Age, half Proteſtant, now all Papiſts	iv	247
Morrice, Mr. taken out of the Houſe of Commons by Queen *Elizabeth*'s Order, and ſent to Priſon	iii	245
Morice, Governor of *Pomfret-Caſtle*, charges thro' the Enemy, is taken and executed	ii	476
Moſaique, what it is, and of what Uſe	i	293
Moſes, envied by the *Iſraelites*	iv	233
— his Error in attempting to releaſe *Iſrael* by his own Authority	ii	71

Mount

	Vol.	Pag.
Orange Pr. of, his Enterprize wonderful in its Effects	i	311
— had no Intention to be King		316
— disclaims the Third Declaration in his Name		318
— Princess of, could not accept the Crown upon honest Terms		324
— nor could the Prince		*ib*
— answer'd		330
— advised against accepting the Crown		346,7
— his Answer to the Lords sent to him by King *James*		403
— Prince and Princess declared King and Queen at *Edinburgh* Cross		476
— not blameless in accepting the Three Crowns	ii	262
— Reflections thereon		*ib*
— declare that no Christian ought to be persecuted for Conscience		540
— ready to concur in repealing the penal Laws, not the Test, nor those against Roman Catholicks		541
— believe Dissenters will be satisfied if secur'd in the Exercise of their Religion		*ib*
— he came to cover the Protestants while their Grievances were redress'd	iii	21
— aim'd at the Throne from the Beginning		22
— compar'd to the *French* King in enforcing Allegiance		25
— Princess of, her Reluctance to accept the Crown		41
— at her earnest Request the Crown was given to the Prince; Improbability of		42
— his Right only Matrimonial		*ib*
— own'd K. *James*'s Right by offering to treat with him		55
— his Expedition was in Defence of his own Rights as well as ours		88
— he conquer'd the King, not the Nation		89
— his boundless Ambition		468
— marries the Princess *Mary* against the Inclinations of the King and Duke		469
— by his Agents promotes the Bill of Exclusion		*ib*
— his Disingenuity in treating with King *James*		471
— confines the Earl of *Feversham* sent to him by King *James*		472
— his Message to the King on his Return from *Feversham*		473
Orange, *Mount-Alexander*, warn'd to take Care of himself, for a general Massacre was design'd on a certain Day	iii	22
—informs others, which raises a general Consternation	iv	*ib*
Montfort, a *Frenchman*, a Favourite of King *Henry* III. made E. of *Leicester* and marries the King's Sister	ii	178
— eclipses the King's Power		*ib*
— assuming too much, looses all		179
— with *Gloster* and *Spencer*, rule the whole State		183
— breaks Faith with his Confederates		184
— *Simon*, Earl of *Leicester*, High Steward of *England*, forbid by the Earl of *Norfolk* to execute that Office		111
— the Contention between them pacified, by allowing the Earl of *Norfolk* ten Knights Fees		*ib*
Mountjoy, Lord, reprimanded by Queen *Elizabeth* for going to the War without her Leave	i	362
— his remarkable Introduction to Court		378
— finishes the War in *Ireland*		379
Multitudes, incompetent Judges of the Publick	iv	206
Murder seldom escapes undiscover'd or unpunish'd	ii	130
Murder will out, or the Marquis of *Antrim*, pardon'd by *Charles* II.		374
Musgrave, Sir *Charles*, brought up the Commons Charge against Lord *Haversham* to the House of Peers	iv	384
Mysteries, or Sophisms of State		219

N

NAked Truth, a Witness against Popery	iii	313
— Evidence of		314
Name (of the Chief Magistrate) ought to be suited to the Thing		126
Narrative of the Assault on *William* Prince of *Orange*	i	29
Nation, Address of, to the Committee of Grievances for taking off the Coronation Oath	iii	236
— new baptiz'd at the Revolution		443
Nations bordering upon the Sea, claim the Dominion upon their own Coasts	iv	426
Navarre, King of, rejected by *France* for his Religion		305
Nebuchadnezzar, Life and Death of		25
— his Actions predicted by *Jeremiah*		*ib*

Vol. Pag.

Orange, Prince, his Acts of Sovereignty before he was crown'd — iii 478
— his Message to the Convention 479
— charg'd with all the Plots in the Reigns of K. *Charles* and K. *James* 533
— his Declaration against K. *James* only a Pretence to dethrone him 536
— and to serve his ambitious Designs 537
— congratulates King *James* and his Queen on the Birth of the Prince of *Wales*, and orders him to be pray'd for in his own Chapel — 546
— his Valour, the *Boyne* no Proof of it — — 549
— no Assurance he was in the Battle of *Steinkirk* — 550
— his Victory at the *Boyne* gain'd by Treachery — — *ib*
— his ill Conduct in the Siege of *Limerick* — — *ib*
— also in *Flanders* — 551
— his Military Policy — 552
— deficient in providing for his Army 553
— his Pay always bad — *ib*
— his Politicks not adequate to his Designs — — 557
— Proveditor General, rather than Generalissimo of the Confederate Forces — — 558
— greatly in Arrears to the Confederates — — 561
— intends a Descent upon *France* *ib*
— suspected of being a Papist — 565
— to pray for him, an Affront to God Almighty — 567
— Religion, or its Security, the least Part of his Concern — *ib*
— a Persecutor of the Chuch of *England* — — *ib*
— his Design to betray our Trade to the *Dutch* — 569
— came with a Power and Resolution to resist King *James* — 584
— his Declaration, tho' not expressing, yet imply'd Resistance — *ib*
— by the Resistance of his Forces some kill'd — 585
— his Speech to the Lords, *&c.* 1689 397
Order of the House of Commons for the Heir of Sir *Edward Cooke* to print his Commentary on *Magna Charta*, &c — 451
— to seize and secure the Estates and Persons of those who sate in Judgment on King *Charles* I. — 519

Orders

Vol. Pag.

Nebuchadnezzar, enters *Judea* with an Army, and takes *Jerusalem* — iii 26
— besieges *Jerusalem* a second Time, and takes it — 31
— subjects all the Nations of *Syria* 35
— conquers *Egypt* and kills the King thereof — — — 36
— his prodigious Works in *Babylon* *ib*
— erects a Statue to himself, and commands it to be worshipped — *ib*
— in the Height of his Pride is humbled to the Condition of a Beast 38
— his Distemper, what — *ib*
— Length of his Reign, and his Prophecy of *Cyrus* — — 39
Nebuzaradan, burns *Jerusalem* and the Temple — — 32
Neratius, his Humour of striking People and paying the Penalty without Law — — 149
Neuters can't avoid Treason whoever prevails, *William* or *James* — iv 57
Newburgh, Houses of, once Protestant, now Enemies to that Religion 247
News from *Dunkirk-house*; or *Clarendon*'s Farewel to *England* — iii 83
Nicotris turns the Course of *Euphrates*, raises vast Works in *Babylon*, and challenges the King to single Duel 44
Nimrod the first King — i 424
Nineveh taken — iii 25
— destroy'd by *Nebuchadnezzar* 37
No Popish Successor, no Idolater, no Queen *Mary* in Breeches — 317
No Bishop, no King — i 487
Noblemen being Hereticks, their Blood tainted by the highest Treason iii 303
— Wiles and Stratagems of some to promote themselves — 355
Nobility, the virtuous Part of, support the Welfare and Grandeur of their Country — iv 361
— are the *Nestors* and *Ulysses* that defend us against our Neighbours the *Ajaxes* and *Achilles* — 362
— strenuous for the Rights of the People in the Barons Wars against the Encroachments of our Kings *ib*
— but few of them join'd the Republicans in the Civil War — *ib*
— *Scots*, Honour of, consists in three Points of Iniquity — ii 197
Nolumus Leges Angliæ mutare, a general Opinion — iii 122
Non-swearing Clergy of great Use

to

Vol. Pag.

Orders, of the Lords in 1688 concerning Papists — ii [256]
— in the Church, how many, as held by the Papists — iii 366
Ordinance, which deprives eight Generals of their Commands — i 24
Ordinances of Parliament for constituting Associations — 18
— promoted by *O. Cromwell* — *ib*
— no Law of the Land — iv 452
Ordination of a Priest by Priests, valid iii 373
Ormond, Duke of, his Double Dealing ii 127
— refuses to march with Prince *Eugene* — 128
— takes Possession of *Ghent* and *Bruges* — 131
Otho, Emp. reassumes the Right of electing Popes — iv 366
Ovatio Carolina, or K. *Ch.* I's triumphant Entry into *London*, 1641 150
Overton, Major General, releas'd from his Imprisonment — 524
Owen Glendover, a Terror to the *English* — — iii 104
Owtwell Bins, his Prophesy — i 426
Oxford, besieged and at last yielded 25
— not a proper Place for the holding of a Parliament — 105
— how antient, and by whom founded — — iv 395
— the Royal Seat of several Monarchs — *ib*
— the Retirement of K. *Charles* I. 396
— Parliament of K. *Charles* II. held there, worse than the Rump *ib*
— Bishop of, his Proposal for establishing a College of Catholicks i 250
— his Account of publick Transactions from 1710 to 1714 — ii 145
— endeavours to rectify Disorders in the Ministry — 148
— his Address to K. *James*, to be subscribed by his Clergy, with Reasons for and against it — 373
Oxon Sa. his Reasons for abrogating the Test, enquir'd into — 507
— answer'd — 517
— the Drawcansir both against the House of Lords and Laws 508
— asserts that the Test was the First-born of *Oates*'s Plot — *ib*
— his Answer to the Question, *What is the best Body of Divinity?* 509
— charges Dr. *Burnet* with Forgery in his History of the Reformation 514
— his clownish Behaviour to the Prince

Vol. Pag.

to King *James* in Case of a Landing — — iv 260
— the soundest and most venerable Part of the *English* Church — *ib*
Normans, their Courts of Law after the Conquest — ii 107
— their High Court of Parliament, how constituted — *ib*
Norris, Lord, famous for his Six Sons, all martial brave Men — i 366
Northumberland, Duke of, beheaded the first of Queen *Mary* — 358
— his Father given up by *Henry* VIII. as a Sacrifice to please the People — — 359
— never aspir'd till the Reign of *Edward* VI. — *ib*
— Sheriff of, carries his Prisoners, concerned in the Popish Plot, to *Edinburgh* to kiss the Duke's Hand iii 326
Nottingham, Earl of, depriv'd of his Place — — iv 114
Now is the Time; a Scheme for a Commonwealth — iii 420
Now or never, the Motto on the Popish *Irish* Standard — iv 31
Nullum Tempus occurrit Regi, a Pretence of King *James* to rob his Subjects of their Estates — iii 505
Numantines, their solemn Vow to breakfast on a *Roman* — ii 93
Nusances compounded for — 167

O

Oates, *Titus*, aspers'd by the Papists — — iii 265
— a Man of Learning, and Doctor in Divinity — *ib*
— of sober Life and Conversation *ib*
— conforms to Popery, in order to get Master of the Jesuits Designs 266
— is admitted into their Order and made their Messenger — *ib*
— his Informations consistent with others — — *ib*
— his Evidence all miraculous 361-2
— his Petition to the King and Council — — 394
— complains against *Roger L'Estrange* for ridiculing the Popish Plot — — *ib*
— his Letter to Sir *Leoline Jenkins*, Secretary of State — — 395
— Memoirs of, written for publick Satisfaction — 405

	Vol.	Pag.
Prince and Princeſs of *Orange* —	ii	515
— ſays, Idolatry is a cut-throat Word when applied to the Church of *Rome* — —		*ib*
— charges Dr. *Stillingfleet* as the Founder of anti-catholick and anti-chriſtian Principles —		516
— retorted on himſelf —		*ib*

P

Paget, Mr. made a Commiſſioner of the Treaſury to Q. *Anne* —	ii	257
— his Character —		274
Papa, a Name attributed to other Biſhops, beſides the Pope —	iii	366
Paper, found in the Speaker's Chair	i	351
Papiſts, their Complaints againſt the Proteſtants —		46
— their Way of attacking our Religion — —		53
— Religion of, ſettled in *England* 1400 Years —		59
— and Preſbyterians both to be ſuppreſs'd, or neither —		[115]
— Number of, compar'd with Proteſtants —		123
— loyal Subjects —		208
— none rebell'd againſt K. *Charles* I.		209
— applauded for their Patience and Moderation —		*ib*
— beſmear'd with falſe Colours —		210
— their Doctrines miſrepreſented		*ib*
— Reaſons for employing them in the Army —		215
— wager that the Queen would bear a Prince —		254
— are griev'd at the Diſunion between the Pope and the *French* King — —		256
— employ'd in the *Dutch* Army		318
— have no Conſcience —	ii	[255]
— their Attempts to extirpate Proteſtantiſm out of *Europe* —		277
— their notorious Forgeries		285
— obliged to break an Oath taken not to extirpate Hereſy —		343
— give no Liberty of Conſcience but with a Deſign to deſtroy all		528
— will have their Myſteries adored, even by Hypocrites —		529
— their Church deſcribed by St. *John* under the Name of *Babylon*		*ib*
— their barbarous Cruſado's, Murders and Butcheries —		*ib*

Papiſts,

	Vol.	Pag.
Oates, Titus, his Account of the Plot to murder the King improbable —	iii	406
— his Evidence contradictory		407
— produces no Letters, Papers, or Commiſſions to corroborate his Evidence — —		*ib*
— Inconſiſtency of his Account of the Armies to be rais'd for that Purpoſe — —		408
— more Inconſiſtencies —		409
— his Perjury in bringing the Queen into the Conſpiracy —		*ib*
— ſtrange Credulity of the Nation to believe him —		410
— indicted at *Weſtminſter* Seſſions for ſcandalizing and aſſaulting Mrs. *James* — —		420
Oath, negative, not to aſſiſt the King	i	478
— which contradicts itſelf is Perjury		490
— darkly and doubtfully expreſs'd		491
— of Allegiance —	iii	100
— of a Judge to take no Gift, *&c.* an Exception in —		186
— ſhould be a Matter of Fact, not a Thing controverſial —		240
— of Allegiance, due to the next in Blood — —		249
— promiſſory not obligatory, dangerous to aſſert —		250
—in Favour of Hereticks, but *Vinculum Iniquitatis* —		299
— no Security in that which is the Breach of a former —	iv	52
Oaths, Promiſes and Declarations to deceive Proteſtants —	iii	450
— tyrannical and arbitrary required of the Subjects of *Scotland* —		452
— Allegiance and Supremacy, Suſpenſion of, is to rob the Crown of its chiefeſt Jewel —		475
— always ordain'd by Statute —		479
O Bryan, Patrick, ſwears that the King knew of the *Iriſh* Rebellion, and that all the *Iriſh* Popiſh Nobles had a Hand in it —	ii	329
Offences, committed in one King's Reign puniſhed in that of his Succeſſor — —	iii	444
— Inſtances of that Kind in Law-Books, not applicable to the Reign of King *William* —		*ib*
— illuſtrated by a Law-Caſe ----		*ib*
—— ſome againſt the Conſtitution, and remain notwithſtanding an Abdication — —		445
—— ſuch not determined in our Books		of

Vol. Pag.

Papists, their Declaration (in King *James*'s Reign) an Instance of the same Spirit — — ii 530
— not injur'd in not being admitted to Places and Preferments 542
— great Difference between them and Protestants — 543
— Smallness of their Numbers no Plea in their Favour — *ib*
— if possess'd of the publick Offices, what will be left for Protestants? 544
— are excluded from Places of Trust in *Holland* — 545
— allow'd to stand by K. *James*, and Protestants to stand neuter — iii 50
— have no Hope but in the Plea of Hereditary Right — 303
— their Loyalty to Q. *Elizabeth* 445
Paradoxes, two remarkable — iv 401
Parents too negligent in consulting the Genius of their Children — iii 182
Paricide, how punish'd by the *Romans*, tho' they had no Law against it 185
Parliament (of K. *Charles* I.) warmly insist on their Privileges — 5
— adjourn, and sit by Committees in the City — 10
— send a Message to the King at *Theobalds* — — 11
— advising with the People held illegal — *ib*
— find great Difficulties in raising an Army — — 12
— address for Peace — 15
— Aggravations of their criminal Proceedings against the King 30
— of *England*, its Constitution and Power — — 63
— coeval with our Government 65
— compar'd to a Tree — 66
— Privilege of sending Members to, deriv'd from the King 67
— Matters relating to, always settled by Act of — *ib*
— provide a Successor to the Government — — 76
— held at Places remote from *London*, unfortunate, a weak Observation 105
— Business of at first Meeting — 124
— arraign'd for a Conspiracy against the King — 134
— Tail of one — — 163
— originally annual — — 191
— tho' dissolv'd, ought not to be arraign'd by the People — 198
— of *Richard* II. characteriz'd — 316

Parlia-

Vol. Pag.

of Law — — iii 445
— Form of an Indictment for such — — *ib*
— none can be punished that were committed before the King's Departure — — 446
Officer of the Customs informs Queen *Elizabeth* of Abuses in the Customs — — i 356
Officers of State ought not take any Grant of the King's Revenue — iii 330
— especially in Time of War 331
— are appointed for Security of King and People — 333
— who serv'd K. *William* in *Ireland* not recompenced — iv 135
— can get no Advancement but by the Interest of Foreigners — *ib*
— not trusted in their own native Country — — *ib*
— exhorted not to fight *Dutch* Quarrels — — 136
— and to favour the Cause of King *James* — — — *ib*
— in a House, how to be distributed — — i 282
— in *England*, and Abroad different 283
Old Age, not always unfit for publick Government — ii 236
Old Devil, Resolves of a seditious Club there — iv 217
— employs Spies to fetch and carry News, and publish their Resolutions — — — 242
— Reasons of, for sending away the *Dutch* — — 243
— once as zealous for a Naturalization of the *French* — *ib*
Oligarchy is the Corruption of Aristocracy — — ii 216
— Preservation of by Sophisms and Rules — — — 231
Oliver the Barber, created Earl of *Dunoyes* by *Lewis* XI. — i 372
Omens and Prodigies — 101
O Neal, Sir *Phelim*, pleads the King's Commission for his Cruelties on the *Irish* Protestants — ii 366
— his Treachery and Cruelty to the Protestants — — 368
— declares at his Death he had no Commission from the King for the *Irish* Massacre — — 382
— importun'd to confess it — 392
— some Account of his Trial 398

O Neal,

	Vol.	Pag.
Parliament, Power of, eſtabliſh'd by Stat. 25 *Henry* VIII.	i	378
— Deſign of in not examining into the Birth of the Pretender	iv	94
— in what Caſe may proceed without Conſent of the King		183
— the Aggreſſor in the Civil War		203
— cannot prevent Ruin to the Proteſtants if the Prince is a Papiſt		224
— Army, the dreadful Miſchiefs they brought upon the Nation		424
— Remedies propoſed againſt		*ib*
— ſpeak the Language of the Intereſt of the State moſt predominant		481
— Power of not unlimited		515
—Debates in that of *Richard Cromwell* about bounding the Power of the Chief Magiſtrate		528
— alſo about ſetling the Houſe of Lords		529
— likewiſe concerning the *Scots* and *Iriſh* Members		530
— finds the Government greatly in Debt		531
— votes a publick Faſt		*ib*
— Debates about ſetling the Exciſe and Militia		532
— diſſolved		533
— antiently heard Complaints againſt bad Miniſters	iii	108
— of *Henry* IV. enacted that all Foreigners in Office about the King and Queen ſhould depart the Kingdom, and reſumed their Grants		109
— of K. *William* miſemploy'd their Power to oppreſs the People		117
— what ſort of Creatures compoſed of		119
— of *Paris* join the Leaguers againſt the two laſt *Henry's*	i	29
Parliaments the Heart of our Conſtitution	ii	260
— our Happineſs that no Money can be rais'd without them		348
— ſecure us againſt ſtanding Armies		349
— ſubmit to the See of *Rome*, and are abſolved	iii	293
— always complain'd againſt the Impoſitions of the Church of *Rome*	ii	[275]
Parſons, Father, writes againſt the Succeſſion of the King of *Scots*	i	262
Partiality unbecoming a Sovereign	ii	248
Parties (in *England*) ſorted into four Diviſions in 1710		271
Partition Treaty better than that of *Utrecht*	iii	75
Party has nothing to do in Trade	ii	15

Paſ-

	Vol.	Pag.
O Neal, Sir *Phelim*, his horrid and barbarous Boaſt	iii	97
Onſlow, Sir *Richard*, anſwers the Protector's Objections to the Title of King		143,4
Orange, *William*, Prince of, is ſhot in the Head with a Dagge	i	30
— cauſes a general Aſtoniſhment		*ib*
— ſeveral Lords ſuſpected		31
— his Care for the People in his Extremity		32
— a Day of Faſting and Prayer appointed for his Recovery		33
— thinks his Death near approaching		*ib*
— recommends the Duke of *Brabant* to the People's Obedience		*ib*
— deſires the Offenders may be puniſh'd with the eaſieſt Death		34-
— his Letter to the Magiſtrates to give them a ſpeedy Death		-37
—Prince of, call'd to *England* to marry the Princeſs *Mary*, and to conſult with K. *Charles* about publick Affairs perſonally	iii	391
— obliged to raiſe the Siege of *Maeſtricht* for Want of Succours		390
— fails in his Attempt to relieve St. *Omers*		*ib*
—a Relation of his Entrance into *Exeter*		419
— his Letters to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal		423
— values being *Optimus* rather than *Maximus*		425
— thinks it more Glory to reduce the Monarchy to its legal Eſtabliſhment than to be King		*ib*
— did the ſame Things which render'd King *James*'s Government obnoxious		*ib*
— hates the Perſons, and more the Principles of the Whigs		437
— refuſes to comply with the Suſpenſion of the Teſt Act		482
— Prince and Princeſs of, their Effigies burnt in *France* by way of rejoicing for his ſuppoſed Death	iv	41
—THE USURPERS, the Motto on the Effigies		*ib*
— their Mock Funeral		42
— not ſuffer'd in a Sign		43
— the ſuſpicious Birth of the Prince of *Wales* the chief Point in his Declaration		45
— ſarcaſtical Reflections on his Management		46
Orders of Pillars in Buildings, how marſhalled	i	271

	Vol.	Pag.
Pasquinade about King *James*'s Queen being big with a Cushion	i	252
Passive Obedience, practic'd by the Primitive Christians	iv	297
Pastors, their Duty in relation to obstinate Hereticks	iii	337
Patrons, *Roman*, pleaded for their Clients without Fee	i	33
Paul, St. calls all the Presbyters Bishops	iii	362
— Pope, his Bull to Sir *Wm. Peters* to confirm to him the Abbey Lands he had bought	iv	229
— threatens to excommunicate all Persons as kept Church Lands		230
Paulus Vergerius, writing against Lutheranism is converted to it		561
— his consulting the Fathers the Occasion of his Change		564
— favour'd and promoted by the Jesuits		566
Peace of *Urecht* beneficial to *Gr. Britain*	ii	38
— approved by the Queen, two Parliaments and People		39
— obstructed by the Jealousies of the Allies		83
— how begun and carried on		82,3
Peers, Catholick, excluded from the House of Lords by the Test Oath of Supremacy	iii	300
Pelling, Rev. Dr. believ'd himself with Child		209
Pembroke, Earl of, his Speech	i	15
Pen, William, his Speech to K. *James*		237
— his Majesty's Answer		238
Penal Laws and Test the Sucurity of the Reform'd Religion	ii	543
Pennington, Alderman, his Speech at presenting the Golden Bason, &c. to the General	iv	405
Pensioners in the Long Parliament, Catalogue of	i	422
People, discontented in King *Charles* I's Time, why		4
— a Word of a complicated Meaning		92
— of *England*, the most dutiful if well used, and the most turbulent if not		198
— greater than the King		344
— debarred the free Election of Magistrates, &c	ii	269
— complain of too much Favour shewn to the *Dutch*	iii	519
— weak under one Administration, and strong under another	iv	119
— the End of Government		461
Pericles learns his Wisdom from the fair *Aspasia*	ii	409
Perjuries fatal to the Papists if encourag'd	i	49

Per-

	Vol.	Pag.
Orders, Undersettings, or Pedestals of	i	*ib*
— *Tuscan*, a Description of		*ib*
— also of the *Dorick*, *Ionick*, *Corinthian* and *Composite*		273
— Cautions relating to		274
Ordinance of the Lords and Commons in relation to the League and Covenant, 1643	ii	164
— of both Houses, without the King's Assent, not Law		396
Original of the Kingly Office		187
Ormond, Marq. of, his Attestation of the Piety, Wisdom and Goodness of King *Charles* I.		403
— concludes a Cessation of Arms with the *Irish* Rebels		407
— Duke of, to be murder'd, the *Irish* to rise and destroy the Protestants	iii	264
Orthodox Clergy, petition'd against by the Scum of the People	i	415
Ossolinski, Minister from *Poland* to K. *James* I.		226
Ovid, his Description of the Rape of the *Sabines*		179
Owsley, Col. routs the *Irish*, and takes a Booty	iv	60
Oxford, Earl of, and Lord *Somers*, impeach'd for passing Grants, when others equally concern'd stood unimpeach'd		388
Oysters, of all Creatures are only Neuters	i	24

P

Packington, Sir *John*, a Favourite, but of short Continuance to Q. *Elizabeth*	i	371
Pagan Emperors, their Persecutions not more sanguinary and cruel than the Laws and Ordinances of Popish Princes	iii	447
Painting and Sculpture contend for Preeminence	i	286
— how to judge of ther respective Excellencies		*ib*
— Cautions in judging of them		287
— in Black and White, the best for Outsides of Walls		290
— unfigur'd, imitating Marble and Architecture, best for Walls		*ib*
— Insides, whether Grotesque or Antique proper for		*ib*
Painters, as limited as Poets		*ib*
Palatinate, Losses there imputed to *Gundamor*		301
Palatinates, persecuted with the utmost Barbarity	iv	247
Palladio, his Manner of building Staircases	i	279

Pallas,

	Vol.	Pag.
Perkin Warbeck, a Pretender set up by the Dutchess of *Burgundy*	ii	286
Persecution, an artful Pretence to plunder the good Women	i	54
— for Matters of Conscience, a Breach of Humanity		368
— not the Doctrine of the Church of *England*	ii	533
— generally practis'd by the Party uppermost		*ib*
—instanced in *Scotland* and *New England*		*ib*
— in Q. *Mary*'s Reign not prosecuted in the succeeding		534
— inconsistent with the Spirit of the Gospel	iii	197
Persians, their five Days Lawlessness after the Death of a Governor	iv	105
Perth, Earl of, apprehended on Shipboard going to King *James*	i	463
— committed Prisoner to *Stirling-Castle*		464
Petavius, his Opinion about Bishops and Presbyters	iii	364
—asserts Deaconship a spiritual Order		375
Peter, St. his Chair not infallible		[113]
Peters, Hugh, his Thanksgiving Speech by way of Farewel to the City	iv	416
— his Drolling upon a Belly-full		417
Petition of the School-boys to Parliament	i	13
—and Advice of several Lords to King *Charles* II.		105
— to King *Charles* I.		108
— of Rights how it came to be made a Law		195
— of the A. B. of *Canterbury*, &c. against publishing the King's Declaration	ii	358
— his Majesty's Answer		359
— who of the Lord Mayor, *&c.* of *London* to the King 1680	iv	420
— express their Surprize at his proroguing the Parliament		421
Petre, Father, in high Esteem at Court	i	250
— his Letter to Father *Chaise*		251
— complains of the Obstinacy of the Military Officers		252
— Lord, his Declaration at his Death touching the Plot	iii	321
—of the Countryman for a Parliament		420
Petronius, his *Liber Spiritus* how construed by modern Poets	i	3
Petus, encouraged to die from the Example of *Arria*	ii	401
Phaleris, the Tyrant, mentions a Mundane Soul		237
— died 556 Years before CHRIST	iii	166
— his Notion of antient Sculpture	i	291
Pallas, or *Minerva*, her Birth allegorical		4
Pamphilion, an antient Painter, excell'd in due Proportion		289
Papists, Combination of against the Church and State of *Ireland*		315
— how encouraged in King *Charles* I's Reign	ii	158
— had their Commission from *Spain* and *France*, and encouraged by the Pope's Bulls		316
— had Parties and Correspondence in *England* and *Scotland*		*ib*
— their Plot several Years in hatching		317
— pretend a Plot laid in *England* to cut off all the Papists in *Ireland*		*ib*
— bound themselves by an Oath of Confederation		*ib*
— pretend a Commission from the King, and also from the Queen		318
— profess they will have a King of their own		*ib*
— speak contemptuously of the King		319
— will new-model the Three Kingdoms by the Help of *Spain* and *France*		*ib*
— will suffer no *English*, tho' Papist, nor even an *English* Beast to remain in *Ireland*		*ib*
— prophane the Bible in a horrible Manner		321
— their inhuman Cruelties to Protestants of all Ages and Sexes		*ib*
— the horrid Relation continued		321,2
— have a Meeting of their Chiefs to consult about executing their Designs		333
— their Debate upon the Question, What should be done with the *English*		*ib*
— *Irish*, force Protestants to turn Catholicks and then cut their Throats		367
— thrust the Protestants by Heaps into filthy Dungeons		369
— ashamed of the King-killing and deposing Doctrine	iii	252
— the Cause of the War between K. *Charles* I. and his Parliament		267
— their Manner of firing *London*		274
— consult to murder the King		*ib*
— Provisions for executing their Plot		276
— hold it lawful to make War against Hereticks for their Heresy		292
— count such a War more holy and necessary than a War against the *Turks*		*ib*
— their Arguments from Scripture to		

	Vol.	Pag.
Pherecydes, born 600 Years before CHRIST	iii	162
Philip the Deacon, not *Philip* the Apoſtle		376
— K. of *Spain* loſt his Title at Queen *Mary's* Death		59
— II. grants the *Portugueze* a noble Privilege of Honour	i	127
Philo Judæus, his Opinion of the Creation of the World	iv	401
Philoſophers, why they publiſh'd the lying Wonders about *Pythagoras*	iii	143
— their Hatred to the Chriſtian Religion one Cauſe of it		144
— one converted at the Council of *Nice* in an extraordinary Manner		353
Philoſtratus a lying Writer		149
— prov'd from the Stories in his Hiſtory		150-1
— ſays, *Apollonius* could call up the Souls of the Heroes, and convers'd with that of *Achilles*		151
Phlegm, its Effects on the Body		217
Pictures and Mottoes great Helps to Poets	iv	7
Pindar, the Poet, born 520 Years before CHRIST	iii	169
Piſiſtratus, Tyrant of *Athens*, died *An.* 523 Years before CHRIST		*ib*
Pius IV. Pope, damn'd all Detainers of Church Lands	iv	230
Places ought to be free to the Deſerver in a political Community	iii	439
Plants produc'd without Seed	ii	240
Plato, an avow'd Enemy to Poets	iv	5
— *Redivivus*, his Notions of *Engliſh* Government	i	[115]
Play-houſe, the vaſt Benefit of	iv	12
Plaxtone, George, Rev. his Speech on proclaiming King *James* II.	iii	322
Plea for Sir *George Booth* and the *Cheſhire* Men		455
Plenipo's, commiſſion'd to treat with M. *Meſnager* about the Peace	ii	120
Plot, *Oates*'s improbable	i	45
— ſeveral in King *Charles* II's Reign		117
— a Sham, trump'd up againſt the Proteſtants		134
— the Nature of it examin'd		136
— the Improbability of		138
— the Witneſſes to prove it ſuborn'd		139
— Preſbyterian, made the King Maſter of his Enemies Projects	iii	301
Plunderings and free Quarters countenanc'd in King *William*'s Reign		495
Pluralities where, and where not to be allow'd	i	57
— revokable by the King		242
— the Peſt of the conforming Clergy		384
kill Proteſtants	iii	294
— ſay, St. *Peter*, had a double Miniſtry, to feed and to kill		*ib*
— count it juſt, meritorious, and an Act of Charity to kill Hereticks		*ib*
— think none worthy of a Crown who will not go thro'-ſtitch with their Deſigns		301
— may get a Parliament to their Turn		302
— their Opinions with regard to the Succeſſion in K. *Ch.* II's Reign, how different from their Anceſtors 90 Years before		324
— in *Lancaſh.* murder the King's Officers		326
— their Religion Rebellion		345
— never forgive Offences		*ib*
— and Preſbyterians, two Factions in the State		352
— Numbers of in *England*, how proportion'd to the Non-papiſts		360
— a new Way to deal with them		438
— their Reaſons for not being alike cruel at all Times		448
— purſue their Malice againſt us more vigorouſly than ever under a Prince devoted to them		*ib*
— never ſatisfied with any Indulgence		468
— Laws againſt, only an Obligation to bind them to their good Behaviour		469
Paradiſe the Hell of the Creed	i	142
Parafius, a famous *Grecian* Painter, call'd the Lawgiver		288
Pardons (Pope's) muſt be earn'd with good Works		84
— and by Pilgrimages		85
— allow'd or diſallow'd, confirm'd or annull'd at the Pleaſure of the Pope		88
— thoſe granted to the begging Friars excepted		89
— a Jeſt and Deriſion of GOD and his Grace		*ib*
— ſold for two Silver Reals		90
Parkin, Margaret, ſwears that the *Iriſh* boil'd a Child to Death in a Kettle	ii	363
Parliament, two Houſes of, take Sanctuary in *London*	i	409
— an abſolute Court of Juſtice		426
— is called *Commune Concilium*		*ib*
— and Legiſlative, called in Writs *Concilium Regni Angliæ*		426
— Order of in paſſing Bills		427
— its high Power and Authority	ii	31
— its noble Privileges		32
— Privileges of its Continuance		33
— a Looking-glaſs for the State		34
— cures the Clergy, Courts of Juſtice,		

Poet,

Mono-

	Vol.	Pag.
Poet, not oblig'd to believe in GOD	iv	2
— advis'd to ſtudy the Scriptures; for what		3
— and Prieſt, one and the ſame Function		4
— from whence Poets are call'd Divine		*ib*
— human Literature, not a neceſſary Accompliſhment of a Modern		*ib*
— confirm'd by Sir *Philip Sidney*'s Remarks on *Iriſh* Poets		5
— ſhould always have a Stock of Similies by him		7
— and a Shoe-maker, Reſemblance between		8
— ſhould frequent the Play-houſe		*ib*
— ſhould provide himſelf with a choice Collection of modern Miſcellanies		*ib*
— and a camplete Common-place Book		*ib*
— muſt never write nor diſcourſe like ordinary Folks		9
— muſt not neglect to invoke the Muſes		*ib*
— Poverty of, accounted for		*ib*
— his firſt Eſſay ſhould be in Libel, Lampoon or Satire		10
— ſhould hire out his Pen to a Party		*ib*
Poetical Meditations on the Holy Scripture	iii	389
Poets, Corporation of, propoſed in *Dublin*	iv	13
Poetry ſhould be encourag'd for the Benefit of Trade		11
Poirat believes that one Soul may generate another	ii	241
Polycrates, Tyrant of *Samos* died 523 Years before CHRIST		169
Poor, their deplorable Condition		537
— to what owing		538
— the Laws defective for a Remedy		539
— Propoſals for a Remedy		540,1
— Advantages of, ariſing from the Method propos'd		543
Pope, offers the *French* King an Aſylum for the Pretender	ii	143
— and the *French* King aſſiſted King *James* merely from Compaſſion	iii	44
— his Speech to the Sacred College, notifying the Death of King *James* the Second	iv	84
— can't abſolve Subjects from their Allegiance		215
— every Year curſes the Hereticks and their Favourers		223
Popery		

	Vol.	Pag.
Monopolies, Traitors, *&c.* of all their Diſtempers	ii	34,5
— Orders of concerning Chuch Government		47
— of King *Charles* I. diſtreſs'd on all Sides		139
— Privileges of, not given for the Ornament and Advantage of the Members		156
—how thoſe Privileges had been broke into		*ib.* & 157
Parliaments, intermiſſion of, contrary to two Statutes		171
— great Defects in the Rolls of, for ſeveral Reigns after *William the Conqueror*		242
— ſummon'd by the King's Writs		449
— both Houſes exhibited a Bill to Q. *Mary* to introduce Popery		451
— and to *Richard* III. to make good his Title to the Crown		*ib*
— alſo to King *Charles* I. to take away the Suffrages of the Biſhops		452
— when bad, when good		456
— above the King, refuted		458
— has a Power over *Magna Charta*		463
— Title of, whether to be changed for *Repreſentative of the People*	iii	122
— the Womb of the Commonwealth		146
— were alike blaſted with the King		153
—ſhould conſider not what they could, but what they ought to do, as to the Duke of *York*		241
— cannot enjoy a greater Power than thoſe they repreſent		248
— held at *Oxford*, and Places remote, often unfortunate		270
— diſſolved in 1681, applauded for their Religion, Wiſdom, Courage and Induſtry		318
— in King *Charles* II's Reign why not ſuffer'd to ſit		338
— Quere, whether that aſſembled *January* 22d 1688, without the King's Writ, was not a legal Parliament	iv	34
— ſummoned by Letters, as in King *John*'s Great Charter		36
—End of, to maintain perſonal Liberty		71
— of King *William*, had Buſineſs of great Variety and important Conſequence		166
— meet with vaſt Difficulties in reſtoring the Publick Credit		180
— take Meaſures to reſtore the Credit of the Bank		183
Parlia-		

Vol. Pag.

Popery depends on nice and poor Uncertainties — — i 276
— nonsensical and inconsistent Tenets of — — 277,8
— more to be dreaded than Commonwealths-men, and Dissenters, &c. 326
— a common Enemy to Mankind ii [248]
— to be suspected when it promises Liberty — 365
— cannot change its Nature — 532
— not so dreadful as Property and Privileges are charming — iii 279
— its Pedigree — — iv 232
Popes, pretend to absolve Kings from all Obligations to the Law ii [275]
— assume both the temporal and spiritual Sword — iii 180
— have absolv'd Subjects from their Allegiance to their Sovereign 429
— had no Jurisdiction in *England* under the *Britons* and *Saxons* — 434
— their first Footing gain'd by the Assistance of *William the Conqueror* *ib*
— Manner of creating — iv 366
— Election and Coronation, the Manner of — — 367
— treated evilly, banish'd and put to Death, when — 366
Popish Prince must have his Subjects Papists — — ii 351
— Successor, not excluded by Law i 317
Porphyry wrote 15 Books against the Christian Religion — iii 146
Portsmouth, Dutchess of, impeached of High Treason — iv 455
Portmore, Earl of, sent to retrieve the Affairs of *Portugal* — ii 259
Porter at the Church Door, one of the Orders of the Romish Church iii 367
Power, regal, is to protect the Subject i 312
— of the Duke of *Marlborough* and Lord Treasurer too great — ii 272
— is the Ordinance of God, in what Sense — — iii 530
— appointed for the Publick Good 531
Powlet, Earl of, at the Head of the Treasury after Lord *Godolphin* ii 257
— his Character — 274
Prayer of a Jacobite for King *William* iii 462
Preaching, Manner of in Primitive Times — — 354
— of the Apostles, may be judg'd by their Epistles — 356
— of a raw Novice from the University, how like it — *ib*
— seditious, ought to be suppress'd 17
— strange

Vol. Pag.

Parliaments, abolish Places of Privilege for Debtors — iv 185
— raise Money to disband the Army 186
— vote Rewards for the Officers and common Men — *ib*
— establish the *African* Company *ib*
— settle the *East-India* Trade --- 187
— punish those who carried on secret Commerce with *France* --- *ib*
— pass an Act for the Encouragement of the Royal Lustring Company *ib*
— and against Transportation of Wool &c. — — 188
— address the King to discourage the Woollen Manufacture in *Ireland* *ib*
— had a disaffected Party in it --- 203
— the best Constitution in the World 223
— Laws and Customs of, distinct from all other Courts --- 349
— in *French*, *Parle Mens*, where the Members are to speak their Minds freely — — 364
— Institution of, in *England*, as antient as the *Britons* — *ib*
— call'd *Hyrskrythen*, why — *ib*
— by the *Saxons*, *Wittena Gemots* *ib*
— both Houses of, came before the King (*Richard* II.) and impeach'd *Michael de la Pool*, Earl of *Suffolk* 368
— Court of, the higher it is, the greater the Obligation to proceed by the Rules of Reason and Justice 373
— two Houses of, Difference between in 1701 — — 377
— fomented without Doors 378
— to keep up Feuds between them, is laying the Axe to the Root of the Constitution — 381
Parliamentary Religion, what i 481
Parma, Prince of, his Letter to the Magistrates of several Cities on the supposed Death of the Prince of *Orange* — — 58
—— appointed Governor of *Flanders* iii 309
Parry, forms a Design to kill Queen *Elizabeth* — i 365
—— Dr. accused of Treason, how dealt with by the House of Commons ii 65
Participle, solicited both by *Amo* and *Poeta* — — i 15
—— assists both, but sides with neither 16
—— refuses to treat with *Amo* 17
—— takes several Legions of Verbs Prisoners — 19
—— his Speech to the Soldiers after the Battle — 26

	Vol.	Pag.
— ſtrange Expreſſion of an *Italian* to his Prince	ii	485
Preface to *John Bull*'s Will, addreſs'd to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*	i	393
Preliminaries to the Peace prejudicial to the *Britiſh* Intereſt	ii	121
Prerogative, ſafe when kept in its natural Channel	iii	266
Preſbyter, a Title of more Dignity than Biſhop		363
— the ſame Order		364
Preſbyterian Eloquence, how employ'd	i	9
— Government the beſt in the World		492
Preſbyterians, their Hopes of an Eccleſiaſtical Revolution under King *James* I. fruſtrated		273
— grown inſolent		455
— Miniſters in *Scotland*, their rough Anſwer to K. *James*'s Demands		457
— againſt a Comprehenſion		268
— their Addreſs to King *James* II.	ii	360
Preſbytery, where hatch'd, and how grown to a Head	i	120
Preſs ſhould be regulated	iii	78
Pretender permitted to reſide in *Lorain*	ii	143
— Part of his Declaration on the Death of the Queen		145
— Proofs of his Birth ought to have been undoubted		286
— Witneſſes to, ought to have had ocular Demonſtration		289
— *French* and *Italians* not competent Witneſſes		290
— but Perſons of noble Birth and Ladies of Quality		191
— Numbers of Witneſſes ſhould have been more conſiderable		293
— which of them were diſqualified by Law to give Evidence		294
— Papiſts, as Enemies to the Princeſs of *Orange*, not legal Witneſſes		296
— Teſtimony of the King and Queen not lawful		297
— Proteſtants might have been call'd		299
— negative Proofs not neceſſary		300
— no Grounds of the Queen's Conception		302
— ſhe miſcounts her Reckoning		*ib*
— her contrary Stories about it		303
— had no competent Witneſſes of the ſtirring of the Child		304
— had no Appearance of Pregnancy beſides her cocking Belly		*ib*
— ſuffer'd no Proteſtant Ladies to ſee her change her Linen		305

Preten-

	Vol.	Pag.
Participle, ſues for Peace	i	27
—leaves the Diſpute to the Arbitration of three eminent Perſonages		28
— who give their final Judgment in Preſence of both Parties		*ib*
Partition Treaty, if obſerv'd, muſt have produced a War	iv	277
— equally deſired on all Hands		279
— ſtipulated that both *France* and the Emperor ſhould be ſatisfied in Part		286
Parts of a State, what	ii	218
Paſquil on *Lewis* XIV.	iv	38
Paſſive Obedience a ſimple Thing	iii	307
Paſtorals, Uſe of	i	198
Patres, why the *Roman* Senators were ſo call'd		363
Patriarchs of *Conſtantinople*, *Antioch*, *Alexandria* and *Jeruſalem*, muſt pay Allegance to the Pope	i	339
Patronages, in *Scotland*, taken away by Act of Parliament	iv	112
Paul IV. Pope, aſcribes the Inquiſition to the Inſpiration of the Holy Ghoſt	iii	291
— affirms that the Authority, *&c.* of the *Roman* Church depends only on the Office of Inquiſition		*ib*
Paulden, William, Capt. takes General *Rainſborough* Priſoner	ii	475
— *Thomas*, Capt. follows K. *Charles* into Exile		477
— comes to *England*, is betray'd, ſent to the *Gatehouſe* and eſcapes		*ib*
— return'd with K. *Charles* on his Reſtauration		*ib*
Paulet, Marq. of *Winchester*, his merry Reaſon for keeping in the Service of four Princes ſucceſſively	i	357
— he and the Earl of *Pembroke*, always of the King's Religion		358
— had like to have loſt himſelf in the Marriage of his Son		*ib*
Pedagogues, their Buſineſs		8
Pedemontanes, who drink the Water of the *Alps*, always born with a Frog to their Brother	ii	432
Peers have no Right to adviſe the King but when he makes them of his Council	iii	355
— ſeveral Proteſtant, offer their Service to the Duke of *York*		356
— when turned out of Place, cry out againſt the Government		372
— and foment Jealouſies among the People		*ib*

Pen-

Vol. Pag.

Pretender, no Notice given of the Time of the Queen's Delivery ii 306
— Princeſs of *Denmark* at *Bath* at the Time — — *ib.*
— cunning Contrivances at the Time of her ſuppos'd Delivery — 307
Prevarication deteſtable to the antient *Roman* Patrons — i 33
Prieſts, knaviſh and Time-ſerving, the Bane of their Country — 113
— of a perſecuting Spirit — 114
— of Divine Appointment — 383
— contrived a great Belly for King *James*'s Queen — ii 285
— their Tricks to change Succeſſions 286
Prieſtcraft in Perfection — 460
Prieſthood not above a Deaconſhip, nor inferior to Epiſcopacy — iii 372
Prime Miniſter employs only Perſons at his Devotion — 485
Primitive Chriſtians, their different Caſe as to Subjection and Obedience — — 595
— always paid Obedience to thoſe in Poſſeſſion of the Government *ib.*
Prince, his Ignorance inexcuſable, and his Patience a Vice — ii *ib.*
— in what Caſe he may be reſiſted and deſtroy'd — — iii 528
— when depoſed ceaſes to be a Prince — — iv 87
— may not continue a War at the Pleaſure of his Confederate 380
— takes his Meaſures (in Leagues and Confederacies) from the preſent Poſture of Affairs — 381
— ſo in private Contracts — [342]
— extraordinary Caſes propoſed [343]
— Honour of, a nice and delicate Thing — — 384
— more ſacred and dear to us than a Parent — — 432
Princes, three weak ones ſucceſſively in *England* — — 23
— ſhould be eſteemed as earthly Gods — — 298
PRINTING, Excellence and Miſchiefs of — — 459
Prior, Mat. Inſtructions for his Conduct — — ii 120
— ſent to *England* by the *French* King on a ſpecial Meſſage — 135
— carries back a Letter from the Queen — — *ib.*
— owing to him we gave up the *Newfoundland* Fiſhery. — 138

Vol. Pag.

Pennant, John, diſſected for a ſtrange Diſeaſe — — ii 425
— the ſtrange Condition of his Intrails — — *ib.*
— a Worm, or Serpent, upon the Heart — — 426
— a Deſcription of it — *ib.*
— is put into the Body and buried with him — — 427
— was three Years in growing 429
— how produced — 434
— his Eye ſharp like that of a Serpent — — 435
Penry, executed for libelling Church Government — 454
Penſioners to *France,* diſperſed everywhere thro' the Kingdom — iii 373
— by decrying Popery and arbitrary Power, endeavour to introduce both — — 374
People of *England* were worſe off by the Revolution than they would have been under King *James* --- iv 48
— Inclinations of, variable — 118
— Generality of, go to Chuch and Meeting indifferently — *ib.*
Pereat Papa, or Reaſons againſt a Popiſh Succeſſor — iii 305
Perjury and all Wickedneſs planted here by *Henry* VIII. and his Daughter — — 254
Perkin Warbeck, truly *Richard* D. of *York,* Son to *Edward* IV. --- 401
Perrault's Opinion of *Homer* and *Virgil* iv 164
Perrot, Sir *John,* a Favourite to Queen *Elizabeth* — — i 368
— ſent Deputy to *Ireland,* and does good Service — -- *ib.*
— try'd for High Treaſon — 368
— claims Kindred with the Queen and is acquitted --- --- 369
— his diſreſpectful Words of the Queen — — *ib.*
— dies ſuddenly in the *Tower* --- *ib.*
Perth, Earl of, his favourable Audience of Mad. *Maintenon* ---- iv 259
— gives Account of the great Fleet fitted out by the *French* King -- *ib.*
— propoſes Ways to facilitate the Return of King *James* — *ib.*
— encourages a Landing from the Fewneſs of the *Engliſh* Troops 261
— recommends to K. *James* an Underſtanding with the Earl of *Arran* *ib.*
— thinks it for the King's Service that the Court Party prevail — *ib.*

Vol. Pag.

Privateers, Encouragement for — iv [261]
Prizes taken from the Enemy, how to be diſpoſed of — 258, 9
Proceedings in Parliament on ſtating the publick Accounts 1702 — iii 324--328
Præmunire, Statute of, made againſt Encroachments of the Court of *Rome* 436
Project for a Comprehenſion — i 262
— for ſuccouring *Savoy* loſt — iii 542
Propoſal for ſuppreſſing Wickedneſs and Debauchery — i 56
— for a Regiſter of all Popiſh Families in *England* — *ib.*
— to reform the Clergy — *ib.*
— for improving the Revenue — 201
— for a Coalition between the Church of *England* and *Rome* — 211
— to erect a Fiſhery — ii 391
— Advantages of — 392
— a Means of leſſening Taxes — 393
— Money to be raiſed for it — *ib.*
— for Regulations in the Government of King *William* — iii 16
— for raiſing 20,000 Seamen without Impreſſing — iv 250
— Benefit of to the Nation — 251
— Reaſons of it — 254
— Practicability of, demonſtrated — 260
— for better Care of diſabled Seamen 263
— Savings by it — 264
— to prevent Frauds in the Diſpoſal of Prizes — [260]
Propoſitions condemn'd by the Parliament at *Oxford* — iii 223
Protection and Allegiance reciprocal Duties — i 314
Protector, his Declaration for a Faſt iv 457
— his Warrant for ſeizing Mr. *Portman* — 527
— voted illegal by the Houſe, and Mr. *Portman* releas'd — 528
Proteſtants ſhould requeſt the Prince of *Orange* to demand a Publication of the Evidence of the Pr. of *Wales*'s Birth — ii 313
— and that the Princeſs's Chaplain ſhould not pray for him — *ib.*
— ſhould pray his Help againſt the King's Invaſion of their Laws — 314
— and that the antient free Government of *England* be reſtored — 319
— and that the Cuſtoms, *&c.* of *London* be re-eſtabliſhed — 320
— their Proteſtation againſt depoſing their lawful Sovereign *James* II. [364]
— their Apology for their Loyalty to King *James* — iii 19
— Doom

Vol. Pag.

— his Advice with reſpect to the Army — *ib.*
— inſiſts on other Things as abſolutely neceſſary — 262
Peter, Bp. of *Wincheſter*, by ruining the E. of *Kent*, is made Prime Miſter — ii 177
— brings the King into Diſgrace with his People — *ib.*
— ſent diſgraced to his See — 178
Peterborough, E. of, Extract of his Letter to Q. *Anne* — iv 417
Peters, Father, has a Diſpenſation from *Rome* to be made a Biſhop 461
Petition of the four Inns of Court to the Houſe of Commons — 236
— of the County of *Buckingham* againſt Popiſh Lords and Biſhops 37
— of the Mariners for Excluſion of Popiſh Lords and Biſhops from Parliament — 38
— of the Lords and Commons to his Majeſty, 1642 — 48
— his Majeſty's Anſwer, juſtifying the Meaſures he took for his own Defence — 50
— of the Grand Jury at the Aſſizes for *Berkſhire* — 103
— of the Gentlemen of *Yorkſhire* againſt billetting Soldiers — 105
— of Rights exhibited to K. *Charles* I. 250
— the King's Anſwer thereto 252
— a ſecond, for a more explicit Anſwer — 253
— the King's Anſwer thereto *ib.*
— and Addreſs of the general Court at *Boſton* in *New England* to K. *Charles* II. — iii 9
— recommend themſelves as Exiles to the King, who was himſelf an Exile 10
— ſupplicate his Protection of their civil and religious Privileges, granted them by K. *Charles* I. — *ib.*
— their Reaſons for tranſporting themſelves into that remote Wilderneſs *ib*
— deſtroy the Quakers in their own Defence — 11
— leave their native Country to enjoy Divine Worſhip without human Mixtures — *ib.*
— to the King, puniſhable by Act 13 *Ch.* II — 104
— an infallible Rule to avoid the Puniſhment — 108
— humbly preſented, never thought ſeditious. — *ib*

Vol. Pag.

— Doom of, in Popish Times iv 219
— in Q. *Elizabeth*'s Reign, assist the *French*, *Scots* and *Dutch*, against their oppressing Princes 576
— in *France*, thought it lawful to repel Force by Force 577
Protestant Religion all over *Europe*, endanger'd by K. *James*'s Restoration iii 412
Provision for a large annual Issue in Perpetuity ii 27
— for keeping the Kingdom's Representatives uncorrupt 441
Prudence gives a Man Respect and Confidence iv 392
Prynn, William, Extracts from his Collection of Parliament Writs 443
Prynne, Mr. his Letter to the General 1648 iv 409
— demands by whose Authority he is imprison'd 410
— threatens to sue the General and his Officers *ib.*
— sends him to learn Justice of *Festus* and the chief Captain in the *Acts* 411
— his Prescription to recover the Kingdom and Church from Confusion, 1659 423
Psalm, satirical, on *O. Cromwell* and other of his Party i 429
Publick Security an insatiable Monster 12
— Spirits, the Term misapplied 95
— Credit, Essay on, by *Robert Harley*, Esq; ii 1
— its Operations 2
— depends on the Management of Treasurers, Exchequers, and Parliaments 4
Puckering, Lord Keeper, his Censure of the Puritans i [114]
Pudsey, Sir *George*, Recorder of *Oxford*, his Speech at the swearing of a new Mayor iv 395
Punishment, to proceed from mere Necessity i 199
— of Ministers, the Work of Parliaments 268
Puritans, worse Persecutors than the Bishops ii 525
— why so called 560
Putrefaction, its Cause and Effects ii 240
Pye, Sir *Robert*, forsakes the Army when it opposed it self to the Parliament i 24
Pym, Mr. his Expressions against the King justified by Parliament i 10
— his Prevarication 19

— the Way we apply to the King of Heaven iii 108
— so instructed by the Church 109
— never was a Law to forbid Subjects to petition their Prince *ib.*
— Denial of, would be dangerous to the King *ib.*
— and Advice of several Lords to the King 270
— express their Sorrow for the frequent Prorogations of Parliament, whereby the Examination of the Popish Plot was discouraged 271
— are griev'd that the King had summon'd them to *Oxford*, where neither Lords nor Commons could be in Safety *ib.*
Petitioning to Parliament authorized by Act 13 *Car.* II. iv 310
— Manner of, directed by that Act 311
— not forbid by the Inquisition of *Spain* *ib.*
— allow'd by the Divan of the *Turks* *ib.*
— the said Act farther explained 359
Pettyfoggers to be punished ii 233
Pharaoh Necho slain, and his Army routed iii 26
Pheron cur'd of Blindness, by washing his Eyes with the Water of a chaste Woman i 194
Phidias and *Archimedes*, their Dispute about the Statue of *Venus* i 292
Philander, a famous *French* Architect 262
Philip de l'Orme, his Method of curing smoaky Chimneys 280
Philip II. of *Spain*, General of the Jesuits, and the first King of that Order iii 459
— depopulates his Dominions and sacrifices his Son at their Instigation *ib.*
— obtain'd Licence for his Subjects to fish on the North of *Ireland* iv 425
Physicians, Directions of, to their Dissector ii 440
— Profession of, the noblest and wisest of all others 441
Pictures, whether a proper Ornament for the Outside of Houses i 289
— how placed, to be seen to Advantage 290
Pierce of *Gaveston*, for his evil Deeds and Counsels, first banished and afterwards beheaded ii 117
Pierrepont, *William*, his Speech on the Impeachment of Sir *Robert Berkeley*, a Judge of the *King's Bench* 280

	Vol.	Pag.
Pythagoras, a Chronological Account of his Life	iii	139
— famous for his excellent Parts and Discoveries in Science		140
— a Deist		*ib.*
— his Doctrine of the Transmigration of Souls, and the whimsical Migration of his own		*ib.*
— how he remember'd all its Stages		141
— his Artifices to make himself admired		142
— had the Power of laying Winds, Tempests, and Earthquakes —		*ib.*
— the first who boxed according to Art		163
— goes into *Egypt*, is circumcised, and initiated into their sacred Mysteries		164
— goes to *Babylon* to improve himself		*ib.*
— travels to other Parts, and settles a School at *Samos*		165
— came into *Italy*, *Anno* 672, before CHRIST		167
— his Advice to the *Cretans* not to deliver up some Fugitives, Occasion of a bloody War		170
— his Age, Death and Family —		171

Q.

Quakerism, Magick of	iii	214
— Spirit of communicated		215
Quakers, their Sufferings	i	231
— the Statutes on which persecuted		232
— their Notion of a Comprehension		267
— their Children seiz'd with shivering Fits	iii	215
— their Founder a Shoemaker —		*ib.*
— their Tremblings and Quakings accounted for by the Power of Nature		216
Qualifications of a Person to serve in Parliament	iv	409
Quantulumcunque, concerning Money, 1682, by Sir *William Petty* —		73
Quartering Soldiers in Subjects Houses against the Law	ii	[270]
Queen (of K. *Charles* I.) impeach'd of High Treason	i	20
Queries, relating to the Good of the Three Kingdoms, 1659 —	iv	99
Quo Warranto, Exorbitances of, to be restrain'd by Parliament —		67
— against the Charter of *London* —		180
— issuable against Bishops Courts —		242
— brought against most of the Cities and Boroughs in the Kingdom	ii	[272]

R

Rabble, very unruly at Court —	i	10
Rickering offers to shoot the King without Flint or Powder in his Gun	iii	277
Pitch made of a Stone in *Shropshire*	iv	431
Plague in *London*, Numbers died of in 1592, 1603, 1625, 1630, 1637, 1665	iii	53
— approved Remedies for —		57
Plain-dealing is a Jewel		363
Plastique, Art of, how used —	i	293
Plays have refined our *English*, and instructed the Ignorant in our own History		197
— several excellent recommended		*ib.*
— strange Accidents at seeing a Play		200, 1
— in great Vogue in the Times of *Edward* VI. Q. *Mary* and Q. *Elizabeth* —		202
Plot to assassinate King *William*, how laid, and where to be executed	iv	177
— discover'd by Mr. *Pendergrass*		*ib.*
— alarms the Parliament, who address the King upon it		178
— occasions an Association in the House of Commons		*ib.*
— and an Act that the Parliament should not be dissolved on the Demise of the King		*ib.*
Plots, several sham ones trumped up by the Rebels in the Grand Rebellion	i	404
Poeta, King of the *Nouns*		9
— quarrels with King *Amo* for Superiority —		*ib.*
— his Preference in Oratory —		10
— his odd Character		11
— denounces War against K. *Amo*		12
— commands all his Subjects to arm		13
— his Auxiliaries and Leaders —		*ib.*
Poets, excluded by *Plato* from his Common-wealth		11
— antient, Tragic and Comic, *Greek* and *Latin*		176
Policy is the Art of Government	ii	214
Political Nobility		238
Polygnotus, one of the most antient Painters	i	288
Pompey's magnificent Theatre —		186
Pontefract Castle, how it was taken	ii	471
— the strongest in *England*, the antient Seat of the Dukes of *Lancaster*		*ib.*
— the first Attempt to take it fails		472
— the next succeeds —		*ib.*
— Governor of, surrenders to Capt. *Paulden*		*ib.*
— taken and soon after besieg'd again		473
— retaken and demolish'd —		477
Poor's Rates of *England*, their annual Amount — —	iv	423

Raleigh, Pope.

	Vol.	Pag.
Raleigh, Sir *Walter*, his Discourse about Marriage	i	412
Ranelagh, Lord, Paymaster to K. *William*'s Army, his Accounts pass'd by Privy Seal	ii	59
Reason the best Proof	iv	391
Reasons why his Majesty should pass the Bill of Exclusion	i	94
— for the frequent Dissolutions of Parliament by K. *Charles* II.		118
— against prosecuting Protestant Dissenters		366
— for changing the Ministry, and dissolving the Parliament, 1710	ii	271
— against passing a Bill for enabling Strangers to exercise their Trades in certain Places		396
— for taxing the publick Funds 1716	iii	440
Rebellion broke out in *Ireland*	i	12
Reconciliation of Dissenters with the Church, a Model for		380
Recorder of *Northampton*, his Speech on the Renewal of their Charter		178
Reflections on the Prince of *Orange*'s Declaration		292
— answer'd		303
— on the present State of the Nation		245
— on K. *William*'s Letter to the Earl of *Portland*		365
— on the Earl of *Shaftsbury*'s Commitment		134
Reformation, good at first, but may be amended	iii	199
— in State, never out of Season	ii	248
— accomplish'd by regular Steps		514
— in Religion, begun by King *Edward* VI.		559
— during the Usurpation	iv	104
Regulation proposed to Parliament to prevent Abuses in Payments	iii	523
Relation of the Archbishop of St. *Andrews* Murder	i	385
Relicts of Popery still among us	iii	173
Religion, Reformed, at first often varied	i	59
— a chief Support of Civil Government		97
— Protestant, not secure under a Popish Prince		98
— the common Cry of Rebels		213
— frequent Alterations of, nothing more dangerous		263
— the main Stroke of the Revolution		323
— Difference between Popish and Protestant renders us less formidable to *France* than formerly	iii	504
— necessary for a Wit	iv	3

Religion,

	Vol.	Pag.
Pope, neither God nor Man	iv	91
— his Power to dispense with Consanguinity in Marriage		257
— his passionate Remonstrance against the *Scots* Covenant		323
— highly applauds the Zeal of the *English* Primate in his Service		324
— and for exalting the Hierarchy of the Church of *Rome*		325
— and for the Service Book which he would have imposed on *Scotland*		*ib.*
— blames the too forward Zeal of the Bishops in *Scotland*		326
— complains of the horrid Abuse of the Service Book when first publish'd there		*ib.*
— and of the obstinate Aversion of the People to the *Romish* Persuasion		327
— all his Hopes scatter'd by the Covenant		*ib.*
— raves at their Impiety for excommunicating the Bishops		329
— fears the Covenant will prove fatal to the Papal See		*ib.*
— bewails the hard Fate of the suffering Bishops		330
— absolves them from the Sentence of Excommunication, and pardons all their Sins		*ib.*
— absolves *English* Subjects from their Allegiance		331
— encourages the Conclave to take Heart		*ib.*
— boasts his Power over Kings and Kingdoms		332
— all Kings and Princes must obey his Summons		340
— admonish'd to exert his Power boldly in Behalf of the Church		341
— and to send an Apostolick Nuntio to *Britain*		*ib.*
— and to pity the poor Prelates who suffer'd for the Catholick Cause in *Scotland*		343
— by his Bull discharges Q. *Elizabeth*'s Subjects from their Allegiance		362
— declares our King's Dominions forfeited to him	iii	263
— empowers the titular Archbishop of *Dublin* his Legate, to take Possession of *Ireland*		264
— so delighted with the Massacre of the *Hugonots*, that he has it painted in his Palace		293
— every Year excommunicates Heretick		300

Popery,

	Vol.	Pag.
Religion no Conſtraint to Sedition and Rebellion	iv	299
— no Government can ſtand without it		*ib.*
Remarks on Mr. *Addiſon*'s Book of Travels	i	334
— on Mr. *Agate*'s Sermon upon Paſſive Obedience	iii	574
Remonſtrance and Petition of *Engliſh* Proteſtants againſt *Engliſh* and *Iriſh Papiſts*	ii	248
Remonſtrances to the King, by the People, illegal	i	11
Rendering and Paſſing of Accounts, Difference between	ii	54
Reply to the new Teſt of the Church of *England*'s Loyalty	iii	427
Report of the Commiſſioners for ſtating the publick Accounts in 1714	ii	94
— their Examination of Contractors for cloathing ſix *French* Regiments		94, 5
— Mr. *Moore*'s Account of the Contract		96
— diſcovers ſeveral Frauds		98
Repreſentative, a Warranty of the People's Liberties		441
Repreſentatives of the People, their Number, and how diſtinguiſhed		442
— why more in the Weſtern Part than elſewhere		443
Republicans, care neither for King nor Church	i	107
Republicks, how to be treated with		361
Reputation, without deſerving it, is but Honour lent	iv	392
Reſiſtance opens a Way to Rebellion and Confuſion	iii	531
— anſwer'd		532
— Archbp. of *York*'s Judgment of it		572
— of the Biſhop of *London*, and the Clergy of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, 1710		573
— Hiſtory of		*ib.*
— practiſed by the Clergy in Queen *Mary*'s Days		576
— cannot be legitimated even by the ſupreme Powers	iv	144
Reſtauration, the Bleſſings of	iii	179
— whether given us in Mercy or Anger		180
Reſumptions, no new Cuſtom		107
— in the Reigns of *Edward* III. and *Henry* VI.		*ib.*
Revenue, Branches of, great and ſmall	ii	19
— Iſſues out of		22
— annual Income of		*ib.*
Popery, Principles of, incompatible with any other Religion	ii	158
— and Slavery, two Siſters	iii	211
— and Preſbytery equally deſtructive		252
— the only Idol that ſupports the Brethren's Cauſe		262
— has ſtifled the *Engliſh* Spirit in the *Engliſh* Papiſts		302
— try'd, convicted, and condemn'd for High Treaſon, 1680.		311
— the Indictment read		*ib.*
— excepts againſt Holy *Scriptures* as a Witneſs, and ſubſtitutes *Good Works*		312
— Names of the Jury		*ib.*
— the Charge open'd by the Attorney General		313
— its firſt Riſe, Progreſs, and cruel Practices		314
— makes Exceptions to the Juſtice of the Court		315
— the Judge's Charge to the Jury		316
— Sentence pronounc'd		*ib.*
— not to be eſtabliſh'd in *England* without a Civil War		360
— triumphant in *Ireland*	iv	21
Popiſh Plotters, at their Execution deny'd the King-killing Doctrine	iii	253
— Plot, as ſworn before the Parliament		262
— chief Deſigners of		*ib.*
— Funds eſtabliſh'd, and large Sums given to accompliſh the Deſign		263
— Narrative of, in Verſe		272
— King in *England*, muſt not hold the Reins of Government alone		298
— muſt be ruled by thoſe who have the Conduct of his Conſcience		*ib.*
Populace love to hear great Men ſpoken ill of	iv	232
Popular State, is Government by the choicer Sort of People	ii	216
— Rules to preſerve it		233
Portland, E. of, impeach'd for negotiating the Treaty of Partition	iv	387
Portman, Sir *William*, and others in the *Oxford* Parliament, turn Addreſſers againſt themſelves	iii	328
Portugal, K. of, by diſcovering a Paſſage to the *Eaſt-Indies* by the Cape of *Good Hope*, diverted that Trade to *Liſbon*		436
Power, judicial, radically and originally in the King	i	498
— of governing, of divine Inſtitution	iv	214
— of the Sword as much the King's Right as any other Appendices of the Crown		216

	Vol.	Pag.
Review of the Times preceding Forty-one	i	117
Revival of obsolete Powers, and obsolete Laws, pernicious to King and People	iii	274
Revolution justified	i	312
— standing Army necessary to maintain it		323
— vindicated in a Memorial of King *William* in Answer to two of King *James*'s	i	400
— Charge of, intolerable —	ii	[264]
— Reflections thereon		[265]
— its worst Enemies spared and encouraged	iii	69
— concerted with the Confederacy before the Prince of *Orange*'s Expedition		536
— of what Advantage to *England*		545
Rewards to be dispensed freely to the Deserving	i	199
Rhiming to Death, a Practice in *Ireland*	iv	11
Richard II. deposed	iii	317
— Articles charged against him —		318
— Remarks thereon		*ib.*
— an Apology for —	iv	432
— could have no Successor, himself living		433
— his Mildness the Cause of his being scorn'd		434
— III. an Usurper, made exceeding good Laws	i	121
Richlieu, compared to a great Ship in a Storm —		3
Ridley, Dr. owns and denies the Real Presence —		60
— Bp. his Opinion of Resistance	iii	575
Rights of Election in Boroughs to be ascertain'd by Parliament —	i	67
— not to be settled by a Committee of Elections, but by an Act —		68
— of Majesty, where lodg'd —		342
— and Liberties of *Europe*, not endanger'd by King *James*'s Return	iii	513
Rites and Ceremonies not so establish'd as to be unalterable		262
Rochellers, tho' in Arms against their King, their Success is pray'd for by the Bishops and Clergy of *England*		581
Rochester, Earl of, his Satire against Man	i	55
— taken into Queen *Anne*'s new Ministry —	ii	257
Roffens. Episc. Chronol.	iv	357
Rolle, Mr. a Member, his Goods seiz'd for not paying Tonnage, *&c.*	i	5
Power, from God	iv	255
— one Supreme in every Community		*ib.*
— personal in *England*, how constituted		256
— dissolved three Ways, when King *James* quitted the Throne —		*ib.*
— remains in the Community —		*ib.*
— of the House of Lords and Commons distinguished		336
— of impeaching Ministers, necessary for the publick Safety		342
Powle, Henry, Esq; Speaker of the House of Commons, his Speech to King *William* and Queen *Mary* in the Banquetting House 1689	iii	440
Prelacy, Extirpation of, warrantable and necessary	ii	268
— at best but a human Institution		*ib.*
— Abolition of, desired in the Reigns of K. *James* I. and Q. *Elizabeth*		*ib.*
Prelates of *England* always working the Overthrow of the *Scots* Discipline and Government	i	312
Preparations, what necessary to resist an invading Enemy		229
Prerogative, Royal, to make Aliens and Citizens		166
— how to be regulated —	iii	474
— unlimited, lays all open to the Lust and Pleasure of the Prince —		489
Prerogatives of the King, and Rights of the People ought to be ascertain'd	iv	320
Presbyterian True Blue like *Æsop*'s Cat	iii	354
Presbyterians, in *Scotland* banish'd Queen *Mary*, and begun the Rebellion against *Charles* I.		253
— outdo the *Ignatian* Fathers in *piæ Fraudes*		360
— and Commonwealths Men had the whole Contrivance of the Revolution	iv	105
— in *Scotland*, not join'd by a 5th or 6th Part of the People in 1687 and 1688		107
— dare not summon a Parliament there		111
— nor trust the People with electing their Ministers, unless they first took the Oaths to K. *William* and Q. *Mary*		112
— have little or no Footing in the North of *Scotland*		*ib.*
— their barbarous Usage of the Clergy		113
— disown'd by other of their Brethren		114
— pray for the Conversion of the *English* from Episcopacy		116
Presumption, spirits up Quarrels with the Administration		239

	Vol.	Pag.
Rom. xiii. 2. concerning reſiſting Powers, critically explain'd	iii	593
Roman Catholicks vindicated	i	44
— Sufferers for Conſcience Sake in *England*		45
— their Petition to the Rump Parliament		50
— Empire, its Fall to what owing		55
— when diſſolved, every People choſe a Repreſentative	ii	441
— Catholicks, to ſerve King *James*, ſhould declare for Civil Securities on his Return	iii	281
— Antiquities, found in St. *George*'s Fields	iv	32
— Catholick Principles, in Reference to God and the King		[212]
— Church, its Qualifications		[213]
— Emperors, ſubject to the Authority of the Senate		430
Romaniſts make a *Babel* of the Church of God	iii	366
Romans, ſubmit to *Numa*'s Laws, becauſe dictated by a Divinity	i	97
— conquer'd the World by their ſtrict Adherence to Religion		*ib.*
— puniſh'd Traitors with the Ruin of their whole Race	iii	76
— their Cuſtoms to bury without the Walls	iv	27
— their common Cuſtom to bury their Dead		*ib.*
— had two Sorts of Triumphs, each deſcribed		151
— their Cuſtom of ſetting up one Emperor againſt another	i	29
Romiſh Religion, a bloody one		221
— Principles of its Profeſſors		222
Rook and his Turkey Drove, almoſt caught by a Vulture		139, 146
Roſs, Lord, betrays the Secrets of his Party	i	495
Royal Aid, the Scale of repreſenting Boroughs	ii	451
Rules to diſtinguiſh the true Religion	i	59
Rump, their Adminiſtration the Admiration and Terror of the World	iii	17
— or *Cromwell*, which the greateſt Tyrant		416
— of what Advantage to the Nation		419
— their Perfidiouſneſs to *Cromwell*'s Son		420
Rupert, Prince, forces *Briſtol*	i	20
— relieves *Newark* and *York*		23
— is routed at *Marſton-Moor*		*ib.*

S.

	Vol.	Pag.
Price, Elizabeth, her Oath of ſeeing an Apparition	iii	99
Prieſts and Friars, their deſperate Malice againſt the *Engliſh* and *Iriſh* Proteſtants		91
— their Treachery in getting their Goods and then murdering them		92
— force Parents to murder their Children and Children their Parents, Wives their Huſbands and Huſbands their Wives		94
— teach *Iriſh* Children to kill *Engliſh* Children		*ib.*
— their Barbarity to ſome Proteſtant Miniſters		95
— burn and deſtroy Bibles		*ib.*
— inveigle Proteſtants to turn Papiſts, and then cut their Throats		96
Prince, ſhould ſometimes ſit in the Place of publick Juſtice	ii	225
— ſhould uſe his Subjects Purſe with Conſent of Parliament		*ib.*
— ſhould compound Diſſentions among his Nobles		*ib.*
— ſhould have Learning ſuitable to his Birth		*ib.*
— not to practiſe too often the Sophiſms of Policy		227
Princes, their Denials muſt be ſoften'd with gracious Uſage		178
— may be depoſed, but the Depoſers are Traytors		461
— none ever broke thro' the Laws, but were ruin'd and loſt their Crown	iii	383
Prinne, Wiliam, his Charge againſt King *Charles* I.	ii	478
— anſwers Objections from the Old Teſtament, and the Example of Primitive Chriſtians		*ib. to* 481
— alſo a Paſſage in *Tertullian*, much inſiſted on		479
— and a Speech of St. *Ambroſe* againſt *Auxentius*		480
Priſoners of State, for Suſpicion, cruelly uſed	iv	75, 6
Privileges of Parliament, the general Cry of the City, when the King went there	i	409
— unheard of, new coin'd		*ib.*
— Breaches of, what	ii	30
— none grantable for Treaſon, Felony, and Breach of the Peace		64, 445
Privy Council, Uſefulneſs of in the State	iv	334
— Counſellors, their Officers and Buſineſs		332

Project

	Vol.	Page
S.		
Sabbath and Lord's Day ſpecifically different	iv	318
— Morality of erroneous		319
— Objections to, anſwer'd		320
Sacheverel, Dr. his impolitick Conduct	ii	9
— his Sermon, why taken Notice of		250
— his Trial occaſions Changes in the Miniſtry, and a Diſſolution of Parliament		250, 1
— the Riots it occaſion'd not chargeable on High Church		264
— declaims againſt the Proteſtant Succeſſion	iii	75
— pinn'd upon a Pariſh bigger than moſt Cities in *England*		78
Sacrament, us'd to qualify for Employments, an unwarrantable Prophaneneſs		205
Saint Jean, his Prophecies of the Calamities that ſhould befal *France* and *England*	iv	442, 3, 4
St. Lo, Geo. Capt. his Hardſhips when a Priſoner in *France*		246
St. John, Mr. his clandeſtine Practices in negotiating the Peace	ii	121
— betrays the Queen's Councils to *France*		122
— ſends Orders to the D. of *Ormond* not to fight		126
— his ſmall Regard for Trade in treating of Peace		*ib.*
— made a Viſcount		147
— his Character		257
— his Vote in Parliament a Violation of the Rights of the People	iii	75
Sancroft and *Lamplugh*, the two Archbiſhops, and five other Biſhops, declare for the Prince of *Orange*		586
Sanderſon, Bp. on Oaths of Allegiance	ii	580
Sanguine, the Humour ſo call'd, Effects of	iii	216
Saul, tho' a Perſecutor, is ſpar'd and reverenced by *David*	iv	431
Savoy, Duke of, matching his Daughter to Prince *Henry*, prejudicial to *England*	i	412
— Excuſe of for his Cruelty againſt the Proteſtants	ii	280
— faſt tied to the See of *Rome*		417
— his bad Policy in joining the Confederates	iii	501
Saxons, puniſhed falſe Judges, how		268
— invited hither againſt the *Picts* and *Scots*		455
		Saxons

	Vol.	Pag.
Project to buy the King's Conſent to the Bill of Excluſion	iii	257
— for which Purpoſe a new Set of Miniſters are to be choſen		*ib.*
Proportion in a State, what	ii	217
Propoſal for a National Fiſhery	iv	437
Propoſition in Parliament to impriſon all Popiſh Prieſts and Jeſuits, as Hoſtages for the King's Safety, not unreaſonable	iii	267
Proſecutions for Treaſon out of Parliament, are at the Suit of the King, and pardonable by him	iv	337
Protection and Subjection, how related	i	495
Protector, his Anſwer to Lord *Whitlock*'s Propoſals from Parliament	iii	117
— his dubious Anſwer to the Chief Juſtice		118
— not diſſatisfied with the Parliament's Proceeding to a Settlement		119
— the Inſtrument of his Government requires a Legiſlative Settlement		*ib.*
— Title of, not known to the Law		120
— has no Foundation but in the Inſtrument		121
— gives no Limit to the Chief Magiſtrate		*ib.*
— not poſſible to annex it to the Laws		122
— is unprepared to return a full Anſwer		*ib.*
— not bound by Law, as the King is		123
— his Safety concern'd in taking the Title of King		125
— the People's Servant, and ought not to refuſe to ſerve them under the Title of King		*ib.*
— Tutor or Guardian to another, the legal Notion and Uſe of the Word		127
— cannot do Juſtice to the People under the Title of		*ib.*
— deſires further Time to return an Anſwer to the Committee's Reaſoning		130
— allows their Arguments for Kingſhip of great Force, but not concluſive		131
— undertook his Place rather to prevent Miſchief, than from any Hope of doing Good		134
— compares himſelf to a Conſtable		*ib.*
— cannot in Point of Conſcience accept of Kingſhip		*ib.*
— his Advice to the Earl of *Eſſex* to fill his Army with Men of Religion and Conſcience		135
— his taking the Title of King would grieve many good Men		*ib.*
— alledges Providence for refuſing the Name or Title of King		136
		Protector

	Vol.	Pag.
Saxons reſtore *Ethelred*, on his Promiſe to reign better	iii	457
Saxonum Occidental. Epiſc. Chronol.	iv	352
— *Auſtralium Epiſc. Chronol.*	—	355
— *Orientalium Epiſc. Chronol.*	—	357
Scaliger, his Account of ſtrange Productions	ii	240
— affirms that Souls propagate Souls		241
Scar in a Man's Face, the ſame as a Mole in a Woman's	iv	386
Scargill, Dan. his publick Recantation of his Atheiſtical Errors	i	41
Scheme, to prevent Frauds in Elections		71
Schiſm, how it may be put an End to		384
— a worſe Evil than Hereſy	iv	275
School-Divinity, the Plague of the Chriſtian Religion	iii	336
Schools, two propoſed for the Sea-Service		264
Scots look with an evil Eye on Epiſcopacy in *England*	i	9
— enter *England* with an Army		20
— Covenant		22
— deliver the King to the Parliament		25
— their two remarkable Votes at the Revolution	iii	70
— Privy Council commands the People to furniſh the Army at their own Expence		494
— forced to take Arms	iv	213
— Proteſtants defend themſelves againſt the Queen Regent	iii	576
Scotland, State of	i	451
— Manner of Trials there	iii	268
Scriptures, an ineſtimable Treaſure of Wiſdom and Knowledge	ii	481
— inſtitute no Anniverſary, Holiday, *&c.* for any Man, dead or alive	iii	183
— a Fund of and Subject for Wit	iv	3
— ſtrictly charge Duty and Obedience to Princes		431
Scroggs, Sir *William*, impeach'd of High Treaſon		421
Scylla, forcibly created Dictator		433
Seamen, their Qualifications		250
— fare the better for the Quarrels of the Captain and Purſer		251
— chief Diſcouragement of, is Want of Pay		*ib.*
— not paid their Arrears in King *William*'s Reign	iii	554
Seas, Sovereignty of, to be maintain'd by a good Fleet	i	202
Secretary of State, if a Papiſt, would ruin the Nation	iii	437
— a chimerical Notion		438
Sectaries,		

	Vol.	Pag.
Protector earneſtly deſires a Settlement of the Nation	iii	137
— not once mention'd in the Holy Scriptures		155
— his Speeches in the Conference with the Committee		156, 160
— his Sentiments about the Long Parliament		162
— his Diſapprobation of Committees		163
— why he diſlik'd the Long Parliament		164
— recounts the Evils his Protectorſhip had deliver'd the Nation from		165
— his Anſwer to the Articles referr'd to him by Parliament		166
— finds Fault with their excluding publick Preachers from ſitting in Parliament		167
— his Opinion about the Diſpoſal of the Revenue		168
— his Exceptions to the Article concerning Qualifications for Truſt		*ib.*
— preſſes a Reformation of Manners		169
— his Notions of a publick Revenue		170
— the Settlements made during his Adminiſtration		171
— calculates the Revenue granted for publick Service		172
— his Speech to the Parliament		173
— refuſes to accept the Title of King		174
Proteſtants, Depredations on by the *Iriſh* Rebels, computed	ii	372
— offer'd no Affront or Violence to the Papiſts, tho' violently provoked	iii	268
— all in theſe Nations are Beggars by Law, ſo ſoon as the Pope's Authority is admitted		289
— and all dead Men in Law		292
— their Sentiments as to the Succeſſion, how different from their Predeceſſors	iii	324
— in *Ireland*, chuſing Commanders to head them, without Commiſſion, an Apology for	4	17
— under dreadful Apprehenſions, and many withdraw		21
— many reſolve to abide the Brunt, and wait for Relief		22
— in a moſt deſtitute and forlorn Condition		29
— deceitful Protections granted them		30
— their only Safety in Flight		31
Proteſtant Religion, once powerful in *Germany* and *France*, now at a low Ebb		247
— ſubverted thro' the reſtleſs Malice of its Enemies		248
— a Queſtion what it is	iii	337
Proteſta-		

	Vol.	Pag.
Sectaries, their Disputes about the Garments of Religion	i	53
Sedes Archiepiscoporum in Anglia tempore Lucii Regis	iv	347
Sedition scourged		459
Selden, Mr. his Speech to the Speaker	i	7
Self-defence, an Argument for	iii	525
— Right to, not destroy'd by Civil Laws		527
Self-denial recommended to the Clergy		200
Self-denying Ordinance hard of Digestion	i	24
Seneca receiv'd Encouragement to die from *Paulina*	ii	410
Separation from the Church groundless	iii	258
— Cause of, arose from Ecclesiastical Courts		259
Service of the Church of *England* alterable in its own Nature	i	264
Servius Tullius died 534 Years before Christ	iii	168
Sessions in *Scotland* ended with little Satisfaction to any Party	i	485
Severus, kill'd all the Killers of *Pertinax*		431
Seymour, Lord Protector, sends for an Army of *Lutherans* to secure the Protestant Religion	iii	290
Shaftsbury, Earl of, his Observations about regulating Elections		63
— his Life a comical History		[118]
— his Commitment foretold by *Romish* Priests abroad		135
— not to be condemn'd for the Rashness of others		140
— Articles against him		141
— the Bill against him found *Ignoramus*		142
— his Virtues ironically display'd		153
— his Attempt to be King of *Poland* banter'd		155
— a sad Accident befals him		*ib.*
— a List of the Great Officers of his *Polish* Majesty		156
— his strange Vision		158
Shakespear, no Scholar, yet an excellent Poet	iv	5
Sheriffs enjoin'd to send Precepts to their Boroughs, without mentioning the Towns	ii	444
Sherlock and *Falkner* accused, one as an *Arminian*, the other a *Socinian*	i	54
— Dr. his Notion of Papists		207
— his Reasons concerning taking the Oaths, with Reflections	ii	546
Protestation in 1641, the same in Substance as the Covenant	ii	268
Protogenes, an antient Painter, excell'd in Diligence	i	289
Provisoes, Statute of, defeated by the Pope's Authority	iii	304
Prynn, Mr. his Breviate of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*'s Life shews him to be a great Man	ii	287
— is order'd to prosecute the Charge against the Archbishop		291
Psalm xvi. the strict Propriety of it	i	136
Psamnis Apries, King of *Egypt*, retires without hazarding a Battle	iii	27
Publick Credit, Decay of, embarrasses our Affairs	iv	181
— Causes of, examin'd in Parliament		*ib.*
— who provide an effectual Remedy		182
— Good and Liberty, Words abused to seditious Purposes		214
— Officers answerable for publick Acts		325
— one ought to be a Check upon another		*ib.*
— Treasure wasted in fruitless Expeditions hinders new Supplies in Parliament	i	301
Puckering, Speaker of the House of Commons, his Reasons for taking off the Queen of *Scots*		64
— reports the Commons Answer to the Queen's Message		70
— his Reasons for not complying with the Queen's Request		84
— Lord, accuses the Puritans of urging intestine Commotions	iii	352
Pudsey, Sir *George*, his Speech on being sworn Recorder of *Oxford*		258
Pulse, not caused by the Impulse of the Blood into the Arteries	ii	426
Purgatory, an Invention of Popish Priests to get Money	i	86
Puritans, from an Abhorrence of the Sword, are brought to make it the chief Instrument of their Reformation		399
— intrude themselves into the Common Council before their Time		412
— accused of raising a false Rumour that the King was a Papist	iii	107
Puritan Ministers, Deprivation of, deliver'd lawful by the High Commissioners		106
— deserves the Consideration of the Clergy		107
Pylasters, Dimensions of	i	275
Pym, John, Esq; his Speech on the Impeachment of the E. of *Strafford*	ii	1

Vol. Pag.

Sherlock, Dr. his taking the Oaths to K. *James*, and afterwards to K. *William*, whether consistent with Conscience — ii 547,8
— a Proof of his Weakness, and a bad Example — 548
— his paradoxical Concern for Men's Actions — 549
— Reasons why he should take the new Oath — 550
— gives no Reasons for his not taking the Oaths to K. *William* sooner 552
— retracts his Opinion about Non-resistance — 553
— sold all his Loyalty at the Instigation of a Wife, and for a good Salary — 564
Shrewsbury, Duke of, Chamberlain to Q. *Anne*, quitted in King *James*'s Reign, and was principal Secretary to King *William* — 255
Ship-money, why complain'd of i 4
— condemn'd by Act of Parliament 195
Sidley, Sir *Charles*, his Speech in the House of Commons 1691 — ii 485
— complains of exorbitant Places and Pensions — *ib.*
Sigebert, K. of *West Saxony*, driven out of the Kingdom for his Tyranny — iii 309
Sign of the Cross in Baptism an Addition to the Sacrament — 203
Silk, making of it cheap in *England* hinders not the Exportation of Woollen to *Turkey* — iv 55
Silver and Gold no less a Commodity than other Merchandize — 36
Simon, F. allows the disputed Text in St. *John* to be taken by the *Complut. Edit.* from some antient MS. ii 497
Simonides, born 557 Years before Christ — iii 166
Sin, the Disease and Shame of the Nation — ii [252]
Sixtus, Pope, his New Testament not taken from the MS. recommended by Pope *Leo* — 499
— V. his Oration on the Murder of *Henry* III. of *France* — iv [201]
— will pay that Prince no Funeral Honours — [208]
— affirms his Sin was against the Holy Ghost — [210]
— gives Thanks to God for the Deliverance — 211
Slavery, can only be by Force and Injustice — — i 338

Smart-

Vol. Pag.

Pym, *John*, his Speech on the Charge against Sir *Geo. Ratcliffe* — ii 3
— his Protestation of his Innocency 40
— his Speech on Discharge from the Accusation of High Treason — 83

Q.

Quakers, capital Blasphemers iii 10
— Sentence of Banishment pass'd against them in *New England* — 11
— madly rush on the Point of the Sword — — *ib.*
Quare impedit, Explanation of i 427
Querela Temporum; or the Danger of the Church of *England* — iv 105
Queries concerning the Authors of the Managements in King *Charles* IId's Reign — — iii 370
Quintilian, his Characters of the antient Painters and Sculptors — 288
Quo Warranto's issued against the Cities and Corporations of *Ireland* 21

R.

Rabins, Error about the Age of their first appearing — i 136
— continued throughout all Ages 137
Radcliff, *Tho.* E. of *Sussex*, his Character oppos'd to the E. of *Leicester* 360
— his Caveat to his Friends in his last Sickness — 361
Rainsborough, General for the Parliament, sent to take *Pomfret* Castle ii 473
— is surpriz'd in his Quarters — 474
— making Resistance is kill'd 475
Raleigh, Sir *Wal.* Fortune's Tennis Ball i 372
— his Rise owing to his own Industry *ib.*
— his Person and Parts describ'd *ib.*
— made Captain of the Guard, and high in the Queen's Favour — 373
— his Principles and Maxims of State presented to Prince *Henry* — ii 213
Ratio est Anima Legis — iii 413
Read, Sir *John*, put to the Rack to confess K. *Charles* I. privy to the *Irish* Massacre — ii 393
Rebels find no Room in Heaven 386
Rebellion, Grand, caused an Inversion of all Order both in Religion and Law — — iii 176
— and horrible Abuses in all Parts of the Constitution — 177
— the first Sin of Men and Angels 260
— never truly repented of, a Mistake 339
Recusants, the Name first assum'd by Roman Catholicks in Q. *Elizabeth*'s Time — — i 362

Redress

	Vol.	Pag.
Smart-money, to the Wounded, detain'd	iii	555
Smith, of *St. Sepulchres*, insults the Protestant Succession		75
Smyth, Sir *Tho.* of the Power of Parliaments	i	378
Sobieski, his Services for *Poland*		154
Socinians, their Objection to a Comprehension		268
Socinianism, few Churchmen give themselves any Trouble about it	iii	177
Socrates learn'd his Philosophy from *Diotima*	ii	409
Soldiers, how miserably used	iii	556
— bold in their Courtships	iv	368
Solon, Archon at *Athens*, 594 Years before CHRIST		165
Somers, Lord, his Vindication of the Parliament in 1689	ii	341
Song, made on K. *William*'s Parliament	iii	5
Soubise, D. of, a Protestant General, assisted by the *English* against his Master		580
Sovereign Majesty protects the Person of the Prince from all Assaults	iv	430
— secret Thoughts against punish'd with Death		*ib.*
— a Madman that assaults him adjudg'd to deserve Death		*ib.*
Sovereign's Greatness (in *England*) depends on the People's Love	ii	346
Soul of the World, and of particular Souls		229
— is the Mosaical Spirit		230
— compar'd to the Wind in an Organ		*ib.*
— called in Scripture the Spirit of God		236
— the Opinion of *Plato*		237
— the Cause of Animal Life		239
— Human, incapable of Propagation		242
— Creation of, improbable		*ib.*
— deriv'd from the Mundane Soul		243
— Objections to, answer'd		*ib.*
— its Perfection and Happiness	iv	392
— and Body act one upon another	iii	210
South America, the only inexhaustible Fountain of Gold and Silver	ii	399
— engross'd by *France*		*ib.*
— Trade to, more proper for *Great Britain* than any other Nation		*ib.*
— Interest of *Spain* to admit *Great Britain* into it exclusively		*ib.*
— Commodities proper for		400
Spain not so potent as reputed	i	417
Spaniards allow'd to fish on *Newfoundland* contrary to Treaties	ii	139
— their boundless Ambition	iv	399
Speech		
Redress of Grievances, a State Craft	iv	237
Reflections on the Conduct of *Great Britain* in the late War	iii	388
— on the Lords Petition to the King 1688		427
— on the Administration, when managed by *Dutch* Councils	iv	62
Reformation in Religion, how wrought in *Scotland*	ii	195
Reformed Churches, all hold Resistance lawful	iii	307
Reformers (in *Oliver*'s Time) agree that Monarchy is the best Form of Government, why		114
Refugees, *Walloon* and *Burgundian*, planted at *Norwich*, *Colchester*, and *Canterbury*, made those Cities rich		433
Regal Power in *England* and *Scotland*, on what founded		474
Regality of the Crown of *England* is only subject to God	ii	144
Relation of the Jesuits Plot to murder the two Chief Justices, Privy Council, and all Protestants in *Ireland*		378
— of a strange Monster found on the Heart of a young Gentleman, by Dr. *May*		425
Religion may be made a pernicious Art	i	297
— how to discern the true from the false	ii	26
— Innovations in, tending to Popery in K. *Charles* IIst's Time		159
— Prosecutions and Punishments for, of sundry Kinds		160
— dearer to the *English* than all their other Rights and Privileges		317
— how to know which is best		418
— the Christian preferable to all others, why		*ib.*
— that is barely tolerated, may lawfully be put under Restrictions	iii	488
— treated with but little Ceremony at the Revolution	iv	44
Remarks on some disloyal Proceedings 1699		197
Remonstrance on the sad State of *Ireland*, by Dr. *Jones*	ii	313
Remove of Ministers the Way to come at their Masters	iii	89
Replevin, staid by Injunction of the Judges	ii	276
Representation of Danger that threaten'd *Gr. Britain* before the Revolut.	iii	447
Resistance to the King, in Defence of Religion, an Evangelical Truth	i	402
— owned and maintained by the Chiefs among the Dissenters		403

	Vol.	Pag.
Speech without Doors, by a Plebeian	i	124
— to the Prince of *Orange*, by a Proteſtant		346
— of an honeſt Commoner	iii	11
— in the H. of C. againſt a Naturalizing Bill	iv	272
Speeches that were never ſpoke	i	122, 3
Stamford. E. of, his Army defeated		20
State of the Nation (in K. *William*'s Reign) a State of Force	ii	[258]
— Reflections thereon		*ib.*
— of War and the Peace in Q. *Anne*'s Reign		34
— of the five and thirty Millions mention'd in the Report of the Committee of the H. of C. 1710		53
— Accounts of the three preceding Reigns brought into it		54
— really no more than 7 Millions and a half		55
— which is reduced to leſs than four and a half		65
— of the Expence of Q. *Anne*'s War from Beginning to End		108—113
— of Nature in a State of Equality	iii	527
— when Popiſh, has ſet aſide Princes of that Religion	iv	97
States General, Juſtification of, from the Charge of the H. of C. in 1712	ii	154
— their Memorial to the Queen on the ſame Subject		165
— their Stipulation for a Proportion of Forces never put in Execution		167
— their Sea-Armaments proportion'd to thoſe of *Great-Britain*		170
— their Diſproportion accounted for		171
— their Quota's agreeable to Treaties		172
— their Diſproportion of Land Forces juſtify'd		174, 5
— vindicated from the Charge of not prohibiting Commerce with *France*		178, 9
— have no Benefit from the conquer'd Provinces		179
— fulfill'd their Engagements in the Service of *Portugal* and *Spain*		181
— not deficient in their Subſidies		183, 4
— their Declaration about the Prince of *Orange*'s Expedition	iii	22
— deny their Preparations were againſt *England*		*ib.*
— in aſſiſting the Pr. of *Orange*, acted contrary to Treaties		537
— their Ambaſſador declares he knows nothing of it		*ib.*
— they own it and juſtify themſelves		*ib.*

	Vol.	Pag.
Revenge, the Reſult of a canker'd and impotent Mind	iii	255
— ought never to influence a Prince		*ib.*
Revolution, Obſervations on	iv	43
— a Remedy worſe than the Diſeaſe we complain'd of		51
— accompliſh'd by the viſible Hand of Providence		258
Rewards and Reprehenſion, juſtly laid, ballance a Government	ii	186
Rhee, Iſland of, a vaſt, ſtrong, ill-favour'd Place		466
Rich, Sir *Charles*, refuſes Quarter in the Repulſe at *Rhee*		469
Richard I. raked more Money by unparalell'd Taxes than any King before him	iv	399
— II. in the firſt of his Reign, purſues the Steps of his Grandfather, *Edward* III.	ii	245
— calls ſeveral Parliaments to conſult with about Peace and War		246
— is taken Priſoner by *Henry* D. of *Lancaſter*, who ſummons a Parliament in the King's Name	iv	37
— ſpar'd neither lewd Example, nor vile Action, to follow cruel Counſel		400
— III. Praiſe of, by Sir *Wm. Cornwallis*	i	246
— Nature too intent on forming his Mind to regard his Body		*ib.*
— faithful to his Brother, *Edward* IV.		248
— his murdering the D. of *Clarence* only a Suſpicion		*ib.*
— his killing the Heir of the Houſe of *Lancaſter* juſtified		*ib.*
— not to be charged with the Death of *Henry* VI.		*ib.*
— juſtly executed the Relations of *Edward* IV.		249
— is perſuaded by *Buckingham* that his Brother *Edward*'s Children were Baſtards		*ib.*
— his Juſtice in executing *Haſtings*		250
— falſely accus'd with commanding Dr. *Shaw* to preach a Sermon to his Purpoſe		*ib.*
— his charging his Mother with Adultery, no great Matter		251
— crown'd with the Applauſe of Peers and People		*ib.*
— his great Liberality		*ib.*
— no Epicure, nor given to any Exceſs		*ib.*
— more good Statutes in his three Years Reign than in 30 Years before		250
— his Charge to the Lords and Gentlemen after his Coronation		252

	Vol.	Pag.
States of *Holland* revolt from the K. of *Spain* their natural Sovereign		578
— offer to transfer their Allegiance to Q. *Elizabeth*		*ib.*
— conclude Peace with *Spain* without *France* their Ally	iv	385
Statesmen, their Intrigues in King *Ch.* II's Reign	i	53
Statute of Provisors (*Edward* III.) made against the Usurpations of *Rome*	iii	433
Stephen, K. advanced to the Crown before *Maud*		76
Stephens, *Robert*, his Criterion in setling the Texts of the New Testament	ii	192
Stesichorus died 556 Years bef. CHRIST	iii	166
Steward, Abstract of his Letters to Mr. *Fagel*	ii	311
Stockjobbing, whence it arose		12
Stocks, Rise and Fall of, in Q. *Anne*'s Reign, to what owing		269
Storks, pious Patriots	iv	136
Strafford, E. of impeached of High Treason	i	9
— carried on with great Heat by the House of Commons		*ib.*
— advises the D. of *Ormond* how to behave to the *Dutch*		139
— his Speech at his Execution	iv	448
— also one intended to be spoken on that Occasion		449
— Lord, instructed to give the *Dutch* evasive Answers	ii	122
— his Conversation with the *Hanoverian* General		129
Subjects of *Israel* and *Judah* took Oaths to their Kings	iii	94
— of *England*, without Breach of Catholick Principles, may renounce the Doctrine of deposing Princes		[214]
— ought not to be Slaves to their Sovereign	ii	347
— ought to be equally capacitated by Law for Trusts	iii	430
Succession of the Crown settled upon Protestants by K. *William*	ii	350
— the Clause for that Purpose		*ib.*
— in Government often limited by the People		567
Suckling, Sir *John*, his Observation on the Humour of the *English*	iv	483
Sugar Plantations, Case of		394
— our Inducement to plant them	ii	*ib.*
— Advantages of to *England*		*ib.*
— the *French* and *Dutch* follow our Example		395

Sugar,

	Vol.	Pag.
Richard III. his Ambition not criminal	i	253
— victorious over the *Scots*		*ib.*
— the murdering his two Nephews free'd the People from Dissensions		254
— that he contriv'd the Death of his Wife, a slanderous Accusation		256
— his Lenity to one *Fogg*, who had counterfeited his Royal Hand and Signet		*ib.*
— never revenged any Injury to himself		*ib.*
— is reconcil'd to the Mother Queen		*ib.*
— spares the Son of Lord *Stanley*, tho' the Father revolted		259
— heroically prepares to encounter his Competitor		*ib.*
— his dreadful Dream the Night before the Battle at *Bosworth*		260
— Remarks on his Oration to his Soldiers		*ib.*
— fights like a Lion		261
— is slain, and his naked Body dragg'd thro' the Field		*ib.*
— a Monster of Lust and Cruelty	iv	400
— the first that used the Oath, *God damn me*		401
Richmond, Countess of, plots against K. *Rich.* III.	i	258
Right Line, a *Noli me tangere*	iii	307
Robberies and Cruelties committed by the *Irish* Rebels on the Protestants	ii	343
Robertson, *Duncan*, runs away with the Bp. of *Galloway*'s Daughter	iv	90
Roman, one who bought a Field when *Hannibal* was at the Gates	iii	179
— Law for an Assault		194
— Emperors, most of them dethroned by their Generals		358
— Catholicks, discontented about the Act of Settlement in *Ireland*	iv	17
Romanists best Doctor, or an infallible Remedy for all Popish Diseases	iii	111
— remarkable Cures performed on some		112
Romans, changed their Form of Government till they lost their Liberties	ii	82
— would not permit the Magistrates to take their Wives into the Provinces, why	iii	181
— their Custom in waging and defending Suits at Law		*ib.*
— in freeing themselves from the seeming Tyranny of *Cæsar*, made Way for a real one		250
— their unshaken Constancy after the Battle of *Cannæ*	4	177

Rome,

	Vol.	Pag.
Sugar Plantations, Impositions on, an Advantage to *France*	iv	395
— Customs upon, their Ruin		*ib.*
— no Duties upon in *Cromwell*'s Time		396
— Impositions on, must be borne by the Planter		*ib.*
Summons to Parliament as forcible as a Writ	i	350
Superstition, natural History of	iii	206
— takes its Rise from something innate in the Mind		207
— Heathen Theology, Prognosticks, and Divination owing to it		208
— its dreadful Effects in Religion		222
Supreme Power may be lodg'd in Lords and Commons without a Controller		343
Surplice, abominably abused in the Church of *Rome*		203
Susarion made his first Comedy at *Athens* 562 Years before CHRIST		165
Sweden breaks the Peace with *Denmark*	ii	583
— chief Men of, Pensioners to *France*		278
Switzerland better peopled than rich *Lombardy*		240
Symnel, Lambert, counterfeits the E. of *Warwick*		286
Sympathy and Antipathy, surprizing Effects of		213

T

Tabula Chronologica Archiepiscopatuum & Episcopatuum in Angliâ & Walliâ	iv	344,5
— *explicata*		347-358
Tacitus, his Notion of Succession in a Government	i	86
Talicotius, his Experiment upon animal Inoculation	ii	243
Tarbat, entrusted with a large Power by the Pr. of *Orange*		490
— offers 5000 *l.* to get a Cessation of Arms		494
Tate, Mr. his Parable concerning the Corruption of the Army	i	23
Taxes, laid to satisfy the *Scots* and disband the Army		8
— Essay on, by the Marq. of *Hallifax*	iv	63
— Rules observ'd by our Ancestors in collecting		64
— the dignified Clergy taxed double to the Laity		*ib.*
— Nobility treated favourably		*ib.*
— Usurers, Tradesmen and Freeholders rated more strictly		65

Taxes

	Vol.	Pag.
Rome, her politick Arts to propagate her Faith	i	342
— new Titles fatal to the Liberties of	iii	156
— preferr'd the Title of *Cæsar* to that of *Rex*		*ib.*
— has changed Faith with *Carthage*		299
— the Capital of GOD's Kingdom upon Earth	iv	194
Romulus first brought Plays into *Italy*	i	178
— chose a hundred Senators to assist him in the Government	iv	263
Roofs, great Judgment required in building of		288
Rooms, how to be proportioned		282
— not to be furnished with too many Pictures		290
Roscius, a *Roman* Actor, had a daily Allowance from the Exchequer	i	191
di Rozetti, the Pope's Nuntio in *London,* Intelligence from		343
— tells his Holiness of the terrible Blow given the Mitre by the Covenant		344
— foresees infallible Ruin to Popery from the Conjunction of *England* and *Scotland*		345
— dreads the Power of the *English* Parliament		346
— complains that their most faithful Friends are shut up in Prison		347
— fears that the *English* will join the *Hugonots* in *France*		*it.*
— bewails the Contempt with which Popery is treated in *England*		348
— deplores the Madness of the People in forsaking Tradition, and sticking to the Scriptures		349
Rules, to judge of good Building	i	295
de Ruyter, Admiral, his miraculous Deliverance when an Infant	iii	221

S.

Sadduces, their Note on *Moses*'s Writing	i	137
Sail-Cloth, made at *Fulham,* equal to the *Holland* Duck	iv	431
St. Andrews, Bp. of, his Murder gloried in by the Presbyterians	iii	253
Santa Giustina, a Church in *Padua,* commended for a Piece of good Architecture	i	266
Santa Catalina, an *English* Settlement, destroy'd by the *Spaniards* without Cause		385
Salt-Rocks in *Cheshire,* not long since discover'd	iv	431
Satisfaction for Sins, how to be made by the Confessed	i	84

Saul,

	Vol.	Pag.
Taxes, common Artificers and Labourers usually exempted from	iv	65
— Equality observ'd in the Imposition		*ib.*
— Commissioners of, unconcern'd in the Places where they acted		*ib.*
— Land-Tax, Inequality of (in K. *William*'s Time) not to be borne with		66
— Malt-Tax, no Inconvenience in		*ib.*
— Poll-Tax, the antient Way of taxing		*ib.*
— upon Funds may be tried		67
— General Excise impracticable		*ib.*
— such an Excise most proper to the *Dutch*, tho' destructive here		68
— does not answer the ordinary Charge of the *Dutch* Government		69
— Difference of Excise in *Holland* and *England*		*ib.*
— Pound-rate most reasonable and suitable to our Constitution		70
— Subsidies, antient Form and Method of		*ib.*
— Tenths and Fifteenths, what		71
— Collection of a Subsidy easily done		72
— not to be compar'd with *French* Slavery	iii	213
Temperance gives a Man Health	iv	392
Temple, Sir *William*, his Remarks on the *Dutch* Government		17
Tertullian, his Rule in judging of Matters of Faith		369
Test, contrary to the Rights of Peerage	ii	509
— answer'd		*ib.*
— not the Loyalty in, 1675, that raised the greatest Opposition to it		*ib.*
— Law for, to what and whom owing		510
— the incompetent Authority of those who enacted it		511
— a new one of the Church of *England*'s Loyalty		557
Tests, why dislik'd by K. *James* II.	i	296
Thales died 548 Years before CHRIST	iii	166
Thankfulness to God for his Servants deceas'd, improper		187
Themistocles, his two Gods	i	128
Thespis made the first Tragedy at *Athens*, and acted it on a Waggon	iii	168
Thirtieth of January, keeping of, contrary to Law and true Religion		172
— superstitious		173
— Instances out of the Old Testament to support it, not to the Purpose		184
— parallel to Popish Feasts		188
Three Royal Cedars	iv	467
Throne, whether vacant while the King lives	i	316

Throne,

	Vol.	Pag.
Saul, Kingdom of, remov'd from his Line and Tribe	iii	307
— and *David*, had a divine Designation, yet were chosen by the People	iv	255
Saunders, a Lawyer, censured for criminating the Jury that acquitted the Earl of *Shaftsbury*	iii	329
— to be recorded for his Merit for endeavouring to render Juries useless		330
Savoy, D. of, his Cruelty to the Protestants owing to his Bigotry		449
Saxons, their Laws and Customs preserved after the Conquest	ii	107
— treacherously kill the *Britons* at a Meeting on *Salisbury* Plain	iii	429
— all Protestants, but the Prince turn'd Papist	iv	247
Scandalum Magnatum, lies against the Libellers of K. *Charles* I. and his two Sons	ii	389
— the Party cannot justify tho' the Words be true	iv	354
Scipio, *Cicero*, *Seneca*, and others, suffer'd for the Good of their Country		89
Scotland, formerly subject to *England* as a Dukedom	i	424
— miserably subjected	iii	211
— their Lives, Liberties and Estates sequester'd to the Will of the Government		212
— and *Ireland* will rejoice at a Civil War in *England*		248
— not govern'd by Presbyterian *Domine's*		250
— its Nobility and Gentry hardly dealt with		441
— its richest Counties plunder'd and harrass'd by the barbarous Highlanders		442
— its Confusion and Disorders under Prelacy		520
Scots, limited in speaking in Parliament	i	168
— have no Common Law		*ib.*
— have three Sorts of Laws		*ib.*
— King of, has no Negative Voice in Parliament		*ib.*
— their League with *France* of antient Standing		169
— Army raised by Proclamation		171
— Commissioners, their Charge against *Canterbury* and Lieutenant of *Ireland*		304
— their Demand concerning the Sixth Article		316
— Army come into *England* for Reparation of Injuries		317

Scots,

	Vol.	Pag.
Throne, vacated for a pretended Desertion of the Prince	iii	467
Tiberius, his crafty Conduct with regard to his two Successors	i	86
Tillotson, Dr. charged with acting contrary to natural and revealed Religion	ii	[242]
— advised to explain King *James*'s Title		[244]
— accus'd of Apostasy		[245]
— his Letter to Lord *Russel*		*ib.*
— his Arguments for Nonresistance		[246]
— his Prayer at the Execution of Lord *Russel*		[247]
Timothy, no other than a Presbyter tho' a Bishop	iii	367
Titles of Honour to be valued by the Virtues of the Owners	i	126
— now like the Titles of Books	iv	391
Time, what, and when it began		401
Titus ordained none but Presbyters	iii	362
Toad found in a Free Stone, and in the Heart of an Oak	ii	241
Toleration granted to Dissenters by K. *Charles* II.	i	117
— an Addition to the Church	iii	228
Tonnage and Poundage levied by the King's Prerogative	i	5
Torcy, M. his Opinion of the Renunciation of *Spain* and the *West Indies*	ii	125
Tories, moderate, and old Whigs oppose the new Whigs		263
Tornadoes, Showers of, bring forth noxious Creatures		241
Trade, the Apple of Discord between *England* and *Holland*	i	360
— whence deriv'd	ii	2
— perplex'd for Want of a Specie		*ib.*
— the *British* in antient Times		*ib.*
— Complaint that the *Dutch* run away with it, groundless		343
— Foreign or Domestick, not increasing the Value of Lands, to be rejected	iv	35
— wax and wane together		36
— thrives best in Protestant Countries		48
— a great Means of preserving our Religion, Liberty and Property		49
— regulated as the *Turkey* Company, what		*ib.*
— Joint Stock preferable		50
— Scheme of, as carried on between *England* and *France* 1674		536
— Rules for managing it to the best Advantage of the Nation		546
— Declension of, owing to the Declension in Goodness of Manufactures		547

	Vol.	Pag.
Scots, distinguish between the Kingdom and Parliament, and by whom their Destruction was attempted	i	318
— pray to be reimburs'd their Expences		319
— treat with the Peers about their Demand		320
— are made acquainted with the Supply granted for their Relief		322
— solemn League and Covenant approved by King and Parliament	ii	269
Scripture, several Texts of, perverted to a wrong Sense	i	134,5
Sculpture, how to judge of its Beauties		288
— Rules for placing of it		291
— a vast Abundance of it in *Pliny*'s Time		292
Sea, free for every Body	iv	426
Seclusion of Ministers, an old Trick		242
Sedition, to dispute what a King may do by his Power	ii	191
— defined; Causes of		235
Seditious, being disappointed, rave against the Ministry	iv	234
— abuse the Ministry without making good their Charge		*ib.*
— find Fault with Ministers, that they may get their Places		235
— Self-interest at the Bottom of all their Raree-shews		*ib.*
— slander the Administration with Shrugs and Nods		236
— make their Necessities the Cause of promoting Discontents		*ib.*
— Clubs, raise unnatural Heats and Jealousies		216
Seneschalsey, or High Stewardship, the greatest Office in *England*	ii	109
— antiently in the Family of the E. of *Leicester*, and translated to the House of *Lancaster*		*ib.*
— established in *England* by the *Normans*		113
— a Description of the Office as executed in *Normandy*		*ib.*
— also in *England*		115
— had Power over the Chancellor and all other Officers		116
— how executed after its Extinction		118
— Tenor of the Patent for		*ib.*
Sergeant at Arms, his Power uncontroulable	iv	52
Servants, how they may be profitably employ'd		433
Shaftsbury, E. of, his Speech in the House of Peers	iii	204
— pleads strenuously for the Rights of the Peers		206

Vol. Pag.

Trade, Remedies propoſed — iv 547
— ought not to be reſtrain'd by needleſs Prohibitions — *ib.*
— to the Plantations ſhould be provided for — 548
— Fiſhing to be encouraged — *ib.*
— advantaged, if Perſons Properties, *&c.* were better ſecured — *ib.*
— a Court Merchant propoſed — 549
— Admiſſion of *Jews* to the Privileges of Natives, prejudicial to — *ib*
— of Hawkers and Pedlars to be prohibited — *ib.*
— of Stockjobbing to be ſuppreſs'd 550
— lowering Intereſt, an Advantage to 551
— advancing Merchants to Places of Honour and Truſt, an Encouragement to — 552
— *Spaniſh*, what it furniſhes — 553
— *Portugal* and *Italian* — *ib.*
— *French*, Diſadvantages of — 554
Trading Merchants not the beſt Judges of Trade as it relates to the Kingdom — 34
Trajan's Bravo at the Delivery of his Sword to an Officer — 143
— ſtamp'd on the *Scots* Coin — *ib.*
— evacuates all the Ties of Allegiance 144
Traitor can never be truſted — i 443
Tranſmigration confounds the Immortality of the Soul, and Reſurrection of the Body — iii 142
Tranſubſtantiation, a probable Opinion i 225
— repugnant to Scripture, and the Occaſion of many Superſtitions ii 511
— a diſtinct Idea, or Notion of, impoſſible — 512
— plainly renounced by our Church 513
— has nothing to do with Government iii 437
Treaſon, ſeveral Kinds of — iv 460
— none *ex poſt facto* — 464
Treaſurer (in Q. *Anne*'s Reign) an excellent Manager — ii 5
— of the Navy, not blameable for unavoidable Delays in his Accounts 60
— turn'd out — 273
Treaſury, how concern'd in the Proceſs of the Exchequer — 61
— Copy of a Warrant for ſtopping Proceſs — *ib.*
— Uſe and Neceſſity of — 62
Treaty delay'd at *Utrecht*, while carried on at St. *James*'s — 125
— of Commerce between *England* and *France*, Obſervations on — iv 558
Treby, Sir *Geo.* Recorder, his Speech to the Prince of *Orange* — ii 321

Vol. Pag.

Shaftſbury, E. of, exhorts them to vindicate their Privileges — iii 208
— another Speech of his in the Houſe of Peers — 211
— the Evidence at his Trial miſrepreſented — 322
— Aſſociation of, ſet up as a Man of Straw to fight againſt — 328
— circumſtantial Proof that it was not his — 329
— not probable he ſhould make ſuch mean Perſons, as alledg'd, his Counſellors — *ib.*
— inſiſts, that a Liſt of his Papers ſeiz'd might be agreed upon, but refus'd — *ib.*
— proved inconteſtably to be his — 333
— frequently termed a Cat — 335
— not raiſed from a mean Fortune 341
Sham Conſpiracies againſt the King and Government, none avouch'd with the Accuſers Names — 322
— Stories and Pretences by King *William*'s Party — iv 62
Sheriffdoms and Regalities, in *Scotland*, a great Hindrance to the due Execution of the Laws — ii 198
Shew me the Man, and I will tell you the Cauſe, a Proverb in *Scotland* iii 344
Ship-money, not grounded on any Law or Precedent — ii 165
Shore, Sir *Barth.* Manager in a Conference with the Lords — iv 386
Sicily, Crown of, awarded to the younger Brother — iii 305
Sidney, Sir *Philip*, a Piece of his Ingenuity — i 296
— his Extraction, Education, and incredible Proficiency in all Learning 363
— highly in the Eſteem of Q. *Elizabeth*, who would not ſuffer him to accept the Crown of *Poland* — 364
— his deplorable Death — *ib.*
— *Algernoon*, on Bribery and Corruption — iii 81
— his lively Deſcript. of K. *Char.* II's luxurious and vicious Reign — 81, 2
Sigiſmund, the ſecond crowned Head in the Jeſuit's Order, is abdicated by the *Swedes* for his Cruelties — 459
Sins, chiefly reigning at Court iv 238
Skippon, Serj. Maj. Gen. ſummon'd to attend the King, is prevented by Votes of the Houſe of Commons ii 311
Sligo, all the Proteſtants there robb'd and inhumanly murder'd — iii 96

	Vol.	Pag.
Trevor, Sir *John*, expell'd the House of Commons for Bribery —	ii	254
Trials of some Fanaticks, or Fifth-Monarchy Men —	iv	520
Tribe of *Levi* would turn Monarchy into Hierarchy —	iii	176
Trinity, Mysteries of, not explicable by human Reason —		335
Turkey Companies, their Admission, a Prejudice to the Nation —	iv	35
— have no Reason to complain of the *East India* Company —		41
Turner, Sir *Edw.* Speaker, his Speech to the King, 1661 —		102
— his Speech after the King's Approbation of him —		103
Twenty-ninth of *May*, compar'd to the Children of *Israel*'s Feast of the Golden Calf —		178
Two Roses, Contention between, the Devastations it occasion'd —		461
Tyranny, various Sorts of, before the Restauration —	i	54
— its dreadful Effects in *Egypt*, *Greece* and *Italy* —	ii	438
— a nearer Resemblance of Royalty than a Prince's Servitude —	i	486
Tyrconnel, Viceroy of *Ireland*, true to the Catholicks —		253
Tyrone, Earl of, impeach'd of High Treason —	iv	421

V. U.

Valerius rebuked for suffering St. *Austin*, a Presbyter, to preach before him	iii	375
Valley of *Baca*, a seditious Pamphlet	iv	478
Valour anatomiz'd, by Sir *Philip Sidney* — —		386
— the best Recommendation to the Fair Sex — —		*ib.*
— Definition of —		388
Vane, Sir *Henry*, defeats the Message sent to the King at *Theobalds*	i	11
Vermination in human and other Bodies, a Proof of spontaneous Generation — —	ii	241
Verres, his villainous Boast —	i	37
Verses fasten'd to the Gates of St. *Patrick*'s Church at the Dean's Installment — —		391
— on the Thunder at the Coronation of King *Charles* II. —	iv	516
Victor IV. Pope, calls a General Council about the Schisms of electing Popes —		366
Victory at St. *Malo*'s, an Accident —		112
Vindication of the E. of *Shaftsbury*	i	153
Vines, Small Pox, call'd the Flocks, described and cured — —	ii	435
Smallbones, *John*, Proceedings against for tearing a Petition to be presented to the King —	iii	100
Socrates, suffer'd for doing Good to his Country —	iv	88
Soldiers, their Honour that they acquiesced under all the Changes of Government —		145
— not usually Politicians —	iv	127
Solemn League and Covenant —	i	476
— Imposition of, contrary to the Nature of a Covenant —		480
— contains several Contradictions		490
— Reformation of Worship proposed by it, an Abolition of the whole Form — —		491
— Designers of, had something more in View than what they express —		492
— contrary to the Nature and End of an Oath — —		493
— contrary to the End of Speech, of the Covenant, and the solemn Profession made in it —		*ib.*
— Salvo's for, equivocal, and a mocking of God — —		494
— framed at the Instance of the *Scots*		*ib.*
— Copy of —	ii	270
Somers, Lord, his putting the Great Seal to the Treaty of Partition, one Article of his Impeachment —		389
Somerset, Earl of, Favourite to King *James* I. rais'd from a cast-off Page to the highest Honour —		404
— split on the Rocks of Dishonour, Adultery and Murder —		*ib.*
— his loose Life offensive to Pr. *Henry*		*ib.*
— tells his Keeper, the King durst not bring him to his Trial —		405
— suspected of a Confederacy with the King to poison Prince *Henry* —		*ib.*
— his Estate seiz'd on for the Murder of Sir *Tho. Overbury*, worth more Money than all *Scotland* —		*ib.*
Sophisms of a barbarous and profess'd Tyrant — —	ii	228
— of a sophistical and subtil Tyrant		229
Sovereignty, Power of, in what consisting — —		442
Soul, Immortality of, but little believ'd before the Gospel —	i	140
Spain, despoil'd by Q. *Elizabeth*, plays her Politicks on her Successor —		298
— *Charles* III. K. of, his Letter to Q. *Anne*, with an Account of his Successes —	iv	413
Spain,		

	Vol.	Pag.
Vines, Rev. his Sentiments concerning King *Charles* I.	iv	216
Virgil, of the Soul of the Universe	ii	238
Virtue gives a Man Perfection and Felicity	iv	392
Votes of the H. of Commons, an extraordinary one relating to the Papists	i	50
— commented upon		*ib.*
— angry, alienate the People's Hearts from the King		96
— that *London* was burnt by Papists		117
— for a Bill of Association by all Protestants		149
— often wrested to a wrong Meaning	ii	53
— charging the States General with Deficiencies in their Quota		164
— of the Convention, limiting the Succession	iii	485
Vulture threatens the Western World with Rapine	iv	137
— terribly grappled by the Royal Eagle		139
Union, great Sums expended about	ii	268
— a vast Accession of Strength to *England*	iv	120
Urfini, Princess, has a Principality given her	ii	138
Usher, Archbishop, his Predictions	iv	444

W

Wales, Pr. of, his Legitimacy doubted	i	299
— vindicated		*ib.* & 300
— Presumptions of his Legitimacy to be well founded, before his Right be set aside		324
— justly suspected		408
— his Birth no Imposture	iii	42
— asserted to be an Imposture		49
— never enquired into by Parliament		482
— tho' referr'd to by the Prince of *Orange*'s Declaration		546
— Suspicion of an Imposture groundless		483
— Injustice done him by the Convention		484
— if truly born of K. *James*'s Queen cannot affect the Right of K. *William* and Queen *Mary*	iv	89
Waller, Sir *William*, made a General	i	17
Walters, Mrs. of too low a Quality to be married to King *Charles*		78
— her Pedigree in Heraldry makes a better Figure than either of the D. of *York*'s Dutchesses		79

War

	Vol.	Pag.
Spain, K. of, relates the Bravery of her Troops at the Siege and Taking of *Barcelona*	iv	414
— his banishing the *Moors* a Prejudice to all Christendom	ii	333
Spaniards, their Design to convert *England* as they had done the *West Indies*	iii	468
— have their *Cortes*	iv	361
Spanish Match, broke off by the D. of *Buckingham*	i	300
— Colonies in the *West Indies*, an easy Conquest	ii	173
— Inquisition, the World's Hell	iii	260
— Ambassador, could prove that K. *Charles* II's Queen would have no Children		346
Speaker of the House of Commons, his Speech to the King 1660		15
— his summary Account of the Acts presented for the Royal Assent		16
Speech of a Commoner in the Convention		424
— of a Peer in the H. of Lords 1689		441
Spelman, Sir *John*, his Discourse concerning the Duties of Prince and People	ii	66
Spencers, their Sentence of Banishment by the Lords and Commons		108
— held that Ligeance was more due to the King's politique Capacity than to his Person		443
— a Tenet condemn'd by two Parliaments		*ib.*
— held that an incorrigible King may be imprison'd	iii	23
— hinder'd the King from receiving and answering Petitions		109
Stair, Lord Visc. receiv'd into the Faculty of Advocates, and promoted by King *Charles* II.	iv	91
— composes a System of the Civil Law		*ib.*
— made President of the Session		92
— refuses to adjourn the Session to meet the Duke of *York*		*ib.*
— draws up a Test for Preservation of Religion, Liberty and Property		*ib.*
— is in Disgrace		93
— dismiss'd from his Employment, and retires to his Country House		*ib.*
— oblig'd to fly to *Holland*		*ib.*
— slights a Remission sent him by K. *James*		*ib.*
— came over with the Prince of *Orange*		94
— re-establish'd in the President's Chair		*ib.*

Stair,

	Vol.	Pag.
War (*i. e.* the Grand Rebellion) first began in Paper	i	12
— with *Holland* justified		118
— of K. *William* and Q. *Anne*, remarkable above all our other Wars	ii	11
— Charge of, levied within the Year		12
— Q. *Anne*'s, annual Expence of for the first five Years, and five Years following		34
— Proportion of the Forces for it between *England* and *Holland*		35
— Allies of, deficient in their Quota's		*ib.*
— *Great Britain* burden'd by it beyond its natural Strength		*ib.*
— an immense Debt incurr'd thereby		*ib.*
— become impracticable		86, 7
Warrington, Lord, exclaims against the Management of K. *William*'s Affairs	iii	72
Wars, waged by the Protestants in *Germany* and *Hungary* ruinous to themselves		505, 6
Warwick, E. of, one of the Committee that waited on K. *Charles* at *Theobalds*		11
Water, the Principle of all Things, held by *Thales*	ii	237
Ways and Means practis'd by Parliament to raise Supplies	i	18
Webb, General, his Bravery rewarded	ii	259
Welch, induc'd to entertain a Prince because he did not understand *English*	iii	106
Wells, Bp. of, turn'd out of his own Court by his Chancellor		383
Wentworth, Lord, his Letter to the E. of *Doncaster*	i	283
— Sir *Thomas*, his Speech in Parliament 1628	iv	446
— his second Speech		447
Westminster, the last mitred Abbey	i	58
Weston, Lord Treasurer, charged with being the Head of the Papists, Jesuits, &c.		6
Whig, State and Religious, distinguish'd	iii	277
— where, when, and on what Occasion the Name begun	iv	278
Whiggish Jacobites against a *French* Conquest	iii	443
Whigs, why charged with endangering the Church		229
Whitehall, open Tables kept at to entertain Members of Parliament	iv	527
Wickliff escap'd Punishment because there was no Law for it		341
Stair, Lord Visc. observ'd religious Duties in his Family	iv	94
— acquitted of an Accusation of giving an unjust Sentence		98, 9
— Master, his Son, and one *Ramsay*, save a King's Ship from being blown up, for which he is knighted		*ib.*
— oppose Visc. *Dundee*, who was sent to dragoon the Dissenting Party in the West of *Scotland*		*ib.*
— seiz'd and imprison'd on a Suspicion of his corresponding with *Holland*, but releas'd		95
— made the King's Advocate, and from thence degraded		*ib.*
— very active for the Pr. of *Orange* at the Revolution		*ib.*
— made conjunct Secretary of State		96
— accus'd as culpable in the *Glenco* Affair		102
— his Exculpation		103
Stair-cases, true Dimensions and Proportions of	i	279
Standing Armies, as dangerous to the King as the People	iii	434
Stapleton, Sir *Philip*, his Speech to K. *Charles* I.		152
Star-chamber, Court of, can make Constitutions without the King		106
State, is the Frame or set Order of a Common-wealth	ii	214
— in founding of, Proportion or Parts to be observed		217
— none within this Kingdom but the King's Majesty		455
— of Affairs when War commenced with the *Dutch*	iii	85
States General suffer no Papists in Places of Authority and Judicature		477
— their Answer to the Memorial of M. *d'Avaux*	iv	267
— declare their sincere Inclinations for Peace		*ib.*
— had resolv'd to acknowledge the King of *Spain*, conformable to the *French* King's Desire		*ib.*
— acknowledge their strict Alliance with *Great Britain*		269
— justify their putting themselves in a Posture of Defence		270
— never offer'd to make themselves Arbitrators between the Houses of *France* and *Austria*		271
— resolve to maintain their Sovereignty and Liberty against Foreigners		272

	Vol.	Pag.
Wilkinson, Capt. his Advertisement againſt *Booth*'s Evidence —	i	143
William III. negotiates for Troops in *Holland* — —		362
— his civil Uſage of K. *James* II.		401
— declares his Thoughts of the Penal Laws to the King —		*ib.*
— did not interpoſe in the Elections for a Convention —		404
— the firſt Thing he applied his Thoughts to was Acts of Grace and Oblivion — —		*ib.*
— his Opinion that Men's Conſciences ought not to be forced —		405.
— his Moderation to Roman Catholicks — —		*ib.*
— cannot be true both to *Holland* and *England* —		363
— how greatly obliged by *England*		364
— his Ingratitude —		*ib.*
— his Deſign to introduce Foreign Forces — —		365
— wiſhes himſelf a thouſand Miles from *England* —		486
— his Declaration concerning the forfeited Eſtates in *Ireland* —	ii	33
— not complied with, why —		*ib.*
— Garriſons of *Londonderry* and *Inniſkilling*, their Demands upon —		*ib.*
— Liſt of his principal Council —		322
— Proceedings of, vindicated —		341
— his Meſſage to the Convocation		333
— his Letter to the Biſhop of *London* for the Convocation —		334
— his employing foreign Forces in *Ireland* neceſſary; practis'd by *France*		345
— his Inſtructions to the D. of *Hamilton*, Commiſſioner for *Scotland*		382
— not acquainted with the *Engliſh* Conſtitution —	iii	14
— influenced by ill or weak Men —		*ib.*
— his unconſtitutional Methods of governing — —		*ib.*
— governed by the worſt of Tools —		*ib.*
— his Declaration, the original Contract of our new Government —		17
— how much the Nation was better'd by his new Government —		27
— extirpated Epiſcopacy out of *Scotland* — —		31
— his boaſted Frugality explain'd —		35
— Decay of Trade in his Reign —		37
— wholly in the Intereſt of the *Dutch* with reſpect to Trade —		39
— follow'd K. *James* in granting a Toleration to Diſſenters —		47

William

	Vol.	Pag.
States General, will not own that they blindly ſubmit to the Sentiments of his *Britannick* Majeſty —	iv	272
— did not arm before they ſaw their Barrier poſſeſs'd by *French* Troops		273
— their Letter to K. *William* 1701		290
— expreſs their dreadful Apprehenſions from the warlike Preparations of *France* — —		291
— were oblig'd to put themſelves in a defenſive Condition —		292
Statuaries, the moſt famous of Antiquity, their different Talents diſplay'd in their Works —	i	289
Statute, or Act of Parliament, need not be proclaim'd —		427
— negative, binds the Common Law		430
Statutes, excluding *Edward* IV. *Henry* VII. Q. *Elizabeth* and K. *James*, never repeal'd, why? —	iii	248
Stephen, K. infamous for Perjury and his Hatred to this Nation —	iv	398
Steward of the King and Queen's Houſhold, his Office —	ii	119
Stomach, the principal Agent in the Gout, Stone, and other Diſorders	iii	139
Story of two wiſe and good Men at Variance — —	iv	366
Strafford, E. of, his Speech to the Lords in the Tower before his Execution — —	ii	4
— his Caution not to truſt in the Favour of a Prince, or in Self-wiſdom		*ib.*
— his too great Confidence in his own Wiſdom and Knowledge —		5
— wiſhes he had choſe the middle Path		6
— charges his Brother with a Meſſage to his Siſter, Wife and Children		7
— his chearful and undaunted Behaviour on the Scaffold —		*ib.*
— is executed — —		*ib.*
— the Pſalm he read on the Scaffold		9
— his Elegy on himſelf —		*ib.*
— his Petition to the Lords in relation to his Children —		11
— charged with requiring Oaths not preſcribed by Law —	iii	479
Strange, Lord, impeached of High Treaſon — —	ii	308
— his Impeachment order'd to be publiſh'd in all Churches and Chapels in *Lancaſhire* and *Cheſhire* —		309
— *Richard*, a Jeſuit, makes Information of a Deſign to burn the City of *London* — —	iii	264
Strangers, the Neſt Eggs of a foreign Invaſion —	iv	243

Stroud,

	Vol.	Pag.
William III. Character of his Great Grandfather Prince *William*	iii	52
— never inclin'd to make *England* a Commonwealth		59
— advances thoſe who were Friends to King *James*		67
— Allegiance to, agreeable to the Laws and Practice of all Countries		90
— and of our own, and to Reaſon		91
— ow'd more to the Parliament than to his own Policy or Conduct		112
— his Grants without Conſent of Parliament void		113
— to ſcreen himſelf got the next Heir excluded, attainted and abjured		*ib.*
— embraced the Religion eſtabliſh'd, tho' in a different Perſuaſion		261
— his Miniſters unfit Guardians of Liberty and Property		464
— extols the Advantages of the Confederacy		562
— his accepting of the Crown in Prejudice of King *James* not paralell'd by the Caſes of *Henry* IV. and VII. *Edw.* III. and *Rich.* II.		485
— exerciſes a diſpenſing Power in *Ireland*		489
— chuſes his Miniſters from the Actors of the moſt violent Meaſures in the preceding Reign		496
— gain'd no great Honour in ſubduing the undiſciplin'd *Iriſh*		497
— Succeſs of his War, good or bad, detrimental to *England*		499
— his Infraction of the original Contract diſſolves the Oaths of Allegiance to him		514
— his greateſt Glory to reſtore King *James*		518
— characteriz'd as a Tyrant, Violator of Property, and an Uſurper		546
— his Religion, who can tell what?		547
— conſents to aboliſh Epiſcopacy in *Scotland*		*ib.*
— profits himſelf by Religion, by daſhing all Parties one againſt another		549
— his Diſcourſe to his Cabinet Council	iv	112
— his Apprehenſions of *French* Deſigns		113
— and of his own Army for want of Pay		*ib.*
— Loſs of his Confederates		*ib.*
— and their bad Situation		114
— fears the Parliament will give him no more Money		*ib.*
Stroud, his Speech on the Articles of High Treaſon againſt himſelf and others	ii	20
— not protected by the Privilege of free Speech in Parliament	iii	246
Stuart, James, an inveterate Rebel, knighted, and made Lord Advocate	iv	116
— Family of, its Original		403
Subjects, good and bad, how diſtinguiſh'd	ii	27
— none to be hurt in Life or Eſtate without Proceſs at Law		251
— divers impriſon'd and detain'd at the Pleaſure of K. *Charles* I.		*ib.*
— none to be forejudged of Life or Limb againſt the Form of the Great Charter		*ib.*
— ſeveral put to Death contrary thereto		252
— of *England*, their peculiar Privilege not to be tax'd but by Conſent of Parliament		161
— ought not to ſuffer for their Allegiance		446
Succeſſion to the Crown, and a common Deſcent, differ	iii	306
— Alteration of, muſt be maintain'd with a ſtanding Army		381
Sudbury, Bp. kill'd by *Wat Tyler*	ii	299
Superiority and Subordination, the Ligaments of Government	iv	361
Supplementum Chronicorum, a Bundle of fooliſh Jeſts	i	19
Supremacy, Oath of, how it ſtiles the King	iii	24
Suſſex, E. of, an Antagoniſt to the E. of *Leiceſter*	i	353
— appointed Ambaſſador to King *James* I. on the Birth of Pr. *Henry*		430
Sweden, unable to aſſiſt the Proteſtants in *Europe*	iv	247
Switzers make Tables of the dead Bodies of their Enemies to banquet on	ii	93
Sybils, their Prophecies againſt the Church of *Rome*	i	338

T

Tackers, a Liſt of	iv	390
— Character of		395
— are abandon'd Slaves to the Popiſh Religion		*ib.*
— a Female, her Conſcience no heavier than her Fan		*ib.*
— fiſh for popular Applauſe with godly Hooks		*ib.*
— *Engliſhmen* with *French* Hearts		396

	Vol.	Pag.
William III. fears that the People will turn him out and restore K. *James*	iv	114
— his second Discourse to his Cabinet Council		115
— finds it hard to please both Church and Presbyterians		*ib.*
— complains the Parliament is too inquisitive after his Pensioners		*ib.*
— is doubtful of his Confederates		*ib.*
— proposes to send his *English* and *Scots* Forces to *Holland*, and bring the *Dutch* to *England*		117
— the Services he did for *Holland*		126, 7
— his Speech to the States General, and their Answer		141
William the Conqueror, refuses to swear Fealty to the Pope	iii	434
— his pretended Titles to the *English* Crown		459
— never claim'd any Power by Conquest		460
William Rufus and *Henry* I. preferr'd to *Robert* eldest Son of the *Conqueror*		76
Wills, what not good in Law		394
Window-Tax, galling to the Subjects	ii	31
Wishart, Adm. sent with a Squadron to force the *Catalans* to a Submission		141
— sends them threatening Letters in the Queen's Name		*ib.*
Wit, its Effect upon Women	iv	387
Witchcraft, accounted for upon natural Principles	iii	213
Wives, more than suspected of Lutheranism, provided for K. *Hen.* VIII.		288
Wolves in Sheeps-cloathing, who	i	114
Women not inferior to Men in the natural Powers of the Mind	ii	409
— Pride of, redounds from our Baseness	iv	386
Wooden Lords, like *Jupiter*'s Logg sent to the Frogs		39
Woodward, Dr. his Letter to Sir *Chr. Wren*		16
— to Mr. *Tho. Hearne*		30
Wooing by Signs and Tokens implies the Author dumb		387
— Stuff		388
World created in an Instant		400
— not to be consum'd totally by Fire		405
— incorruptible, as held by some Philosophers		*ib.*
— different Opinions of the Fathers about it		*ib.*
— Arguments to prove its Period		406
— Arguments and Authorities to the contrary		*ib.*
— Objections answer'd		407

Worship,

	Vol.	Pag.
Tackers, Fools enough to believe the Pretender has a Divine Right, and Knaves enough to take an Oath to a contrary Government	iv	396
— Anti-tackers, Character of		397
Talbot, made General of the Forces in *Ireland* by the Papists	iii	264
Talmud handles all that is in the New Testament	i	137
Taylor, a strange Discovery made by one		404
Temperament in the Bodies of all Creatures	ii	432
— Difference of in Men's Bodies, to what owing		433
Temple of *Jerusalem* burnt	iii	32
Temple, Sir *William*, his Opinion of the *Dutch* Power	iv	248
Terminus, a common Picture among the *Romans*		290
Tethys Festival, or the Queen's Wake, celebrated at *Whitehall* 1610, at the Creation of Pr. *Henry* Prince of *Wales*	i	211--221
Theatres in the greatest Reputation among the *Romans* in our Saviour's Time		180
— not reproved by our Saviour or his Apostles		*ib.*
— nor by St. *Paul* in his Epistle to the *Romans*		*ib.*
— one erected in the Midst of the *Tyber*		187
— one built for the Camp		188
— also in *Jerusalem*		*ib.*
— Remains of several still to be seen		189
Theopompus, K. of *Sparta*, constituted the *Ephori*	iv	363
Theorems for building Arches and Vaults	i	276
Thespis, the first Tragic Writer		184
Thorpe, Mr. Speaker of the House of Commons, held in Prison, notwithstanding his Privilege of Parliament	iv	367
— a new Speaker chosen in his Room		*ib.*
Throne, upheld by Law and Justice, needs no other Supporters	iii	496
Tiberius, his Reason for not changing his Governors	iv	237
Tycho Brahe, his Concaves in Gardens to view the Stars at Noon	i	294
Timmerman, Anth. a Monk, Examination of, in relation to the Assault on the Prince of *Orange*		51
— his Declaration before his Execution		57
Title, none but that of the Sword ever put in Ballance with Proximity of Blood	iii	358

Title,

	Vol.	Pag.
Worſhip, none lawful of which God is not the Author	iii	213
— of God, ought to be warranted by his Word		194
Wyat, Sir *Tho.* takes Arms againſt Q. *Mary* for breaking her Word	ii	569
X.		
Xanthus, the *Lydian* Hiſtorian, liv'd 540 Years before CHRIST	iii	166
Xenophanes Colophonius flouriſhed 540 Years before CHRIST		168
Ximenes, Card. his Expence, Labour and Aſſiſtance in compleating the *Complutenſian* New Teſtament	ii	492
Y.		
Year 1535, remarkable for the *Geneva* Reformation and ſpawning the Jeſuits Order	i	[113]
York, D. of, govern'd by the Papiſts		75
— charged with ſeveral Treaſons		76
— countenanc'd the Burning the City of *London*		*ib.* & 86
— ſuſpected of a Deſign on the King's Life		77
— diſclaims his Marriage with Mrs. *Hyde*, and afterwards owns it, compar'd with the King's diſclaiming Mrs. *Walters*		85
— obliges the King to neglect the Proteſtants abroad		86
— baſely betrays M. *Rohux* to the Reſentment of the *French* King		*ib.*
— occaſions the two Wars with the *Dutch*		*ib.*
— adviſes the breaking of the Triple League		*ib.*
— betrays the King's Councils to Foreign Powers		87
— co-operated in the Popiſh Plot		*ib.*
— ſuborned the vileſt Miſcreants to ſwear a Plot againſt the Proteſtants		*ib.*
— adviſed Prorogations and Diſſolutions of Parliaments		*ib.*
— promoted the ſuccouring *France*		58
— enrolls and muſters *Engliſh* and *Iriſh* Papiſts		*ib.*
— his Ambition to uſurp the Crown		*ib.*
— his treaſonable Practices againſt the King		89
— ought to be tried for his Treaſons againſt the King and Kingdom		90
— defended againſt the Aſperſions of his Enemies		93
Title, Want of a legal in *Cromwell* and his Son, firſt begot the Device of Addreſſing	iii	496
— to the Crown, if held by Parliament, we have had no Uſurpers	ii	461
Titles by which our Kings are called in the Statute Books		24
Toleration in *Scotland* under ſeverer Reſtrictions than that in *England*	iii	494
— of Diſſenters, the Overthrow of the Church	iv	108-122
Tomſho, by Treachery and Blood, makes himſelf Prince of *Moldavia*	i	221
Tonnage and Poundage not warranted by Law	ii	161
— not a Duty but a Subſidy		277
Tory, Character of	iii	282
— his Arms and Pedigree		*ib.*
— what in the State		*ib.*
Trade begets Trade	iv	436
— and Lands are Twins, which wax and wane together		*ib.*
— by increaſing Wealth, cauſes an Abatement of Intereſt		*ib.*
— like the Sea, often ebbs and flows		437
Tragedies, Comedies, and Hiſtories, Antiquity of acting	i	176
Tragedy, its Derivation		184
— and Comedy, Difference between		195
— Uſe of		197
Tragical End of ſome Perſons of Quality at *Paris* for their Wit	iv	38
Tranſubſtantiation, cautiouſly expreſs'd in the Teſt Act	iii	478
Trenchard, *J.* preferr'd becauſe in the Fanatick Intereſt		114
Trials in Parliament, Time appointed for by the Houſe of Lords		370
— too long Delay of, after Impeachments, of bad Example		373
Truſt, none worthy of, who lives in Defiance to their Creator		315
Truth, in Picture, what	i	287
— hardly to be found, and dangerous to ſpeak it		397
Turenne, M. repulſed by Gen. *Montecuculi*	iii	359
Turkey, People of, hold all their Lands of the Crown		437
Turkiſh Soldiers, how ſtrangely infatuated with the Hopes of *Elyſium*		114
Tyranny, none comparable to that of a ſeditious Multitude	iv	206
Tyrconnel, Dep. Lieutenant of *Ireland*, diſbands his Soldiers, and entertains them again		16

Vol. Pag.

York, Duke of, his Obedience when commanded to leave the Kingdom — — i 93
— one fined 500 *l.* for calling him a Papist — — 119
— not impossible but he might turn Protestant — — 122
— his Virtues misrepresented — 132
— unjust to seclude him from the Crown on Account of his Religion *ib.*
— his heroic and valiant Actions 133
— his Perversion in Point of Religion the Cause of all our Mischiefs — 197
— warmly expostulated with concerning his Apostasy — 275
— reminded of his Grandfather's Curse, and his Stedfastness — 276
— his Disinherison disown'd by Protestants as well as Papists — iv 296
— his Valour applauded by the *Turks* 472
— his Answer to the King of *Spain*'s Message — — 581
— Archbishop of, degraded by King *Edward* III. for presenting to a Benefice of the Pope's Presentation before the King's — iii 435

Z

Zeleuchus and *Charondas*, falsly reckon'd among *Pythagoras*'s Disciples — — iii 159
Zamolxis, Lawgiver of *Getes*, a Disciple of *Pythagoras*, contradicted *ib.*
Zeal for a Party never got the better of Interest — — ii 14
Zealots cry up Religion while they join Hands to pluck it down — i 213
Zeno Citticus, his Opinion of a Mundane Soul — ii 237
Zuinglius, his Explanation of CHRIST's Words in the Eucharist — i 60

The End of the FIRST COLLECTION.

Vol. Pag.

Tyrconnel, purges his Army of all Protestants, and replaces them with notorious Villains — — 20
— his vile Character and arbitrary Proceedings — — *ib.*
— erects Mass-houses, and lets loose a Swarm of Jesuits and Regulars *ib.*
— threatens a general Massacre, if the Pr. of *Orange* should send any Forces 22
— circumvents Lord *Mountjoy* with specious Pretences — — 23
— employs Mr. *Osborne*, a Dissenting Minister, to write a Letter to Lord *Massareen* — — 26
— his Lordship's Answer thereto — 27
— his Proclamation against *Ulster* and *Sligo* — — *ib.*
— sends a Body of Forces into *Ulster* 28
Tyre opposes itself against *Nebuchadnezzar* — — iii 27
— its Strength and Situation — 28
— is taken after 13 Years Siege — 34

V. U.

Vanity, the greatest in the World, is to esteem the World — ii 7
Vassals, Mr. his Goods seiz'd, and himself imprison'd for not paying Imposts contrary to Law — 277
Vaudois, once all Protestants, now utterly extirpated — — iv 247
Vaughan, Lord, his Speech at a Country Election, tho' he was not out of *London* — — iii 360
Venero, *Antony*, accus'd with being concern'd in the Assault on the Pr. of *Orange* — — i 33
— his Examination, in *Spanish* and *English* — — 37-41
— Deposition which he wrote and signed — — 41-50
— examined on the Rack — 51
Verbs Anomales take Prisoner *Cæter* 19
Vere, Sir *Francis*, a great General, and highly esteemed by Q. *Elizabeth* — — 381
Vernon, Secretary of State, a Promoter of the Partition Treaty, not impeach'd — — iv 388
Verses on the Parliament's resenting the *Kentish* Petition — 312
Vice Chancellor's Speech to K. *Ch.* I. at his Entertainment at *Christ-Church* in *Oxford* — — ii 126
Vich, Counsellors of, their Letter of Thanks to Q. *Anne* — — iv 416

Vol. Pag.

Victory, what — — iv 98
Villeine of a Lord, cannot be seiz'd in the Presence of the King — ii 443
Villiers, Geo. Duke of *Buckingham*, sprung up without any Help — i 386
— made (by K. *James* I.) Associate of the Heir apparent — — *ib.*
— his Constitution of a marvellous Equality — — 388
— none entertain'd Greatness more familiarly — — 390
— was illiterate, and drew his Knowledge from others — 391
— his Speeches not so solid as pertinent — — 392
— suddenly rais'd to the highest Honours and Trusts — iv 407
— suspecting his Master was weary of him, provides him a Plaister and Powder — — 408
— is stabb'd by *Felton*; his last Words — — *ib.*
Vindication of the Rights of the Commons of *England*, by Sir *Humphry Mackworth* — 313
— of the Rights and Prerogatives of the House of Lords — 360
Vines, Mr. his Testimony of King *Charles* I. — — ii 422
Virgil, not faultless — — iv 146
— *Æneis*, Action of, vicious and mangled — — 147
— not complete nor finished — 148
— orders his *Æneis* to be burnt — *ib.*
— his wooden Horse the most childish Part of the *Æneis* — 149
— has many Things incredible — 150
— his Episodes too long — *ib.*
— guilty of Achronism and Slander *ib.*
— his Character of *Æneas* for Piety censur'd — — 152
— makes *Æneas* weep on every Occasion, and sometimes frighten'd 153
— *Æneas*'s Courage justly question'd 154
— draws him and *Turnus* both Cowards — — *ib.*
— shews Want of Judgment in his Characters, and in the Close of his Action — — 155
— Characters of his Gods preposterous *ib.*
— his Close of the Action with a Machine eclipses all its Glory — 156
— faulty in the Sentiments of his Heroes — — 158
— makes *Æneas*'s Officers sneaking Beggars, and him perfidious to Q. *Dido* — — 159

Virgil, Vol. Pag.
Virgil puts a swelling Vanity into his Hero's Mouth — — iv 160
— less pure in his *Latin* than *Lucretius* 161
— charged with Obscurity — *ib.*
— a succinct, grave and majestick Writer — — 162
— stretches an Hyperbole beyond Probability — — *ib.*
— accus'd of Tautology — 163
Visions seen in the Times of the *Irish* Rebellion — — ii 344
Vitruvius, favour'd by *Augustus* i 262
— wrote obscurely — *ib.*
— determines many Things by musical Grounds — *ib.*
— his Rule for painting Insides — 290
— his Resupination of the Figure, what — — 292
— his six Considerations on Architecture explain'd — 296
Vox Populi, Vox Dei, or *England*'s Lamentation for the Dissolution of the Parliament — iii 307
Vote of the House of Commons that the Papists fired *London*, not well supported — — 348
Votes, touching the Members of both Houses — — ii 311
— touching his Majesty's taking Arms 312
— of the Commons assembled in Parliament, the Reason of the Kingdom — — 492
Ubi Lex non distinguit, non est distinguendum — — 449
Ulster, 150,000 Protestants murder'd there in the *Irish* Massacre — iii 97
— Remonstrance of the Protestants there — — 98
— Protestants of, take Arms to prevent a Surprize — iv 25
— ravaged by the Popish Arms — 31
Ulysses, a Medley of Prudence and Knavery — — 152
Uniformity and Variety, in Architecture, reconcileable — i 269
Union between the two Kingdoms, Preparations necessary thereto — 160
— Commodities resulting from — 164
— *Scots* averse to — 167
— between the two Houses of Parliament wou'd render this Nation insuperable — — iv 365
University of *Oxford*, Reasons of, for not submitting to the solemn League and Covenant, Negative Oath, &c. i 479
— their Exceptions to the Preface to the Covenant — — *ib.*

	Vol.	Pag.
University of *Oxford*, cannot enter into it without the King's Consent —	i	480
— cannot swear to preserve the Religion of another Kingdom —		481
— their accepting it a Wrong to themselves —		482
— cannot swear to extirpate Episcopacy —		483
— nor consent to root out Deans and Chapters —		485
— nor swear to endeavour the Extirpation of the establish'd Church		*ib.*
— cannot take the Negative Oath, why		499
— cannot consent to the Ordinances concerning the Discipline and Directory —		*ib.*
— nor to the taking away the Book of Common Prayer —		500
— Orator, his gratulatory Speech to K. *Ch.* I. —	ii	122
Ur of the *Chaldees*, by whom built	i	244
Usurpers are Kings *de facto*, but not *de jure* —	ii	461
— and *Cromwell*, &c. tho' they oppos'd one another, agreed in continuing the Nations Distractions	iii	7
— defame the lawful Heir, to engender an Odium of him in the People — —		*ib.*
— persuade the People that the King and his two Brothers had embrac'd the *Romish* Religion —		*ib.*

W.

Wakeman, Sir *Geo.* contracted with to poison the King —	iii	263
— acquitted of the Charge		407
Wales, an additional Strength to *England* — —	i	148
— Prince of, injuriously excluded from the Throne —	iv	252
— Imposition of his Birth, a false Calumny, contriv'd by the Enemies of K. *James* — —		253
— where and by whom managed		*ib.*
— the People injur'd by it in their Honour, Religion and Estates		*ib.*
Walsingham, Sir *Francis*, sent Ambassador to *France*, and high in the Queen's Favour —	i	364
— blamed for keeping *Parry* too long in Hand, who had a Design on the Queen's Life — —		365
— his deep Policy —		*ib.*
War (with K. *Charles* I.) not against the Kingly Office, but the Exorbitancies of his Government —	iii	145
Ward, Sir *Patience*, his Speech on being elected Lord *Mayor* of *London* — —	iii	379
Warrant from the King, implies the Lawfulness of the Thing commanded — —	iv	329
Ways of such as aspire to a Kingdom, and Marks to discern them	ii	238
Wentworth, *Peter*, sent to the Tower for delivering the Parliament's Petition to Q. *Elizabeth* to entail the Succession —	iii	244
Westminster, Inhabitants of, their Petition for the Sitting of Parliament to try Offenders —		102
— his Majesty's Answer — —		103
Weston, Baron, impeach'd of High Treason —	ii	276
Whigs carry their Points too far	iii	436
— their Speculations scarce practicable — —		*ib.*
Whitefield, *Tho.* prosecuted for tearing a Petition to the King —		100
Whitgift, Dr. a rare Example of Primitive Christianity —	i	391
Whitlock, Lord, opens the Conference with *Cromwell* —	iii	116
— answers his Objections to his accepting the Title of King —		155
Wilde, Serjeant, charges the Archbp. of *Canterbury* with the most notorious Treasons — —	ii	292
William the Conqueror, shares his Purchase among his Followers —		106
— brought the *English* to wear the Yoke by Degrees —		135
— how he reduced the People to Vassalage — —		241
— his Method of supplying his Occasions — —		*ib.*
— the first who used the Counsels and Assent of the Commons —		242
— durst not abolish all the *British* Rights — —	iv	364
— his Testimony of himself on his Death-bed — —		398
— *Rufus* advanc'd to the Crown instead of his elder Brother *Robert*	iii	305
— his infamous Character —		398
— III. calls his Conventions and Parliaments by Violence —	iv	54
— our Condition under him, hopeless		56
— his Instructions in the Affair of *Glenco* exceeded —		102
— bred under the *Geneva* Model —		117
— his whole Endeavour to support *Holland* — —		135

	Vol.	Pag.
William III. his Wisdom and Courage celebrated	iv	164
— strongly supported by his Parliament		165
— found his most dangerous Enemies at Home		167
— acquired more Honour by controuling the Power of *France*, than his Predecessors by reducing it		168
— acquaints the Parliament with a Design to assassinate him		177
— his Presence of Mind in the greatest Difficulties		180
— concludes a Peace at *Ryswick*		185
— came not, as the *Romans* and *Saxons*, to conquer and enslave us		202
— entitled to the Crown by his Merit		213
— his Speech to his Parliament		215
— his Answer to the Commons		226
— his Answer to the Parliament's Speech on passing the Bill for disbanding the Army		229
— his Promise in Answer to the Commons Address		234
— caresses his Subjects as his Children		240
Willoughby, Lord, one of Q. *Elizabeth*'s first Swordsmen, could not creep to the Court	i	365
Windows, nothing so expensive, or ruinous		278
Woosely, Sir *Charles*, his Reasons for making *Cromwell* King	iii	125
Worcester, Lord, when young, the best Swordsman and Tilter; when old, a faithful Counsellor	i	382
World, not eternal	iii	416
— sublunary, compar'd to the celestial Regions	iv	199
Worm, a monstrous one found in the Heart of a Horse	ii	431
Worth, Mr. moves the House to petition Q. *Elizabeth* to set their restrained Members at Liberty	iii	245
Wotton, Sir *Henry*, saves the Life of K. *James* I.	iv	410
— ungratefully rewarded, and dies poor		*ib.*
Writs to the Commons to meet in Parliament, when first issued	ii	107
— of Error, brought into the House of Lords, must be allowed by the King		336, 461

X.

Xenophon, his Account of the *Babylonian* Wars	iii	40

Y

Yea and *No*, the Privilege allow'd by Queen *Elizabeth* to the House of Commons	iii	248
York, the Terms held there for seven Years in *Edw.* I's Time	ii	457
— Duke of, his turning Papist, charg'd but not prov'd	iii	241
— acquitted of the Plot by *Oates* and *Bedloe*		242
— to exclude him from the Throne unjustifiable		243
— would not, nor could, alter our Laws and Religion		251
— Inexorableness of his Temper a groundless Scandal		255
— would freely agree to an Act of Oblivion of all Offences against himself		256
— his generous Sentiments in a Letter to the King		258
— intrudes into Administration of Affairs in *Scotland* without taking the Oaths		326
— disturbs Dissenters, yet permits Mass to be said under the same Roof		*ib.*
— got the Fleet from his Brother, and swore it to himself		346
— several Attempts to advance him to the Crown in Preference to his Brother		*ib.*
— attended with a grand Retinue, while the King went almost alone		*ib.*
— whoever opposes his Title, must have 50,000 Men constantly in Arms		378
— Improbability of his ever attempting to alter the establish'd Religion		379
— will have no Supplies from the People till their own and the Kingdom's Security is provided for		380
— of too great an Age to attempt a Change in Government or Religion		383
— sav'd two pitiful Priests, when his Frigate was sinking, and suffer'd several Noblemen to perish		454

	Vol.	Pag.
York, D. of, his barbarous and illegal Commissions in *Scotland*	iii	457
— in a Conspiracy several Years for the Subversion of our Religion		*ib.*
Yorkist and *Lancastrial* Quarrel, what Numbers perish'd in it		248
Young Devil, a seditious Pamphlet hatch'd in a Club there	iv	218

Z

	Vol.	Pag.
Zedekiah, contrary to the Advice of *Jeremiah*, rebels against *Nebuchadnezzar*	iii	30
— is left by his Confederates the *Egyptians* to the Mercy of the *Chaldeans*		31
— is taken Prisoner, his Eyes put out and carried to *Babylon*		32
Zurich Confession about the Descent of CHRIST into Hell	i	141

F I N I S.

P4934